

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES IN THE RURAL EAST RIDING 1830-1912

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

DAVID RICHARD JOSEPH NEAVE, BA (Lancaster), MPhil (York).

October 1985

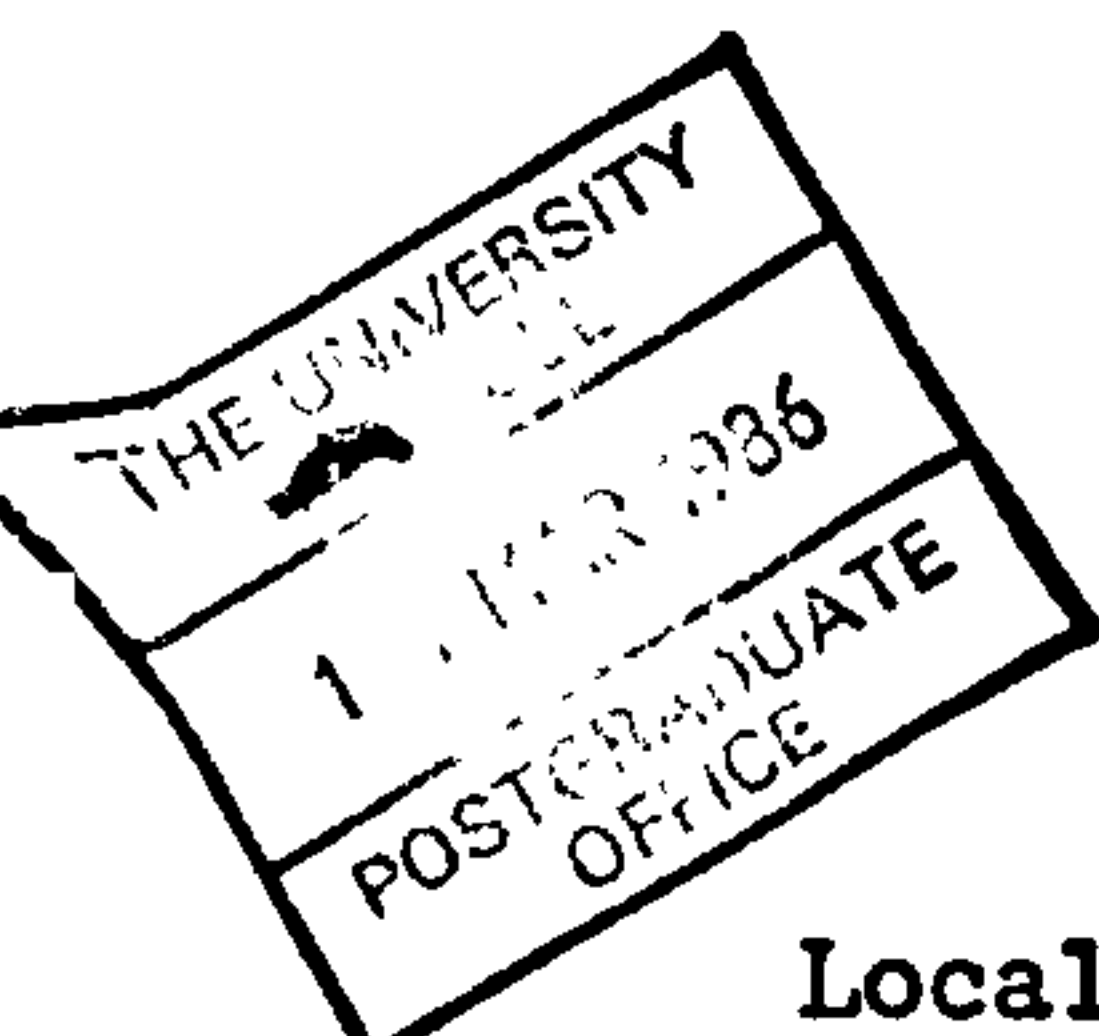
SUMMARY

Summary of Thesis submitted for PhD degree

by David R. J. Neave

on

Friendly societies in the rural East Riding 1830-1912



Local and affiliated order friendly societies which together formed the largest working-class movement in Victorian Britain have been largely ignored by social and labour historians. Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids, Shepherds and Gardeners with their ritual, regalia, and secrecy imitative of Freemasonry, emerged as benefit societies in industrial Yorkshire and Lancashire in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. The orders exploded into the East Riding in the wake of the passing of the New Poor Law in 1834 and its implementation three years later but many branches suffered severe set-backs or extinction during the economic crisis which hit agriculture in 1848-52. A substantial number of those that survived, many of them well into the twentieth century, chose independence rather than the authoritarian rule of a national headquarters.

Affiliated branches far from being the preserve of the urban artisan, as has been often suggested, had an extensive agricultural worker membership. The founders and leaders of branches, which were most commonly located in larger open settlements with a substantial nonconformist and artisan population, were drawn from all sections of the membership but village craftsmen predominated. The club anniversary which became the principal feast day for many villages was initially, along with public house meetings and funeral ritual, much criticised by Anglican clergy. They found, however, that their annual sermon and attendance at the dinner gave them their principal point of contact with the rural working-class, a fact also realised after 1885 by politicians.

The sickness and funeral benefits provided by the orders were considerable in relation to agricultural workers' incomes in the mid-19th century but higher wages and the passing of the National Insurance Act in 1912 considerably decreased their significance to the rural community.

Plate 1 : Middleton-on-the-Wolds Foresters' Club Feast Day c1910





CONTENTS

List of figures	iv
List of plates	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	1
1 East Riding : the background	40
2 The affiliated orders	55
3 Friendly societies in the East Riding 1830-1912	95
4 Fluctuations in the fortunes of East Riding friendly societies	129
5 Members, founders and leaders	195
6 Geographical distribution of friendly societies and members	249
7 Friendly societies and the rural community - Club feast day	289
8 Criticism and control	317
9 Friendly societies and rural politics 1885-1912	365
10 Benefits of membership	378
Conclusion	409
Sources	421
Appendices	
1 Annotated list of East Riding friendly societies	459
2 Affiliated order friendly societies in East Riding	529
3 Mid-Wolds sample area	536
4 Banners	542
5 Female friendly societies	547

FIGURES

1	Price list of goods from AOF <u>Directory</u> 1868-9	15
2	Extracts from proposition, initiation declaration and fine books	17
3	Poster for Hedon AOF feast day 1840	20
4	Page from IOOF MU <u>List of lodges</u> 1850	27
5	Page from AOF <u>Directory</u> 1896	28
6	East Riding in 1845	39
7	Coded passwords used by IOOF MU in 1847-8	63
8	Pedigree of main orders of Oddfellows	66
9	Distribution of branches of the chief affiliated orders	98
10	The spread of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds 1838-77	105
11	Friendly society founding and Methodist chapel building	142
12	Recruitment to six affiliated branches 1843-60	150
13	Wheat prices and affiliated branch recruitment 1840-60	164
14	Townships with affiliated order branches founded 1834-1912	264
15	Rural townships with successful affiliated branches founded 1834-50	264
16	Distribution of affiliated branches and the composition of the agricultural workforce in the East Riding 1851	264A
16A	Geographical regions of East Riding	264B
17	Catchment area for recruits to Keyingham AOF court 1858-82	272
18	Middleton-on-the-Wolds Foresters' feast day poster 1936	316
19	Poster publicising United Ancient Order of Druids' lodge, Beverley, c1880	377
20	Mid-Wolds sample area	537
21	IOOF MU banner from Tutill's catalogue 1895	541
22	AOF sashes from Tutill's catalogue 1895	546

PLATES

1	Middleton-on-the-Wolds club feast day c1910	ii
2	Hutton Cranswick club feast day c1905	194
3	Nafferton Shepherds' club feast day	248
4	Lund Oddfellows' club feast day procession c1910	288
5	Middleton-on-the-Wolds Foresters' feast day procession c1910	304
6	Posters of Hull and East Riding AOF galas 1859 and 1860	364

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest debt is to Rex Russell who first aroused my interest in friendly societies and who has been a great source of help and encouragement over the years. I wish also to express my thanks to John Saville who has been a patient and stimulating supervisor.

I am grateful to the following national and local officers of affiliated friendly societies for being so willing to answer questions and provide material: R.Henry and Mr.Holmes, IOOF MU, Manchester; G.Irish and Mrs.Newton, AOF, Southampton; D.H.Hague, LOAS, Stockport, and Mr.Robertshaw, LOAS Yorkshire region, Leeds; W.H.Robinson, GUOOF, Manchester; Mr.Lester, UAOD, Bristol; J.L.Clarke, NUOFG, Sandbach; D.Carr, IOR, Manchester; Mrs.K.Braithwaite and Miss Ann Braithwaite, Keyingham AOF; the late Harold Godbold of Beverley, President of the IOOF MU Yorkshire Group; Mr. and Mrs Mallory, Middleton AOF; F.Wright, Beverley UAOD; W.Arnell, Hutton Cranswick IOOF MU; S.Edmunds, Hutton Cranswick AOF; Mr.Wilson, N.Ferriby and Elloughton IOOF MU; G.Wilson, NUOFG Beverley; Mrs.E.Hodgson, UAOD Hull; the late Les Salton, AOF Hull; the secretary of Lockington AOF; and finally Ernest Cole, the district secretary of the AOF Grimsby, who is undertaking the important task of collecting the records and regalia of surviving branches and placing them in museums and record offices. Many of the visits to national headquarters were undertaken during a term of study leave for which I am grateful to the Workers' Educational Association, Yorkshire North District as I am for the support of the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at Hull University my present employer.

I am also indebted to the following staff of record offices and libraries: Keith Holt and Carol Boddington, Humberside County Record

Office; Norman Higson, archivist and other staff of the Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull; Jill Crowther and her staff at Hull Local History Library and Philip Brown at Beverley Library. The last was most generous in providing extra information from his own researches as also was Ted Gillett. Others to whom I am indebted for readily passing on friendly society material that they came across include Barbara English, Alan Harris, Rod Ambler, Leslie Powell, Chris Ketchell, Norman Creaser, Vanna Homan, Mike Smith, Michael Hickes, John Markham, Olga Reckitt, the late Doris Butler, K.Green and Miss I Bartlett.

My family need thanks for putting up with Oddfellows, Ancient Druids and the like for so many years and I am especially indebted to Sue without whose assistance and support this thesis would not have been completed.

Hull September 1985

ABBREVIATIONS

Affiliated orders

AOD	Ancient Order of Druids
AOF	Ancient Order of Foresters
GUOOF	Grand United Order of Oddfellows
IOOF KU	Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity
IOOF MU	Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity
IOR	Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity
LOAS	Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity
LOD	Loyal Order of Druids
NUOFG	National United Order of Free Gardeners
OFG	Order of Free Gardeners
OST	Order of Sons of Temperance
UAOD	United Ancient Order of Druids

HCRO	Humberside County Record Office
HUL	Hull University Library
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
PRO	Public Record Office

All places in the text are in the East Riding unless otherwise stated.

INTRODUCTION

A. Friendly societies and the social historian

Friendly societies have been notoriously neglected by modern social and labour historians.(1) For some reason the most successful of all Victorian working-class movements has received only limited attention in the vast literature that has been produced on social and economic life in the nineteenth century. Only one work, P.H.J.H. Gosden's The friendly societies in England 1815-1875 has been devoted solely to these institutions.(2) The existence of this authoritative work has meant that friendly societies usually get a passing mention in most relevant works produced since 1961, but they are often dismissed in a paragraph or two and considered as a rather negative factor in Victorian life. They are portrayed as agents of social control or social adjustment rather than social change and therefore are given less emphasis than other contemporary movements such as trade unions, cooperatives, mechanics institutes, building societies or more overtly political organisations.(3) Earlier studies of the working class ignore the 'reformist' friendly societies. Their support by the middle-classes, who in Cole and Postgate's words considered 'friendly societies were prudent and laudable institutions', has seemingly prevented the organisations from being seen as a positive expression of working-class aspirations, ability and culture and a false picture has been drawn of the movement.(4)

This is surprising in works produced in the last twenty years because in 1963 E.P.Thompson in The making of the English working class portrayed friendly societies as having a positive role in the formation

of working-class culture. He stresses that 'The working-class community of the early nineteenth century was the product, neither of paternalism nor of Methodism, but in a high degree of conscious working-class endeavour' and that it is in the late 18th and early 19th century local friendly societies of Northern England that the working man attained the self-discipline and experience in self-government that was vital for the growth of independent working-class culture and institutions.(5) Collectivist values became a dominant feature of working-class communities in the early nineteenth-century and friendly societies can be seen as the earliest institutional expression of this collective idea, not proceeding from the idea but as a contemporary 'response to certain common experiences'.

In the simple cellular structure of the friendly society, with its workaday ethos of mutual aid, we can see many features which were reproduced in more sophisticated and complex forms in trade unions, cooperatives, Hampden Clubs, Political Unions, and Chartist lodges.(6)

Thompson sees friendly societies as playing a very important part in achieving what he describes as the 'one real gain of the Industrial Revolution' that is the growth in self-respect and political consciousness on the part of the working-classes.(7)

It is, indeed, this collective self-consciousness, with its corresponding theory, institutions, discipline, and community values which distinguishes the nineteenth-century working class from the eighteenth-century mob.(8)

Much of what Thompson writes about the local societies holds true for the later affiliated orders. Both were often the subjects of favourable middle-class comments and monetary support but 'their actual conduct left little room for paternalist control'.

In the very secretiveness of the friendly society, and its opaqueness under upper-class scrutiny, we have authentic evidence of the growth of independent working-class culture and institutions.(9)

The role of friendly societies in industrial society has been subjected to perceptive analysis in two more recent books; T.R.Tholfsen, Working-class radicalism in mid-Victorian England, and N.Kirk, The growth of working class reformism in mid-Victorian England. Both these books are concerned with 'the changes and continuities in the direction and structure of the labour movement, workers' consciousness and social relations between the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century' and both use friendly societies as examples of organisations of the 'respectable' working man.(10) Tholfsen using official order journals, general laws, lecture books and histories presents the best published account of the ideology of the affiliated orders in the mid-nineteenth century. He argues that friendly societies although totally committed to the mid-Victorian social order and its values did not surrender their independence.(11) They rejected patronage and the 'degradation of charity' but welcomed the approval of the middle classes. Kirk sees respectability, as increasingly pursued within the affiliated orders and co-operative societies, as part of an indigenous working-class culture which however still retained beliefs in collective improvement, independence, class pride and the liberating powers of education. He quotes the Oddfellows' Magazine in 1867 as condemning those institutions in which:

the worker's imagination is oppressed by the spectral parson and the spectral capitalists morally patting him on the head, and bidding him, like the virtuous artisan he is, to attend church regularly and avoid the trade union.(12)

One of Kirk's principle sources and the only thorough study of urban friendly societies is Geoffrey Crossick's illuminating work An Artisan

Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-80 and the thesis from which the book derived.(13) Crossick follows Thompson in seeing friendly societies as a positive expression of working-class culture - a desire for independence coupled with an aggressive search for dignity. To him the Kentish London friendly societies were an institution of working-class independence, not separation:

During the mid-Victorian period Kentish London friendly societies coupled a rejection of patronage with a search for social approval, an emphasis on independence with a denial of isolation.(14)

Crossick rightly points out the neglect in Gosden's history and elsewhere of any full discussion of the membership patterns of friendly societies, their role in working-class life, and their ideological functions and he goes some way to providing important insights into these questions within the limited and to some extent untypical milieu of artisan Kentish London. He underestimates the importance of the affiliated orders to the working class as a whole and re-iterates contemporary statements which see them as being 'practically closed against agricultural and other unskilled labourers' but within the urban context the orders do appear to be far more socially exclusive providing for the skilled working man an institution of his own within local society.(15) Here was the break from the ethos of mutuality which marked working-class life in the late 18th and early 19th century.

The secretiveness, the symbolism, the ceremonial of friendly societies were becoming more of an expression of exclusiveness within a context of social involvement, far less of a retreat into isolated mutuality in a hostile and insecure world.(16)

Other than in Crossick's study of Kentish London and Gray's more limited examination of them in The labour aristocracy in Victorian

Edinburgh friendly societies have been curiously neglected by historians looking at the working-class in industrial towns and regions.(17) Kaijage's study of 'Labouring Barnsley 1816-1856' makes only passing reference to them commenting that 'The history of such institutions in Barnsley is rather blurred'.(18) Caroline Reid has more to say on the societies in her thesis 'Middle class values and working class culture in nineteenth century Sheffield' but unfortunately her comments are marred by her limited sources and by the lumping together of all kinds of friendly societies - 18th century local societies, the affiliated orders and paternalistic organisations set up and controlled by the Church of England and Methodists, without any indication of an understanding of the great differences between them.(19) A more thorough search for sources would have provided John Foster with a wealth of material on Oldham friendly societies and enabled him to be somewhat clearer on whether or not the societies 'could be seen as an active part of the social control apparatus'.(20) Foster's acceptance that 'the friendly society was the one social institution that touched the adult lives of a near majority of the working population' required a much fuller examination of these organisations than he gives in a work that claims to be 'a study of the forces underlying the early development of working-class consciousness in nineteenth-century England'.(21)

Armstrong in his social study of York 1801-51 while allowing that a friendly society was the 'most representative association to which work-people and small tradesmen were likely to attach themselves' states that, because of what he claims to be 'its ethos of individualism and self-help, and tendency to social exclusiveness' it 'must be regarded as only very tenuously associated with the labour movement'.(22)

Armstrong's comments could not be further from the truth; the growth of the affiliated orders depended on collectivism and not individualism

and there is considerable evidence to show that friendly societies, and in particular the affiliated orders, were closely associated with the labour movement. The rise of the affiliated orders in the period 1830-50 was on a par with other working class movements and many a Chartist, trade-unionist or co-operator was an active friendly society member. Kirk gives a number of examples from Lancashire including William Marcroft a leading figure in the co-operative movement at Oldham who had been a Chartist, an Oddfellow, a Rechabite and a member of the Machine Grinders' Society.(23) Many more such men figure in the pages of Joyce Bellamy and John Saville's invaluable Dictionary of Labour Biography including the following: James Daly, Owenite, Rochdale Pioneer and a prominent member of the Oddfellows society; James Lees, Oldham co-operative pioneer and court and district secretary of the Foresters for over 30 years; and Thomas Piggot, the ironworkers' leader in the Black Country, secretary for many years of both a court of the Ancient Order of Foresters and a lodge of the Order of United Free Gardeners. Numerous miners' leaders including Enoch Edwards, Fred Hall, Levi Lovett, Willy Lunn and Herbert Smith were life-long active members of affiliated societies.(24) Frequently membership and office-holding in a friendly society precedes active involvement in a trade union. The affiliated orders were at their most active during the period of Chartist agitation and it would be surprising if there were not links between the movements. Oddfellows' lodges were a source of finance for Chartists in the Newport Rising in 1839, and their ceremonial swords were used in the conflict.(25) At Bradford and Barnsley the Oddfellows' Halls were used for Chartist meetings and in 1853 when Ben Rushton, a leading Halifax Chartist, was buried his coffin was escorted by 140 Oddfellows.(26) The Northern Star carried reports on the opening of courts and lodges and members' funerals as well as articles on the

orders.(27)

The literature on rural friendly societies is no more extensive than that on the urban societies and it is generally less satisfactory. Margaret Fuller's West Country Friendly Societies as its subtitle, 'An account of village benefit clubs and their brass pole heads', indicates is particularly concerned with the societies' regalia. It does also provide a thorough analysis of the rulebooks of over 100 local societies with most useful sections on 'Members and Management', 'Benefits and Funerals' and 'Feast Days'.(28) The rulebooks are a somewhat limited source and little of the importance and vitality of the societies and the independence and self-government of the members emerges from the pages of Fuller's important work. It is only in relation to the feast days that the vitality is apparent. Here the contemporary descriptions of the processions, regalia, drinking and feasting provide the material for the rather comfortable 'folksy' image of the rural societies that seems to pervade most other works on the Victorian countryside.

Recent works on rural society make little more than a passing reference to friendly societies. The colossal two volume work on The Victorian countryside edited by G.E.Mingay has only a page and a half on them and Mingay's own Rural life in Victorian England dismisses them in a few lines.(29) That most prolific writer on rural life Pamela Horn rarely devotes much space to friendly societies and in Labouring life in the Victorian countryside which contains chapters on 'Agricultural wages, trade unionism and politics', 'Sickness, medical care and death', and 'Poverty and old age' she only writes about the village benefit clubs in the section on 'Holidays and recreations' where two pages are devoted to a rather sugary description of the feast days - "the real 'fete of the labourer' - a day when, for once, he would have plenty to eat and drink and there would be singing, dancing and much

laughter".(30) Alun Howkins' fuller study of club feast days in Whitsun in 19th century Oxfordshire is far better but in using limited newspaper evidence he sees friendly societies, in general, being promoted and in many cases run by gentry and clergy.(31) Elsewhere he writes of the 'taking over of Whitsun by benefit clubs or Friendly Societies for their club day. The gentry approved of these clubs and took an active part in them as honorary members, trustees and supporters. The clubs also had the incidental advantage of providing a quiet and ordered form and recreation at Whitsun and an opportunity, through speeches at club dinners, for the gentry's views of society to be propagated'.(32) Obelkevich also portrays rural friendly societies as deferential institutions courting landlords, farmers and clergy and always choosing the parish church for their anniversaries. (33).

Recent references to friendly societies are largely confined to the works of historians interested in the artisan, popular culture and social welfare and it is in the latter field that most attention seems to be being paid to them. The economy of the working-class and the part played in it by friendly societies is examined by Paul Johnson in an article on 'Credit and thrift and the British working class, 1870-1939' and a forthcoming book.(34) The benefits, scale of membership and attitude of the affiliated orders to state provision of old age pensions and health insurance are discussed in a number of books and articles concerned with the origins of the welfare state, the best by far being Bentley Gilbert's thorough study The evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain, but all are too dependent on official reports and contemporary printed works.(35) The medical provision of friendly societies is the subject of a forthcoming book by David Green.(36)

This study has commenced with a brief survey of the literature on nineteenth century friendly societies produced in the last twenty-five

years in order to emphasise the limited amount that has been written and also to show how little we know about them. Most noticeable is the lack of information on membership; only Crossick, Gray and Kirk provide limited details of the occupations of members of lodges and courts and that only confirms the accepted view that they came largely from the upper strata of the working-class. Gosden provides valuable information on the national organisation and spread of the affiliated orders but says little about the management of the individual branches and their role in the community. Very little has been written to answer any of the questions, on chronology, geographical diffusion, social composition and working of the societies, which were posed in the article which inspired this thesis. The article by Eric Hobsbawm on 'Friendly societies' was written for the journal The Amateur Historian and published in 1957. In it Hobsbawm writes of the neglect of friendly societies by the professional historian and suggests that the local historian might seek answers to a long list of questions including:

When did Friendly Societies first appear in our locality ? ... Is there any special reason why Friendly Societies appeared when they did - a break-down of the Poor Law perhaps, or some other sign of disturbance in the old pattern of village, town or trade life? Can we draw up a table of foundation-dates for the societies of our own town, or county ? Does this reveal interesting peculiarities - for instance, abnormally numerous or rare foundations in some decades, abnormally numerous dissolutions at certain periods and so on ? Can we establish the movements of Friendly Society membership ? Do these show similar, or other peculiarities ? How do these statistics compare with other indications of the economic and social life in our town or country - for instance the movement of corn-prices, the numbers of bankruptcies, trade union unemployment figures, or any other suitable indices ? ... Where did they [the affiliated orders] come from ? ... Are there patches of the county without, or with notably fewer and weaker societies, and if so why ? ... Who actually belonged to them ? How did the society work? Did it cover a given area, and if so how large was it? (37)

No local historian appears to have taken up the challenge and this thesis would appear to be the first attempt to answer these questions.(38)

This study originally had the provisional title of 'Self-help and rural society' but the term self-help is misleading when applied to friendly societies in general and in particular to the affiliated orders. Trade unions, co-operatives, and friendly societies were all agencies of self-help but not ones where the middle-class creed of individualism could flourish. Harrison in Living and learning outlines how the doctrine of self-help was transformed in the mid-Victorian period partially under the influence of the writings of Samuel Smiles:

What had been originally a working-class device to try to grasp some of those cultural and material benefits which were denied to them in the new industrial society, now became the middle-class reply to workers' demands for better social conditions.

Later middle-class enthusiasm for the virtues of self-help integrated it into the dominant philosophy of individualism, emphasizing its value as a means of strengthening independent citizenship as opposed to ideas of collective or communal responsibility for social ills. But in its original expression, as a spontaneous working-class response to felt needs, self-help frequently assumed a collective form.(39)

Smiles' creed of self-help was concerned with individual self-help - its exponents were men who by their own efforts had risen from poverty and obscurity. Their single-minded pursuit of their own betterment left no time or place for their involvement with collectivist working-class organisations.(40)

A wish to provide for himself and family in sickness and death was the main reason why a working man joined a friendly society and he clearly was helping himself, but to achieve these aims he could have as well paid into a savings bank or an insurance company. By joining a friendly

society he was placing his savings at the disposal of his fellow workmen for the general good of the members - he might or might not reap any benefit until his death, and a great number gained no benefit. Mutual aid rather than self-help was the motto of the affiliated orders. Once a villager had joined the Oddfellows, Foresters, Shepherds, Gardeners or Druids he became part of an organisation of far greater significance than just a provider of financial benefits to individuals. It was the largest working-class organisation and the only one with any substantial rural membership. The clubs were both part of the village community and of the organised working-class nationally. Perhaps 'Collectivism in the countryside' would have been a better title than 'Self-help and rural society'.

An emphasis on the individualism of self-help rather than the collectivism of mutual aid has been present in much that has been written on friendly societies, both in the nineteenth century and by present day historians, and this has dictated attitudes to the role of the societies within the working class movement and is a major reason for their neglect by labour historians. The historians of social policy have, however, written more extensively on friendly societies concentrating on their welfare benefits and attitudes to state provision and for the historian of popular culture the societies have been portrayed as agents of social control working with the support and involvement of the respectable classes. Nowhere is the independent vitality of the friendly societies depicted and this owes much to the sources that have generally been used; Parliamentary papers, newspaper reports, rule books, and works by contemporary commentators. The actual records of individual branches of the affiliated orders, which survive in abundance and bring into question many of the accepted views on the societies, have been ignored. The location and use of these records was

a primary purpose of undertaking this study and therefore this introduction is followed by an outline of the main types of sources used.

These sources provided, or suggested, answers to Hobsbawm's questions and many others - When, why and where did the affiliated orders appear in the region? Who were their founders, leaders and members? To what extent were friendly societies working-class organisations? Was it really a deferential body? What were the links with other institutions in the countryside? This thesis has done little more, however, than examine the friendly society movement in one rural county and in the end it has provoked far more questions than it has answered. Similar studies are needed for the industrial areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire and contrasting rural counties such as Norfolk, Oxfordshire and Dorset if this immensely important working-class organisation is going to be accorded the position it deserves in the history of labour.

B. Sources for the regional study of friendly societies

The location of original records of East Riding village friendly societies was one of the principal aims and consequences of this study. There were so many questions, about friendly societies and the local community, that could not be adequately answered from printed material yet previous writers on the subject had located little in the way of original minute or account books. For Gosden in his study of friendly societies 'useful manuscript material' seemed 'practically non-existent' and Hobsbawm in his pioneering essay thought it unlikely that the local historian would come across many manuscript collections.(41) These pessimistic views have fortunately been proved wrong in the East Riding where the wealth of original material has been discovered and a

profusion of minute, proposition and account books have provided the primary source for this thesis.

Some collections have been deposited in record offices, libraries and museums but the greater part of the surviving friendly society records still remain in the hands of local lodges and courts of the affiliated orders and many of these are under constant threat of destruction or dispersal as more and more independent branches close or come under district supervision.(42) Archivists and local historians can play a vital part in rescuing these invaluable records of the largest Victorian working-class organisation if they are prepared to contact the secretaries of surviving friendly societies in their area. As Julian Harber has demonstrated in his enthusiastic account of his missionary work in the collecting of labour archives in the Calder Valley there is no substitute for personal contact.(43) Letters to branch secretaries rarely, if ever, produce a reply yet telephone calls and personal visits usually unearth some material - it can be disappointing and consist of a single early twentieth century minute book or it can reveal almost all the possible records and regalia going back to the founding of the society in the late 1830s.

The first approach made was indirectly to the secretary of the Foresters' court at Keyingham through whom access was gained to the court room of the Foresters' Hall built in 1856. There there was discovered a great cache of records and regalia: minute and account books, membership and death certificates, dinner and tea tickets, sashes and correspondence emerged from desks and drawers, ceremonial horns and cudgels hung on the walls and a rotting banner lay rolled up in the large meeting hall, now a builders store strewn with pipes, baths and unconnected toilets. A cupboard at the top of the stairs which had a map

of Sherwood Forest on the door disgorged a fascinating collection of over twenty wooden staves some still bearing faded crepe paper ribbons reminders of when they were last carried in procession decades before. Similar discoveries have since been made in other halls, lodge rooms, and secretaries' attics. Many a long neglected box has been opened and revealed a multifarious collection of records and regalia much of it dating back to the mid-nineteenth century although on one occasion the damp affected records disintegrated on being touched. (44)

The amount of material possibly surviving for a branch of an affiliated order which may have been in existence for almost 150 years is vast in quantity and range. The page reproduced here, fig.1, advertising the goods that could be purchased by individual courts in 1868 from the headquarters of the Ancient Order of Foresters indicates the range of records and regalia that might, and sometimes does, survive. The following categories of records however are probably the most useful:

1. Manuscript records of individual societies, lodges and courts.

a. Minute books.

The detail, coverage and legibility of minute books varies greatly but generally the following items are included: the election and appointment of officers; acceptance and expulsion of members; records of fines; disputes over the behaviour of members and sickness and death benefits; appointment of club doctor; discussions about annual feasts and the choice of venue, preacher and band; purchase and use of regalia; amendments of lodge and district laws; investment of funds and details of mortgages; granting of clearances and travelling cards.

PRICE LIST OF GOODS

Sold by the Executive Council.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Certificates, Members, plain ... each	0	6	Medals, P.C.R.'s, Silver	7	6
" " colored ..	0	11	" Secretary's ..	7	0
" Printed in colors ..	1	2	" Treasurer's ..	7	0
" Past Chiefs, plain ..	0	6	Miscellany, Quarterly ..	0	8
" Printed in colors ..	1	2	" .. per doz.	4	8
" W. and O., plain ..	0	6	Packing Box for Emblems.....	0	6
" " colored ..	0	11	Paper, Note	per	quiro
Clearances.....	0	1	Pass Word Authorities	per	doz.
Court Books—			Reports of the E.C.	each	0
Cash Book, Sick & Funeral Fund	2	6	Ribbon for P.C.R.'s Court Officers,		
" Management Fund ..	2	6	Members, P.D.C.R.'s and Dis-		
" Treasurer's	1	6	trict Officers,	per	yard
Contribution Book	4	0	Ribbons with Emblematical Devica,		
Declaration of Health Book	1	4	Members (Honorary and Finan-		
Fine Book	1	4	cial), P.C.R.'s, Court and Dis-		
Minute Book	2	0	trict Officers, Surgeons, and		
Nomination of Funeral Money			Mourning Ribbons, for use at		
Book	1	4	Funerals	each	2
Payment Cheque Book (Court or			Ribbons as above, trimmed complete		
District)	1	4	each	2	4
Proposition Book	1	4	Sash, Green and Black per yard	2	6
Receipt Book (Assistant Secre-			" Green union.....	2	0
tary's).....	1	6	Sash, 2½ yards, with Emblem, un-		
Register Book	2	0	trimmed	12	0
Sickness Record Book	2	0	Sash, 3 yards, with Emblem, un-		
Credentials for District or H.C.M....			trimmed	12	0
per doz.	0	2	Sash, 2½ yards, with Emblem, trim-		
Directory for 1868—1869—			med with Fringe complete	12	0
Paper Covers	each	0	Sash, 3 yards, with Emblem, trim-		
Bound in Cloth	1	2	med with Fringe complete	14	0
Dispensation, Lectures, and Box	13	0	Sash, 2½ yards, plain, trimmed with		
Dispensation renewed, and Box	4	6	Fringe complete	7	8
Emblems, plain	each	0	Sash, 3 yards, plain, trimmed with		
" colored.....	2	2	Fringe complete	8	6
Envelopes, Official	per	100	Sash, 2½ yards, plain, trimmed with		
Fringe—Green, Red, White, and			Fringe complete	8	0
Black	per	yard	Sash, 3 yards, plain, trimmed with		
Funeral Ceremony Book	each	0	Fringe complete	7	6
General Laws—English	0	1	Seals for Court.....	each	2
Welsh.....	0	2½	" District	4	0
Horns	each	5s	Seal Die and Press, Court or Dis-		
Lectures, English or Welsh, C.R.,			trict	15	0
1s.6d., S.C.R., 6d.	the	pair	Summonses.....	per	100
Medals, sup. Silver	from	20s.	Travelling Cheques	per	doz.
" P.C.R.'s, Plated	each	1	Travelling Licenses	each	0

Fig.1; Price list of goods from Directory of the Ancient Order of Forestsers' Friendly Society 1868-9

b. Proposition books.

These are the most valuable source of information on the occupation, residence and age of members on joining the society. For a number of societies the propositions and acceptance or otherwise of new members are recorded in the general minute book in a rather haphazard fashion. In the case of the Oddfellows and Foresters printed proposition books are usually used and for the latter in the late 1830s entries were made under the following headings: Proposer's Name, Seconder's Name, Person's Name Proposed, Trade, Residence, Age, Married or Single, When Proposed [date and fee], When Entered [date and fee]. A page from a later Foresters' proposition book is reproduced below fig.2.

c. Initiation declaration books.

These books which are apparently peculiar to the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity, are useful in providing the name, age and initiation date of new members. Occasionally the occupation is also given. The earliest example that I have seen is dated 1876. The books consist of printed forms. See fig.2.

d. Contribution books.

They record the weekly, monthly or quarterly payments by members of their subscriptions. Sometimes these books just record the member's name and his contribution under monthly headings; in other cases the members name, address, age, and date of initiation are given along with details of contributions, arrears and, where relevant, reasons for leaving the society, e.g. death, expulsion, clearance, or emigration. Generally a new list of members and their contributions is begun each year so the books provide an invaluable record of fluctuations in membership. The most useful series of contribution books so far located are those for

**TEXT CUT
OFF IN
ORIGINAL**

Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society.

COURT " Devonshire " NO. 720

We, the undersigned, beg to Propose and Second Mr. Rich^d-Baker by Occupation a Labourer - residing at Bainton Field,

a man, as a fit and proper person for admission into this Court, and hereby declare that to the best of our knowledge he is a sober and discreet person, of good character, in perfect health, and in no way disqualified from becoming a member of the Order.

We also declare that so far as we can judge the said Candidate's age is 24 years, that the age of his wife is about 23 years, and that she appears in good health.

We further hold ourselves responsible for the general truth of the above statements, in accordance with the 67th General Law.

Signed this 3rd day of June 1887

Geo J Warley C. R. George Gosler Proposer.
John Cooper Sect Thomas Towse Secunder.

N.B.—Previous to the Proposition of a Candidate, his Proposer and Secunder should ascertain that he has not been a Member of the Order in any other Court. If such has been the case, the Candidate cannot be proposed for re-admission in any Court until the sanction of his former Court has been obtained.

Any Brother proposing or seconding a Candidate who is unhealthy, or inadmissible from being of bad character, is liable to be expelled the Order. All propositions must stand over to the next regular Meeting of the Court following that on which the proposition was made, except as provided for in Law 67.

Initiated on the 10th day of June 1887

A. Page from proposition book 1887 of Court Devonshire, Ancient Order of Foresters, Middleton-on-the-Wolds

INITIATION DECLARATION.

I, George Raiter of Elloughton

hereby declare that I was born on the * 10 day of * September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and * Seventy three Should this declaration at any time be proved to be false, I agree to be expelled from the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity, Friendly Society, in accordance with Rule 36 of the said Society, and I hereby agree to conform to all rules which may from time to time be duly passed by the authorised Committees of this Lodge, District, or Order.

Dated Nov 28th 1891
Witness E. Hilton George Raiter

* To be filled up in writing.

B. Page from initiation declaration book of Victory Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, Elloughton, 1891

Date when Inflicted.	Name of Brother Fined.	What for.	Amount of Fine.
1876			
June 24 th	William Longbottom	Being Drunk in Procession on East Day	1
July 22 nd	William Longbottom	For Swearing in the Lodge	1
May 27 th	John Hobson	For Parting in the Lodge	1

C. Extract from the fine book of St. Paul's Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows, Hutoon Cranswick

Court Friendship, Ancient Order of Foresters, at Keyingham, East Riding, which run from 1858 to 1920. In these a new list of members is given each year with the current known address and the movements of members over a sixty year period can be traced. The full address is given in the case of the numerous members who lived in Hull.

e. Account and cash books.

Numerous account and cash books survive for all aspects of friendly society work. Treasurer's general account books recording the society's income from members, honorary members, and investments and expenditure on sickness and death benefits. Cash books relate to expenditure on the annual feast and lodge room or hall. Benefit stewards' account books recording out-payments and the society's doctor's accounts. There are also management fund account books, appropriation accounts, lodge night payments books and extra contribution books.

f. Registers of members.

On certain occasions societies produced full registers of their membership. These are usually of the late 19th or early 20th century. The register of members for Farmers' Refuge Lodge, Oddfellows Manchester Unity, Long Riston, East Riding produced in 1886 has columns headed: name of member; date of birth; date of admission; single or married; date of marriage; admitted by card, clearance or intiation; trade; age next birthday; four columns for annual contributions; date of leaving lodge; state if left by death, card or clearance, or any other cause; if by death, state cause of death; date of wife's death; and remarks.

g. Sickness registers.

These are lists of members with columns recording sickness benefit paid each year or lists of only those who received benefit.

h. Fine books.

Branches of both the IOOF MU and the AOF kept books recording the fines levied on members for infringement of the court or lodge rules. Non-attendance, drunkenness and swearing seem to be common offences. Few of these books survive. See fig.2.

i. Degree books

As members of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity progressed through the various offices they could gain seniority by hearing a series of set lectures read and then receiving after each lecture the award of a so called 'degree'. The idea being taken from the Freemasons. It is likely that it was only the more influential members and those with an active interest in the society that were awarded the degrees. The degree books recording the awards therefore provide a list of the most active members of a lodge.

j. Annual returns/annual accounts

Those societies which were registered with the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies were supposed to make an annual return. A number of copies of these returns survive amongst court and lodge records but they are chiefly of the twentieth century. The returns usually give total membership, number left or died, number joined, income and expenditure. Certain larger local societies produced their own printed annual accounts giving similar information.

ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS

The Inhabitants of Hedon and its Vicinity are
respectfully informed that

Court Howroyd's Refuge, No. 911.

OF THE

ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS,

Will meet on Tuesday, 4th. August, 1840,

At the house of Mr. J. HORNBY, the Tiger Inn, Hedon,

When the Officers will attend to open the Court for the admission of new Members, precisely at NINE o'clock in the Morning.

The Members are also requested to be in attendance at NINE, and to form a

PROCESSION

PRECISELY AT TEN O'CLOCK WITH

Flags, Banners, & Music.

Dinner on the Table at 2 o'Clock.

W. Parnell, Printer, Market-place, Hedon.

k. Correspondence

A limited amount of correspondence seems to survive which consists chiefly of poorly written notes to the secretary concerning sickness and death benefits and the payment of arrears by members living at a distance. During 1911-12 those societies which had left the affiliated orders were bombarded with letters from the national and district offices of the orders seeking their affiliation which would enable them to become approved societies under the National Insurance Act.

l. Miscellaneous printed material.

Amongst the material to be found in lodge rooms are various miscellaneous printed items.

i. Lodge and court dispensations. The official authorisation for opening a branch displaying the emblem of the order and giving the date of establishment and names of founder members and officers.

ii. Membership certificates. A similar display of the emblem of order with name of member, date of initiation, and list of court officers.

iii. Membership cards.

iv. Annual dinner and tea tickets.

v. Posters advertising annual feasts, concerts, etc. See fig.3 and plate 6.

m. Regalia

Few existing societies have made much use of their regalia in the last fifty years and therefore it is fortunate that so much survives in club and private hands. An increasing number of museums are collecting and displaying regalia but a great deal is being lost as societies close.(45) Where a society still retains its hall it is likely that some

regalia including the banner will survive as is the case with the Foresters' Hall at Cranswick. Banners are also known to exist in two East Riding village halls.(46) A considerable amount of material has been located in private hands during research for this thesis including sashes, brass crook heads, and banners. Items are frequently displayed for sale in antique shops including important material such as dispensation boards.(47)

2. Rule books

The printed or manuscript rules of local societies and courts and lodges of the affiliated orders are the type of friendly society record most widely available and the one that has most often been used in local and regional studies. The rules of local societies provided much of the material for Margaret Fuller's excellent account of West Country Friendly Societies and for a number of articles that have been written on individual, or groups of, friendly societies.(48)

The majority of surviving rules are for societies which registered with the Clerk of the Peace for the county after 1793, or with the Registrar of Friendly Societies after 1846. Some, but not all, of the rules which were registered with the Clerk of the Peace were transferred to the Registry of Friendly Societies after 1854.(49) The rules of registered societies are to be found in the following places:

a. Quarter Sessions Records now usually in the appropriate County Record Office.

When rules were transferred to the Registry after 1854 a certain number seem to have remained in the Quarter Sessions files in each county. In some cases these were rules of societies known to be defunct by 1846 but more usually they were early rules which had been

superseded, or duplicate copies. The proportion of rules remaining locally varies from county to county.(50) In the East Riding although some 35 societies were registered with the Clerk of the Peace before 1846, the rules, or amendments of rules, of only 16 are amongst the Quarter Sessions records in the Humberside County Record Office.

b. Registry of Friendly Societies.

The rules of registered friendly societies which are still functioning are kept in the Registry of Friendly Societies, London.

c. Public Record Office, Kew.

The largest collection of friendly society rules is in the Public Record Office Kew reference F.S. Following the Public Records Act of 1958 the following records were transferred from the Registry of Friendly Societies:

i. All surviving documents (i.e. rules and amendments of rules) of societies registered and subsequently removed from the register before 1914.

ii. All surviving documents of societies removed from the register after 1913 which were registered before 1875.

iii. A 10% sample of other societies removed from the register after 1913.(51)

F.S.1 and F.S.3 consist of collections of printed and manuscript rules and F.S.2 and F.S.4 are indexes by county to the registered rules and amendments up to 1913.

d. Miscellaneous collections.

The rules of registered and non-registered friendly societies are to be found in many libraries and record offices as well as private collections.(52)

3. Records of the Affiliated Orders(53)

The extent of nineteenth century printed and manuscript material surviving at the headquarters of the chief affiliated orders varies enormously. The AOF has a well maintained collection of early printed material consisting of almost complete runs of its annual and quarterly reports, directories and magazines from 1834. Almost nothing however survives for the UAOD and apparently nothing at all for the IOOF KU. The change of offices and officers has frequently led to the loss of material even in the case of the larger more historically aware societies. Items seen by Gosden at the headquarters of the IOOF MU in the late 1950s, such as early lists of lodges can no longer be located. This loss has been attributed to the change of headquarters in the mid-1960s.(54) The destruction of early material is particularly unfortunate in the case of the UAOD and its loss makes a full study of the development of this important order impossible. When the UAOD had its headquarters in Hull, 1875-1948, it apparently had a large collection of historical material including the 'whole of the minutes of the Board from 1838 down to the year 1875' which were in 'an extremely creditable and well preserved condition' in 1935.(55) These seem to have disappeared along with many other records, printed and manuscript, consequent upon the move of the headquarters to Bristol.(56)

The principal collections at the order headquarters are mainly printed works with little surviving in manuscript form. In most cases the minutes of the executive committees or boards were printed and circulated quarterly and annually and therefore manuscript minute and account books have only been kept in a few cases and these were not inspected. The most useful source for studying the development and

spread of the orders nationally and locally are the dispensation books or registers of the opening of lodges or courts.

a. Dispensation books:

In the case of three orders, AOF, LOAS and GUOOF, the manuscript dispensation books survive and these record the date when courts and lodges were first granted permission to open, and their number, name and meeting place. The AOF and GUOOF granted dispensations and the LOAS surances. The dispensation books of the AOF are particularly useful as they give the names of the first three or four founders of each court.

Of printed items at the various headquarters the following are the most important:

b. Quarterly and annual reports.

The AOF have preserved their printed quarterly reports from 1834, and the IOOF MU theirs from 1839. The reports contain the minutes of the executive committees, accounts, details of the lodges and courts opened during the quarter and information on action taken against defaulting members and branches. Similar annual reports are available for the IOR from 1837, the LOAS from 1838, and the NUOFG from 1851. The GUOOF have quarterly reports 1848-49, then from 1856.

c. Directories

These are invaluable for the study of the affiliated orders in a local area. Each order at some date began to produce annual lists of their lodges and courts but except for the AOF they have been poorly preserved. The AOF is said to have published its first Directory in 1835, but the earliest consulted was produced in 1840 with a supplement three years



later. The full run of annual directories at the AOF headquarters begins in 1845 to the present, with only a gap in 1855. The earliest List of Lodges at the IOOF MU headquarters is as late as 1860 although Gosden reproduces pages from a list of 1836, and lists of 1845 and 1850 have been located elsewhere.(57)

Lists of the lodges in the NUOFG are included in the printed annual returns from 1851. For the other orders the earliest discovered directories at order headquarters are as follows: GUOOF, 1880; IOR, 1888; LOAS, 1890; UAOD, 1938. (58)

The earliest lists and directories usually give number, name and meeting place of each lodge or court arranged by county, and also number of members. From 1870 in the case of the AOF and by 1890 for the IOOF MU the funds of the individual societies are given. By the end of the century the information provided is quite extensive. For instance in the 1896 AOF directory the following are amongst the details given for each court: number; name; year founded; meeting place; frequency of meetings; meeting nights; name and address of secretary; name of treasurer; average rate of interest per cent realised by the court upon investment of its funds; number of benefit members; average age of members; number of honorary members; worth of court funds; days sickness paid for during the year; number of members initiated; number of members died; number of members left through non-payment of contributions; number of wives and widows died; number of members paying contributions graduated according to age; the year when the last valuation of the assets and liabilities was made; and whether or not the court is registered as a branch or society. Examples of pages from the IOOF MU List of lodges 1850 and AOF Directory of courts 1896 are reproduced below figs.4-5.

124	YORKSHIRE.
BARNESLEY DISTRICT—Continued.	
48	BARVELEY; 673, Wellington; John Shepherd, Old Windmill Inn, Shambles street, every other Saturday, 63.
13	—; 824, Honest View; John Rhodes, Three Crowns Inn, Shambles street, every other Saturday, 63.
20	—; 1071, Providence; George Stringer, Queen's Head, Queen square, every fourth Saturday, 69.
14	CLAYTON-IN-THE-CLAY; 2789, Radiance; Old School, Chapel Hill, first Saturday in each month, 77.
43	DARTON; 1779, Darton's Pride; Thomas Carr, Rose and Crown; second Saturday in the month, 78.
81	DODWORTH; 84, Prince Leopold; Joseph Hoyland, Chandlers' Arms; every other Saturday, 63.
84	—; 871, Lord Brougham; Joseph Hoyland, Chandlers' Arms; every other Saturday, 63.
43	GAWBER; 1079, Mansion of Peace; Joshua Green, New Inn, Gawber Hill; every other Saturday, 63.
37	SILKSTON; 217, Welcome Friend; William Barlow, Six Ringers, Main street; every other Saturday, 63.
21	STAINROCK; 3071, Lord Strafford; Edmund Graves, Lord Strafford's Arms, Park-street; every other Saturday, 63.
26	WATH-UPOON-DEARNE; 1231, Marquis of Rockingham; Thomas Rogers, Red Lion Inn, Low-street; every other Saturday, 63.
73	WORSBRO' BAIRNS; 2709, Queen Caroline; Henry Cotton, Red Lion, every fourth Saturday, 69.
BEDALE DISTRICT—1 Lodges, 191 Members.	
181	BEDALE; 1015, Philanthropic; John Mace, Odd Fellows' Arms, Emgate street, every other Saturday, 63.
BEVERLEY DISTRICT—8 Lodges, 600 Members.	
172	BEVERLEY; 603, Rising Star; Thomas Straker, Admiral Duncan, Minister Yard, every other Saturday, 63.
101	—; 852, The Triumph; David Morley, King's Head, Market place, every other Saturday, 64.
44	—; 2372, Olive Branch; Thomas Straker, Admiral Duncan, Minister Yard, every other Thursday, 43.
24	BISHOP SCATON; 2343, Plough Boys' Refuge; William Senior, Atlasdora Inn, Main-st., every fourth Saturday, 63.
51	BRAYNSHOTTON, (near Hornsea); 1371, Emanuel's Hospital; William Thornton, Black Swan, Market place, every other Saturday, 63.
85	HORNSEA; 1371, Victoria; John Heslop, Old Hotel, Southgate, every fourth Saturday, 72.
66	LEVO; 1224, Saint Peter's; Benjamin Cobb, Wellington Inn, every other Saturday, 63.
77	RIBBY IN HOLDSWORTH; 1102, Farmers' Refuge; Ribby Carr, Travellers' Rest, Main-st., every fourth Saturday, 63.

Fig. 4 Page from IOOF MU List of lodges, 1850

YORKSHIRE.		245										
Rfoca. Letters	No. of Chart	Barnsley Town District—continued.										
		Benefit Members	Average Age	Mon. Mts.	Court & Funds	Days' Sickness	Males Initiated	Males Died	Males Left	Wives Died	Males Pay Grd. Con.	Year of Last Val.
dgl	2721	ROBIN HOOD (B3217), 1856, Bush, Kingston-pl., Barnsley; every four weeks, o; Sec., J. Wood, 8, Locke-st., Kingstone, Barnsley—Treas., J. Clifford £2½										
dgl	4075	GARIBALDI'S REST (B3524), 1862, Horse and Jockey, High-st., Dodworth; every four weeks, o; Sec., J. Archer, Jermyn-croft, Dodworth, nr. Barnsley—Treas., B. Jessop £2½										
dgl	5441	LITTLE JOHN (B3104), 1870, Wharfe, Worsboro' Bridge; every four weeks, j; Sec., W. Happs, 19, Shortwood-villas, High Royd, Hoyland, nr. Barnsley—Treas., J. Netherwood £2½										
dfl	5705	VERNON WENTWORTH (B2999), 1880, Duke of Leeds, Park-rd., Barnsley; alternate Saturdays, t-u; Sec., T. Moore, 108, New-st., Barnsley—Treas., A. Sampson £2½										
dfl	7176	PRIDE OF THE VILLAGE (B3439), 1884, Wharnciffe Arms, Carlton; alternate Saturdays, t-u; Sec., J. Barklam, 20, Senior-ln., Roystone, nr. Barnsley—Treas., H. Edge £2½										
del	7510	PRIORY (B3677), 1886, Pheasant, Monk Bretton; alternate Mondays, j-v; Sec., J. Good, George-st., Monk Bretton, nr. Barnsley—Treas., H. Lowe £2½										
dln	8277	TRYSTING TREE, 1894, Sportsman, Ryhill; alternate Saturdays, c-o; Sec., G. E. Bettley, Ryhill, nr. Wakefield—Treas., A. Earl £2½										
Batley.												
cgl	2560	ABIDING HOPE (C118), 1853, New, Purl Well-ln., Batley; every two weeks, u; Sec., J. B. Wilson, 23, Healy-rd., Batley—Treas., D. Sheard £2½										
Bedale.												
cglm	771	OLD DALE (C291), 1839, Royal Oak, Market-pl., Bedale; every four weeks, u; Sec., T. Lincott, W'ycar, Bedale—Treas., J. W. King £3										
Beverley District—A 212 (1840).												
<p>8 Courts, 101 Benefit, 6 Honorary Members; £1833 Court, £10 District Funds, 6604 Days' Sickness; 20 Members Initiated, 8 Members Died, 11 Members left through Non-payment; 8 Wives Died, 271 Members paying Contributions graduated according to age, 2 Courts with Graduated Contributions for part of Members; 2 Courts Valued, 1 Court having Bond with Treasurer, 1 Court having Bond with Secretary.</p>												
cglm	653	BEVERLEY (B2545), 1838, Market Cross, Market-pl., Beverley; every two weeks, o-o; Sec., F. Simpson, 3, Westwood-ter., Beverley—Treas., J. Holmes £3										
cq	1805	BUD OF HOPE (B2579), 1844, Lord Nelson, Flemingate, Beverley; every four weeks, j; Sec., F. Simpson, 3, Westwood-ter., Beverley—Treas., T. Bellby £2½										
cq	2376	PLOUGHMAN'S HOPE (B2563), 1850, Crown and Anchor, Hull Bridge; every four weeks, u; Sec., C. Hoggard, Tickton, nr. Beverley—Treas., T. Moats £3										
Bishop Wilton.												
cgl	1337	SYKES (C25), 1841, Friendship House, Bishop Wilton; every four weeks, d; Sec., W. Wales, Bishop Wilton, Wilberfoss, nr. York—Treas., R. Webster £3										

o Denotes non-Registration as a Branch of the Order under the Friendly Societies Acts; s Registered as a Society; o Graduated Contributions for part of the Members; d Graduated Contributions for all Members; e First Valuation of Assets and Liabilities; f Second Valuation; g Third Valuation; h Fourth Valuation; i Fifth Valuation; j Juvenile Society; k Widows' and Orphans' Fund; l Bond with Treasurer; m Bond with Secretary; n Graduated Contributions to District Funeral Fund; o Regular or periodical Levies to District Funeral Fund; p Regular or periodical Levies according to the Average Age of Members to District Funeral Fund; q District Reduced Sick Allowance Fund; r Friendly Societies Medical Association; s Amalgamated Friendly Societies Association; t United Investment Fund. The Figures preceding the No. of Benefit Members denote the average rate of interest per cent. realized by the Courts.

Fig. 5: Page from Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society for 1896

d. Magazines

In the 1830s-40s most of the affiliated orders began producing their own journals both to disseminate information about the orders and to advance their cause by underlining their respectability and commitment to the intellectual as well as financial improvement of their members.

The IOOF MU was the first to have a magazine The Odd Fellows' Magazine which began as a quarterly journal in March 1828. A nearly complete set is at the IOOF MU headquarters. The AOF Foresters' Miscellany began in March 1836 but there were years when it was not produced. The AOF have copies for 1841-43 and 1858 to the present. The IOR have some early copies, 1840-45, of The Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, and the NUOFG copies of their journal from October 1879. The Ancient Shepherd's Magazine began in 1845 but the order does not seem to have any copies before the end of the century.(59) The same is true of the Druids (UAOD) for although a variety of Druids' magazines were published from the 1830s it is only from 1897, when a new series began, that copies survive at Bristol.(60) The UAOD magazine was at this time combined with the quarterly report as was the earliest surviving magazine of the GUOOF 1858-79. In Hull local history library there are single copies of a quarterly magazine of the Order of Shepheresses, Kingston Unity for 1850 and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity for 1878. Many other early copies of journals of more local orders are probably located in libraries and record offices.(61)

e. Laws and ritual books.

Copies of the earliest rule and ritual books are to be found at the headquarters of each of the orders and amongst court and lodge records.

The general laws are invaluable in helping to explain some of the actions recorded in minute books and reports. The ritual books provide much material on the changing ideology of the orders.

4. Parliamentary papers

Official sources for the study of friendly societies were extensively used by Gosden and a full list of relevant Parliamentary papers is given in his Friendly societies pp.248-250. The following were found particularly useful in this regional study:

a. Annual reports of the Registrar (from 1876 the Chief Registrar) of Friendly Societies in England 1856-1920.

The amount of material to be discovered in these annual reports is immense but it has to be treated with caution. The annual reports usually contain returns from registered societies which were supposed to be sent in each year giving number of members and total funds. Few societies appear to have sent in regular returns during the nineteenth century. For some local societies and branches long runs of annual returns have been found yet for others only half-a-dozen returns were printed over sixty years.

All sorts of mistakes have crept into the printed returns, societies have been wrongly named; placed in the wrong village, town or county; figures for one society have been transposed with those of another; courts or lodges of affiliated orders are listed as independent societies or vice versa; and non-existent societies have been created.

The Rev.J.F.Wilkinson was highly critical of the published reports of the Chief Registrar and described them as 'worse than useless; misleading lights along a not too easy path; a waste of public money. We are forced to the conclusion that these returns are not efficiently supervised - not corrected up to date'.(62) Notwithstanding all their

shortcomings the reports do provide vital information unobtainable elsewhere.

b. Abstracts of answers and returns relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor in England 1803-4 and 1818.

The 1803 report gives the number of friendly societies and total membership for each community and the 1818 report the number of members of friendly societies in each parish in 1814 and 1815. Because figures are given for a town or village in 1814-15 it does not mean that a friendly society exists there as the inhabitants may have belonged to a society or societies elsewhere.

c. Reports of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into Friendly and Benefit Building Societies 1871-74.

The most detailed government coverage on friendly societies both affiliated and local. Within the reports are surveys of the provision in certain counties and towns.

d. Reports of the Royal Commission on Labour 1892-94.

The assistant commissioners provide a great deal of information on friendly societies in their reports.

e. Reports of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor 1895.

Evidence was given by officers and members of friendly societies.

5. Newspapers and local periodicals

Where no documentary material survives the principal source of information on individual societies in the 19th century are local newspapers and periodicals. The value of local newspapers and the extent of information they provide is admirably shown in Rex Russell's study of North Lincolnshire friendly societies.(63)

a. Newspapers

County newspapers such as the Yorkshire Gazette, Hull Advertiser, and

Stamford Mercury, make limited mention of friendly societies in the late 18th-early 19th centuries, but from the 1830s the references become far more numerous and are particularly important in the period of the 'great explosion' of the affiliated orders 1838-45. The opening and early progress of many branches is chronicled in detail, social events such as teas, balls and lectures are recorded as well as the funerals of members. Above all it is the reports of the anniversaries of the societies that begin to fill the local news columns by the mid-19th century.

At this point the more local newspapers such as the Beverley Guardian, Driffield Times, and Malton Messenger begin and, in giving more extensive coverage to the events of the local communities, the scale of their reports of club feast days greatly increases. The editor of the Driffield Times commented in June 1874:

We are rather apprehensive that the reports of friendly societies' anniversaries or club feasts, as they are called, have lately been so frequently inserted in the public prints of the neighbourhood, that the publishing of many more might almost appear to be a monopoly of the press, and that readers might be led to conclude that the space they occupy might be filled with more useful matter.(64)

Fortunately the local importance of these 'red letter days' in the villages prevented the reports being superseded by 'more useful matter' and they continued to well into the twentieth century.

b. Parish magazines.

A much neglected local historical source are the monthly magazines produced by Anglican clergy in increasing numbers from the 1860s. They have provided considerable information on local friendly societies for this study and in some cases they have provided the only known reference to a society.(65)

Parish magazines originated with the Rev.W.J.E. Bennett at Frome in 1854, and the earliest East Riding magazine discovered is one for Market Weighton produced from 1858.(66) The first magazines consist of little more than notices of services, baptisms, marriages, burials, and various church events plus a variety of homilies on topics such as temperance. As clergy begin to see themselves in a wider social role so the coverage of parish events becomes broader. The links between the church and the friendly society feast days were well established and therefore the clergy make frequent and sometimes lengthy references to the anniversaries. Some clergy became more closely involved with the societies and comment on them at other times during the year.(67)

The most useful parish magazine for the East Riding was that produced by the Parish Magazine Union. It was begun at Sewerby, near Bridlington in 1878, and gradually other parishes in the Bridlington, Driffield and Beverley areas joined so that by 1905 36 incumbents were involved. Each incumbent contributed a section on his own parish. Accounts of friendly society anniversaries begin in July 1882 and in 1897 twelve such reports are given and in 1912 fifteen.(68)

6. Miscellaneous sources

Valuable material on friendly societies can be found in a vast array of miscellaneous sources: school log books frequently refer to club feast days; trade directories sometimes give details of officers and membership (69); diaries make references particularly to feast days (70); details of police recruits in the county record office include information on membership of friendly societies (71); and parish records might include incidental information in registers or clerical account books.(72) Local topographical works sometimes list friendly societies and give date of foundation and membership.(73) This list could be far

more extensive and the range of sources that have provided material for this study will be apparent from the appendices and bibliography below.

- (1) The Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History contains virtually nothing on friendly societies in its fifty issues although it accords friendly societies a place in labour history by listing friendly society records amongst the annual list of archive deposits.
- (2) P.H.J.H.Gosden, The friendly societies in England 1815-1875, Manchester, 1961; see also ibid., Self-help: Voluntary associations in nineteenth-century Britain, London, 1973.
- (3) e.g. in J.F.C.Harrison, Early Victorian Britain 1832-51, London, 1979, pp.196-7; H.Perkin, The origins of modern English society 1780-1880, London, 1969, pp.381-383.
- (4) G.D.H.Cole and R.Postgate, The common people 1746-1946, London, 1976 reprint of 4th edition of 1949, p.368.
- (5) E.P.Thompson, The making of the English working class, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp.457-461.
- (6) ibid., p.462.
- (7) ibid., p.464.
- (8) ibid., p.463.
- (9) ibid., p.460.
- (10) N Kirk, The growth of working class reformism in mid-Victorian England, London, 1984, p.ix.
- (11) T.R.Tholfsen, Working-class radicalism in mid-Victorian England, London, 1976, pp.292-293.
- (12) N.Kirk, p.221.
- (13) G.Crossick, An artisan elite in Victorian society, London, 1978, pp.174-198; ibid., 'Social structure and working class behaviour: Kentish London, 1840-1880', London Ph.D. thesis 1976.
- (14) Crossick, An artisan elite, p.196
- (15) ibid., p.181.
- (16) ibid., p.197.
- (17) R.Q.Gray, The labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, Oxford, 1976, pp.121-127.
- (18) F.J.Kaijage 'Labouring Barnsley 1816-1856: A social and economic history', Ph.D. thesis Warwick 1975, pp.259-60
- (19) C.O.Reid 'Middle class values and working class culture in nineteenth century sheffield', Ph.D. thesis Sheffield 1976, pp.514-538
- (20) John Foster, Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution, London, paperback edition 1977, p.216.
- (21) ibid., pp.216-17 and blurb.
- (22) A.Armstrong, Stability and change in an English county town - A social study of York 1801-51 Cambridge, 1974, p.65.
- (23) N.Kirk, pp.136-137.
- (24) J.Bellamy and J.Saville, eds. Dictionary of labour biography, London, vols.1-7, 1972-84. Some branches of the affiliated orders may have taken on the role of trade unions in their early days. Was the union known as the 'Manchester Order' that Northampton shoemakers joined in 1833 possibly the IOOF MU? M.J.Haynes, 'Class and class conflict in the early 19th century: Northampton shoemakers and the Grand National

- Consolidated Trades' Union', Literature and History, 4, 1977, p.84
- (25) D.J.V.Jones, The last rising: The Newport insurrection of 1839, Oxford, 1985, pp.30, 108 . The support did not seemingly come from the Oddfellows generally, well not in retrospect. In December 1839 Torfaen district of Oddfellows called on their branches to suspend or expel any members who had been on the march to Newport. *ibid.*, p.224.
- (26) E.Yeo, 'Culture and constraint in working-class movements 1830-1855' in E. and S.Yeo(eds.) Popular culture and class conflict 1590-1914, Sussex, 1981, p.159-160 ; At Staleybridge the Ancient Order of Foresters let its hall to Owenites, *ibid.*, p.160; Kaijage, pp.484, 489, 497; J.Epstein and D.Thompson, The Chartist experience, London, 1982, p.327 .
- (27) Northern Star, 21/11/40, 2/1, 4 +18/12/1841.
- (28) Margaret Fuller, West Country friendly societies, Reading, 1964.
- (29) G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside, 2 vols, London, 1981. The affiliated orders are given two sentences; G.E.Mingay, Rural life in Victorian England, London, 1979, p.108.
- (30) P.Horn, Labouring life in the Victorian countryside, Dublin, 1976, p.150
- (31) A.Howkins, Whitsun in 19th century Oxfordshire, Oxford, 1973, pp.19-20.
- (32) A.Howkins, 'The taming of Whitsun: the changing face of a nineteenth-century rural holiday', in E. and S.Yeo, eds., Popular culture and class conflict 1590-1914, Sussex, 1981, pp.194. Bob Bushaway also writes of the transformation of Whitsuntide celebrations and the passive support of the gentry of the club day. B.Bushaway, By Rite: Custom, ceremony and community in England 1700-1880, London, 1982, pp.260-264
- (33) J.Obelkevich, Religion and rural society: South Lindsey 1825-1875, Oxford, 1976, p.89
- (34) P.Johnson, 'Credit and thrift and the British working class, 1870-1939', in J.Winter, ed., The working class in modern British history, Cambridge, 1983; P.Johnson, Saving and spending: The working-class economy in Britain 1870-1939, Oxford, 1985.
- (35) B.B.Gilbert, The evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain, London, 1966; P.Thane, The foundations of the welfare state, London, 1982; B.B.Gilbert, 'The decay of nineteenth-century provident institutions and the coming of old age pensions in Great Britain', Economic History Review, 17, 1964-5, pp.551-563; S.Yeo, 'Working-class association, private capital, welfare and the state in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries' in N,Parry, M.Rustin and C.Satyamurti, ed., Social work, welfare and the state, London, 1979; P.Thane, 'Non-contributory versus insurance pensions 1878-1908' in P.Thane, ed., The origins of British social policy, London, 1978, pp.84-106; J.H.Treble, 'The attitudes of friendly societies towards the movement in Great Britain for state pensions 1878-1908', International review of social history, 15, 1970, pp.266-299; C.G.Hanson, 'Welfare before the welfare state', in R.M.Hartwell, ed., The long debate on poverty, Institute of Economic Affairs, 1972.
- (36) D.G.Green, Working class patients and the medical establishment - to be published by Temple Smith in 1985. *ibid.*, 'Doctors versus workers', supplement to Economic Affairs, vol.5 no.1, October-December 1984, pp.i-xii. Dr.Green is also the author of a work on Australian friendly societies Mutual aid or welfare state, London, 1985. see also R.G.Hopkinson, The origins of the National Health Service, London, 1967.
- (37) E.Hobsbawm, 'Friendly societies', The Amateur Historian, vol.3, 1957, pp.98-99
- (38) Some good local studies have been produced but they have used a limited range of sources and little or no original society records. e.g. Rex C.Russell, Friendly societies in the Caistor, Binbrook and Brigg

area in the nineteenth century, Nettleton, 1975; J.J.Turner, 'The growth and development of friendly societies in Cleveland and Teesside c1835-1914: A preliminary research note', Cleveland and Teesside Local History Bulletin, no.48, spring 1985, pp.22-36; and R.P.Hastings, Essays in North Riding History 1780-1850, Northallerton, 1981, pp.110-123

Chapter VII Self-help.

(39) J.F.C.Harrison, Learning and living 1790-1960, London, 1961, p.54

(40) S.Smiles, Self-help, London, 1859; Smiles defended himself from the criticism that he was promoting selfishness by stating that 'the duty of helping one's self in the highest sense involves the helping of one's neighbours'. He praised friendly societies and was very familiar with them having been the editor of the Magazine of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows. Gosden, Self-help, pp.1-2; J.F.C.Harrison, Learning and living, pp.53-54.

(41) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.245; E.J.Hobsbawm, 'Friendly societies', p.98; In the excellent catalogue of Scottish labour records the information on friendly societies is largely confined to listing printed and manuscript rule books. I.MacDougall, A catalogue of some labour records in Scotland, Scottish Labour History Society, Edinburgh, 1978, pp.1-42; The authors of the detailed studies of friendly societies in the West Country and Kentish London each only used one manuscript minute book of a local society or branch. Fuller, p.164; Crossick, pp.285-287.

(42) The Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin contains information on the accession of friendly society records in its annual list of archive deposits.

(43) J.Harber, 'Labour archives in the Calder Valley', History Workshop, 5, 1978, pp.147-154; see also 'Labour archives: a guide to their location and preservation', Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin, 36, 1978, pp.3-6.

(44) Perseverance in locating records is often required. On one occasion when I contacted the secretary of a local Forester's court I was told that all the pre-1950s records of the society had been destroyed some two years before when the court had moved its meeting place from one public house to another.

All the secretary had was a contributions book of the 1850s. However not long after that secretary died and I was surprised to learn that the new secretary had secretly saved from destruction many of the records, including proposition, contribution, minute and account books from 1839. More recently a large box containing staffs and other regalia of this court was discovered over an outbuilding of the public house.

Success does not always result. In late 1983 Barton on Humber Oddfellows Hall, built in 1864, was put up for sale, immediately I and others contacted the local secretary of the Oddfellows to ask about records and regalia. We received the reassurance that we would be contacted as soon as they began sorting out the contents of the hall. It was a shock however to learn by chance a few weeks later that the 'clearing out' operation had begun. Access was eventually gained to the lodge room and the remnant of the records, mainly early 20th century, and some regalia were put on deposit in the local museum. Earlier records considered too old and dirty to be of interest had previously been carted away either to a tip or for pulping!

(45) There are collections of regalia at The Castle Museum, York; Cliffe Castle Art Gallery and Museum, Keighley; Abbey House Museum, Kirkstall; Museum of Lincolnshire Life, Lincoln; Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester. St.Fagan's Museum, Cardiff has an extensive collection of Welsh friendly society regalia. The Museum of English Rural Life at Reading has a fine

collection of brass pole heads. see Margaret Fuller, West Country friendly societies; S.J.Brown, 'Friendly societies and their symbols and ritual', Group for Regional Studies in Museums Journal, 10, 1982, pp.7-11

The banners, staves and other regalia from Keyingham Foresters' Hall are now in Hull Museums and Middleton-on-the-Wolds Foresters' banner and staves are in the care of Welholme Galleries Museum at Grimsby. Items of regalia have also found their way into the archives offices at Lincoln and Beverley along with manuscript collections. Other East Riding material is on display at the Castle Museum, York and the Bayle Museum, Bridlington.

(46) Rudston Shepherds' banner was said to be in the village hall in 1984 and that of Staxton Friendly Society in Staxton village hall. There is also a Foresters' banner at the Foresters' convalescent home at Bridlington. An Oddfellows' banner is displayed in Nocton church, Lincolnshire.

(47) Two dispensation boards were purchased by author in an antique shop in Whitby in 1984.

(48) e.g. M.F.Ll.Prichard, 'Friendly societies in Norfolk 1700-1850', Notes and Queries, vol.201, pp.401-404; vol.206, pp.252-254; J.H.Priestly, 'Ripponden Female Society', Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1943, pp.1-13; H.J.M.Maltby, 'Early Bradford friendly societies', The Bradford Antiquary, new series, part 21, 1921, pp.17-28; L.M.Wulcko, Some early friendly societies in Buckinghamshire, 1951.

(49) HCRO Index to Quarter Sessions Order Books 1828-41 has note 'All the rules of friendly societies sent to Mr.Tidd Pratt the Registrar pursuant to the 17 and 18 Vict.c101 and at his request 1 May 1857'.

(50) The rules of 50 societies are to be found amongst the records of Kesteven Quarter Sessions while only 28 sets of rules amongst those of Nottinghamshire. Lincolnshire Archives Committee, Archivists' Report, 1, 1948-50, p.16; P.A.Kennedy, Guide to the Nottinghamshire County Records Office, Nottingham, 1960, p.3.

(51) R.L.M.James, 'The records of friendly societies', Archives, 6, 1964, pp.223-224

(52) Gosden made particular use of two large London collections in Goldsmith's Library, University of London and the British Library. Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.245-246. Rule books often turn up in second-hand bookshops.

(53) During the early part of 1980 visits were made to the national headquarters of the following affiliated orders: Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity (IOOF MU) at Manchester; the Ancient Order of Foresters (AOF) at Southampton; the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity (LOAS) at Stockport; the Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity (IOR) at Manchester; the Grand United Order of Oddfellows (GUOOF) at Manchester; the National United Order of Free Gardeners (NUOFG9 at Sandbach; the United Ancient Order of Druids (UAOD) at Bristol; and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity (IOOF KU) at Leeds. A limited examination was made of the printed and manuscript collections of the above orders but no full survey was attempted. It would appear from discussions with the secretaries of the orders that very little use has been made of the wealth of material available. Gosden used printed material at the AOF and IOOF MU headquarters, but otherwise these valuable sources have seemingly been ignored. Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.245,247. The listing of the historical collections of all the affiliated orders is long overdue and it is to be hoped that the orders will be encouraged to do this and also to deposit material in record offices.

- (54) Letter from L.Henry, secretary IOOF MU, Manchester, to D.Neave, 2/5/1980.
- (55) United Druids monthly magazine, 1 May 1935, p.83
- (56) ex. inf. Mrs E.Hodgson, Hull, Past Arch Druid.
- (57) Gosden, Friendly societies, between pp.132-133; List of Lodges 1845 in Manchester Central Library; 1850 in Grimsby Library.
- (58) A list of UAOD lodges in 1862 is incorporated in a copy of the Laws of the UAOD in HCRO DDML 12/10.
- (59) E.Crew, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Friendly Society A.U. Centenary Souvenir, Manchester, 1926, pp.74-77.
- (60) Bodleian Library has The Druids monthly magazine and literary journal vols.1-2, 1838-9.
- (61) e.g. Sheffield Library has no.2 of Tracts for Odd Fellows and Social Reformers May 1849 - a publication seemingly aimed at reforming and democratising the Nottingham Imperial Order of Oddfellows.
- (62) J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual Thrift, London, 1891, p.189
- (63) R.C.Russell, Friendly societies in the Caistor, Binbrook and Brigg area in the nineteenth century, WEA Nettleton Branch, 1975.
- (64) Driffield Times 27/6/1874 in report on Harpham Druids' feast.
- (65) e.g. The reference to Holme-on-Spalding Moor Female Benevolent Society in Holme Parish Magazine, 1908.
- (66) S.C.Carpenter, Church and People 1789-1889, London, 1933, p.372; Market Weighton with Shipton parish magazine, vol.8, 1866 in possession of D.Neave.
- (67) In the case of Bishop Burton the annual returns of the Oddfellows was reproduced in full. Parish Magazine Union, July 1897, pp.15-16.
- (68) Parish Magazine Union 1881-1912, Beverley Library and copies in private hands.
- (69) e.g. T.Bulmer, Directory of East Yorkshire, 1892, (reprint. 1984)
- (70) e.g. HCRO DDX/216 Robert Sharp's diary
- (71) HCRO QAP 9/2/17
- (72) HCRO PR/898 Notebook of Bainton rector 1833-34.
- (73) T.Hinderwell, The history and antiquities of Scarborough, Scarborough, 1798, pp.234-5

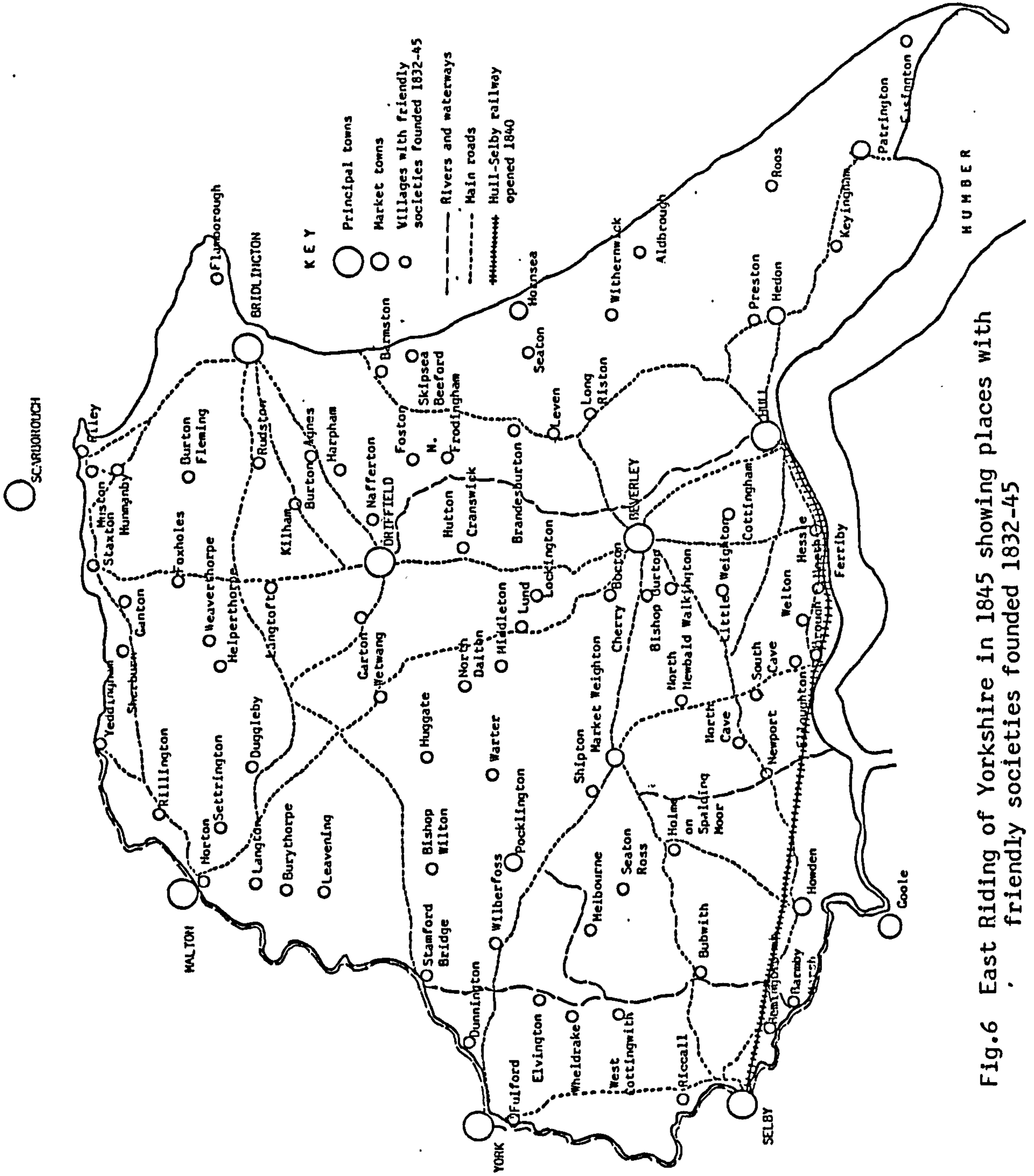


Fig.6 East Riding of Yorkshire in 1845 showing places with friendly societies founded 1832-45

Chapter 1

EAST RIDING: THE BACKGROUND

The East Riding provides an ideal unit for study. It is bounded for all but a few miles by water, the rivers Humber, Ouse and Derwent provide the southern, western and northern boundaries and the North Sea the eastern. Although each of the three main natural regions, Holderness, the Wolds and the Vale of York display individual characteristics the overwhelming agricultural nature of the county gives it a homogeneity not present in many other similarly extensive administrative areas. This uniformity in character was very evident in the nineteenth century. In 1812 H.E.Strickland commented:

Fortunately for this district [East Riding], it is as nearly as possible exempt from manufactories, and consequently from the vices, the corruption of manners, and poverty that are attendant upon them: it may indeed be looked upon as almost purely agricultural; perhaps there is not another in the kingdom of equal extent more completely of that description ...

The surface of this Riding is little calculated for manufactures of any kind, having neither coal, nor wood for charcoal within itself, nor any rapid streams for working machinery ...(1)

In 1840 the principal towns were Hull, Beverley, Bridlington, and Driffield. There were a number of small market towns all with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants: Howden, Pocklington, Market Weighton, Hornsea, Hedon and Patrington. Hull with a population rising from 22,161 in 1801 to 275,486 in 1911 dominated the surrounding area but it was, as a trading and fishing port, more concerned with the wider world than with its agricultural hinterland. Beverley the county town was also a minor industrial centre with tanning, shipbuilding and the manufacture of

agricultural machinery providing the bulk of employment. Driffield in the mid 19th century developed as a food processing centre and Bridlington as a resort. By the 1860s there could be added to these old established urban areas the growing resorts of Filey and Withernsea and the suburban settlements of Cottingham, near Hull, Norton, near Malton, and Fulford, near York. Towns in the North and West Ridings which influenced areas of the East Riding because they were marketing or administrative centres were York, Malton, Scarborough, Selby and Goole.(2) By the early 19th century a network of turnpike or other improved roads linked the main towns of the county but many areas were isolated by the river systems. There were few bridges across the rivers and until the opening of the first railway line in the East Riding, from Selby to Hull, in 1840 much of the commercial traffic within, and to and from, the county was by the various rivers and the navigable waterways opened between 1770 and 1820. A whole series of railway lines opened up the county in the mid-19th century; Hull, Beverley, Driffield, Bridlington, Filey and Scarborough were linked in 1846-7, York, via Malton to Scarborough in 1845, the York to Market Weighton line was opened in 1847, Selby to Market Weighton in 1848, Malton to Driffield 1853, Hull to Patrington and Withernsea in 1854, Hull to Hornsea in 1864 and Beverley to Market Weighton in 1865.(3)

By 1850 the Wolds was the leading farming area of the county. In the previous half century the land of the Wolds had been transformed from mainly permanent pasture to almost purely arable. Large farms ranging from 300-1,300 acres predominated and the farmsteads were often at a distance from the village. The standard of farming in the lowland regions of Holderness and the Vale of York was considered backward by contemporaries. In both areas the amount of arable had considerably increased by mid-century but generally older methods of husbandry

survived. This was especially so in the Vale of York and mid Holderness where there were many small family-run farms often of less than fifty acres. Southern Holderness was far more prosperous and progressive and here large arable farms from 200-800 acres in extent were to be found. The majority of the larger farmers were tenants of landed estates.(4)

The East Riding was dominated by large estates and in 1873 60 per cent of its 700,000 acres of farmland were in the hands of only 93 owners each holding over a 1,000 acres. Eleven of these landowners had over 10,000 acres each and between them owned 28 per cent of the land.(5) Some of the great owners were resident, such as Sir Tatton Sykes at Sledmere with 30,000 acres, Lord Wenlock at Escrick with 20,000 acres, and William Harrison-Broadley at Welton with 15,000 acres, but many were non-resident or made infrequent and short visits to their estates.(6) ^{It was} only in the estate villages with resident landowners and in the sparsely populated small closed townships of the Vale of York and Holderness that the influence of the gentry was really felt.

There were comparatively few resident gentry in the county and the leading figures in the countryside tended to be the clergy, large tenant farmers, and the doctors, solicitors and leading tradesmen of the market towns. The Anglican clergy often found themselves as the only representatives of the 'influential classes' resident in the villages. In 1865 in their returns to a questionnaire from the archbishop of York many clergy made this point. At Foston on the Wolds the rector remarked that there was a total absence of all persons of independent means and at Bempton there were said to be no wealthy people in the parish. Even at suburban Cottingham the vicar bemoaned the 'want of resident landowners', and at Easington there was 'the want of any resident landlord or large tenant to assist the clergyman'.(7) The government had long acknowledged the important position held by the clergy in such

areas; it was they who were approached to fill in forms concerning a wide range of matters from crops to the education of the poor.(8) Commissioners investigating the employment of women and children in agriculture in 1843 and 1867 usually sought out the views of the clergy rather than the farmers.(9) In 1828 forty-two per cent of the magistrates in the East Riding were clergy, and often it was these nineteen who were the most active.(10) Socially and financially the clergy covered a wide range from the incumbent of Laxton, who in the 1860s was obliged 'to measure land in harvest, etc., for the labourers and work with his hands' in order to enable him to live and keep his family, to the rector of Middleton-on-the-Wolds who had some 900 acres of glebe land awarded at enclosure.(11) Enclosure created the clerical landowner and incumbents such as the rector of Goodmanham, who received 733 acres in lieu of tithes and glebe, of Bainton with 581 acres and of Walkington with 530 acres became 'sustantial figures in the community, able at last to talk on equal terms with the leaders of local society'.(12) Such landholding enhanced the clergy's secular position in the community but often lessened his spiritual influence. A number of East Riding clergy could have echoed the words of an Oxfordshire clergyman who said of his parishioners: 'Reverence for my office they had none; consideration for me as a gentleman, and landlord, and occupant of a large glebe, they had'.(13)

By the mid-19th century, because of enhanced status, government and diocesan pressure, and a better provision of parsonage houses, the non-residency rife in the mid-18th century had largely disappeared.(14) Almost every parish in the East Riding, no matter the smallness of its population, had its resident incumbent, many of them imbued with the ideals of the Oxford Movement but nearly all were frustrated by the attitudes of their parishioners. One feels quite sorry for the clergymen

and their feelings of desolation and discontent when one reads the despairing comments they made in their returns to the various visitation questionnaires in the later 19th century. They were spiritually isolated in their churches by 'the apathy of the lower orders', the indifference of the landowners and farmers and above all by the prevalence of dissent.

At Foston the vicar stated that 'The whole of the people may be said to be dissenters or at any event not church in principle or practice'. At Shipton there were 'not above two or three real church families', and at Acklam the disconsolate curate claimed that 'almost every individual in the parish leans to, or supports, dissent ... out of a population of 800 I should think there were not 20 real churchmen'. Even the closed estate village of Burton Agnes was said to be almost entirely Wesleyan.(15) The rector of Catwick analysed the religious persuasion of his flock as follows:

Houses in parish 55. Inhabited by Churchmen 18, Wesleyans 13, Primitive Methodists 14. Uncertain 10 but with leanings more to sect than to Church ... Population of parish 270 - the greater part of whom - the labouring class - are as a rule Primitive Methodists. The class just above them such as the village shop keeper - blacksmith, or smaller tenant of land Wesleyans - and the upper class of farmers (and alas! the indifferent or such as have had a quarrel with one or other sect) churchmen.(16)

Even having control of the village school, as occurred in the case of 150(71%) of the 209 schools in the East Riding in 1870, gave the clergyman little influence.(17) The vicar of Market Weighton claimed that 'a little knowledge is a ranting thing' and suggested that an inquiry should be set up to examine the connection between Primitive Methodism and schooling for 'our schools do not breed Churchfolk but Ranters'. At Ellerker the incumbent remarked that although the children of the parish were educated at a church school half the population were

Primitive Methodists.(18)

The returns of the Census of Religious Worship of 1851 clearly demonstrate the strength of Methodism in the East Riding in the mid-19th century. Whether one uses as the indices the number of places of worship or total attendances on Sunday 30 March 1851 the Methodist body, almost solely Wesleyans and Primitives, emerges as the chief persuasion of the county and markedly different to Dorset, Leicestershire, and Northumberland three counties chosen for comparison.(19)

Table 1 : Religious census of 1851 comparison of four counties:

a. Percentage of places of worship

	Anglican %	Methodist %	Other Dissent %	Roman Catholic %
EAST RIDING	35	54	9	2
Dorset	54	26	19	1
Leicester	44	31	23	2
Northumberland	32	41	23	4

b. Percentage of total attendances

EAST RIDING	37	47	13	3
Dorset	62	18	19	1
Leicester	49	22	27	2
Northumberland	37	26	31	6

Source: Population of Great Britain 1851: Religious Worship (England and Wales) PP 1852-3

Within the county support for Methodism varied between the registration districts:

Table 2 : East Riding Religious Census 1851:

District	Percentage attendance by registration district			
	Anglican	Methodist	Other dissent	Roman Catholic
Pocklington	32	54	6	8
Howden	31	58	8	3
Driffield	31	61	8	0
Bridlington	35	58	7	0
Patrington	45	53	2	0
Skirlaugh	41	50	6	3
Beverley	48	42	8	1

Source: Population of Great Britain 1851: Religious Worship (England and Wales) PP 1852-3

Methodism was at its strongest in the areas on and bordering the Wolds and it was in this area also that Primitive Methodism had its greatest support.(20) The East Riding and Norfolk were the great strongholds of Primitive Methodism in 1851 but the East Riding also was one of the centres of strength of Wesleyan Methodism and there was no county in England showing so much support in 1851 for Methodism in general other than Cornwall.(21) Cornwall can be seen as the most nonconformist county in England it having the highest percentage of sittings in dissenting places of worship, and the East Riding was the fifth after Northumberland, Durham and the West Riding.(22) Primitive Methodism exploded into the county in 1819-20 moving out from Hull. William Clowes and John Oxtoby made an immediate impact on the towns and villages and it was in the East Riding that Primitive Methodism had its most notable success outside Staffordshire and Derbyshire where it originated. The decade 1831-41 saw the East Riding as one of the eleven counties where Primitive Methodism grew most as well as one of the nine counties where Wesleyan Methodism grew most.(23)

If the extent of Primitive Methodism was one of the particular characteristics of the Victorian East Riding another was the distinctive nature of its agricultural workforce. The agricultural workforce of the East Riding consisted of three main classes, agricultural labourers who were hired by the day or week and usually lived in cottage accommodation in the village, farm servants who were hired by the year and lived in on the farm and family labour provided by the farmers and their resident male relatives. In 1851 agricultural labourers formed 43 per cent of the total labour force, farm servants 33 per cent and family labour 24 per cent. Family labour was particularly important on the small farms of the Vale of York while farm servants and agricultural labourers predominated

on the large farms of the Wolds and parts of Holderness.(24)

What was distinctive about the East Riding's workforce was the extent of the continuance of the annual Martinmas hirings of the young unmarried male and female farm servants and their living-in on the farm. The custom of living-in was considered as a thing of the past in the southern counties by the 1820s-30s but a hundred years later it still continued in the East Riding.(25) Statistics compiled by Dunbabin from the census returns 1851-71 show the significance of living-in in the East Riding. In 1851 only two counties, Cumberland and Westmorland, had a higher proportion of 'indoor' to 'outdoor' farm servants than the East Riding.(26)

Table 3 : Ratio of 'Indoor' to 'Outdoor' Farm Servants
1851 1861 1871

ARABLE COUNTIES(a)			
Essex	1 : 30.0	1 : 78.7	1 : 440.0
Suffolk	1 : 15.1	1 : 43.2	1 : 194.5
Norfolk	1 : 19.9	1 : 35.4	1 : 103.3
Huntingdon	1 : 16.8	1 : 42.0	1 : 41.5
Bedford	1 : 29.9	1 : 61.3	1 : 39.8
Oxfordshire	1 : 16.0	1 : 22.3	1 : 37.6
Cambridgeshire	1 : 22.4	1 : 48.6	1 : 31.9
Hertfordshire	1 : 11.4	1 : 19.4	1 : 22.5
Berkshire	1 : 10.0	1 : 11.4	1 : 20.1
Lincolnshire	1 : 3.6	1 : 4.2	1 : 4.3
EAST RIDING	1 : 1.5	1 : 1.5	1 : 1.4
PASTORAL COUNTIES(b)			
Somerset	1 : 8.8	1 : 12.7	1 : 12.5
Cheshire	1 : 2.0	1 : 2.6	1 : 2.9
Lancashire	1 : 3.1	1 : 3.5	1 : 2.4
Derbyshire	1 : 2.3	1 : 2.5	1 : 1.8
Cumberland	1 : 1.4	1 : 1.3	1 : 0.9
Westmorland	1 : 1.2	1 : 1.2	1 : 0.7

Source: based on table and details on amount of arable in J.P.Dunbabin 'The Incidence and Organization of Agricultural Trades Unionism in the 1870s' Agricultural History Review, vol.xvi, 1968, pp.123-4

(a) Arable counties are those that were more than 40 per cent arable in 1873-4.

(b) Pastoral counties are those that were less than 20 per cent arable in 1873-4

Cumberland and Westmorland were pastoral counties with comparatively small farms and therefore comply with the criteria that is commonly cited for the survival of living in, but the East Riding as an arable county with large farms does not.(27) Anne Kussmaul in her recent study of farm servants emphasises more than once that it is the small pastoral farmers rather than the new progressive arable farmers with large enclosed holdings that retain their farm servants in the 19th century:

Where farms remained small and wastes unenclosed, farmers retained their need for servants, and servants their hope for adult independence from constant wage-labour in agriculture.

The range of occupations better suited to the short contracts of labourers was greater on a large improved arable farm; large numbers of workers could not easily be lodged in the farmhouse and stable; the rising cost of the provisions fed to hearty young ploughmen and dairymaids was a growing burden on the household's accounts.(28)

It is likely that the combination of rural crafts, pastoral farming, small farms, and dispersed settlement that characterized the 'horn and thorn' north and west made servants in husbandry especially necessary. Where farms were isolated, tied labour was essential because independent labourers were not within easy call of farmers.(29)

Dunbabin writes of farm servants being 'of course, less necessary to arable than to pastoral farming' and Snell of farm service being 'clearly congruent with smaller farm pastoral regions'.(30) Why did living-in survive in the East Riding? A number of reasons can be given which are not always inconsistent with Kussmaul's points above: firstly the isolation of many Wolds farms and the lack of cottage accommodation outside the villages; secondly the large farms required many horses and they needed attention first thing in the morning and last thing at night; thirdly a comparatively tight labour market; and lastly, and probably most important, because both servant and farmer wanted it to continue.(31) The custom whereby the great majority of the farm servants

changed their workplace each year was seen by the servants to be to their advantage. There could be the chance of a better place for the next year and almost certainly the opportunity to get an increased wage at the hirings. Evidence from farms in Lincolnshire, Berkshire and the East Riding shows that between 68 per cent and 85 per cent of servants left after one year.(32)

The annual moves made for a highly mobile society and there were frequent criticisms on the part of clergy and others of both the evils of hirings day and of a system that prevented the development of a commitment between farm servant and farmer and between the farm servant and the institutions of the village.(33) The Rev. John Eddowes, vicar of Garton-on-the Wolds, in 1854, in his pamphlet Martinmas Musings highlighted this 'problem':

Perhaps the principal cause of servants being so heedless, and masters so indifferent, is the too prevalent practice by which a servant changes his master almost as regularly as Martinmas comes round. Although he may have no complaint against his employer, and he himself be well suited to the place, he regards it almost in the light of a duty that he should attend the hirings and seek an engagement elsewhere. Thus it comes to pass that there is no bond of cordial union between the master and the servant in his house. Seldom do either really feel that their interests are identical. The servant is not concerned much about his master's losses or gains, and the master cares but little about the improvement - mental, social, or religious - of those who serve him. Both feel that they are connected but for a twelvemonth, and the nearer the hiring-day approaches, the more rapidly decreases the trifling care which they once had one for the other.(34)

The common portrayal of the hirings-fair as a riotous festive event loses sight of its significance as an occasion of collective bargaining on the part of the farm servant. Newspaper reports however do indicate this to some extent:

[Drifffield hirings 1859]

The day was remarkably fine and there was a larger attendance than we have seen of several years. The Market Place was completely wedged up with rosy lasses and strapping young men. Much business was said to have been done in the hiring of under servants, both male and female, but amongst upper servants fewer engagements were effected, in consequence of their standing out for an advance of wages.(35)

[Drifffield hirings 1860]

...the attendance more numerous than for several years. Servants stood out for an advance of wages, and both males and females are said to have obtained it. In consequence of the late harvest, and the backwardness of field labour, farm servants were in great demand and many were hired. (36)

[Howden hirings 1862]

... attended by a very large number of people. Farm servants hired readily at good wages - youths from £9 to £12, second men, £14 to £16, foreman or first hands, £20 to £25; some experienced men obtained still larger wages.(37)

The hirings allowed a man to choose his master as much as a master to choose his servant. A common story, probably originating in the later 19th century, which is still recounted in the county concerns a plough-lad at the hirings who had been approached by a farmer and with whom terms were agreed.

'Now, my lad,' said the farmer, 'just one thing - have you a reference?' 'Why, no,' said the lad, '...but I can get one, I suppose.' 'All right, then,' said the farmer, 'I'll meet you back here at twelve sharp. If your reference is all right I'll give you the fest.' They split up and at twelve the lad was waiting as the farmer came up. 'Now, have you got your reference?' 'No, but I've got yours and I'm not coming!' (38)

When there was scarcity of labour and abundance of work the farm servant had the upper hand at the hirings and after. In the 1890s farmers increasingly complained of the insubordination of their workers.(39)

Dunbabin has shown, as contemporaries suggested, that in those areas where the hirings and living-in persisted there was little support for

agricultural worker trade unions.(40) The farm servants felt they had no need for unions as they bargained themselves for increased wages each year, often with success. It was difficult to unionise the workers on the large isolated farms. The farm labourers of the East Riding were also reluctant to combine and this can be partly attributed to the fact that they were paid considerably more than their counterparts in the south and that they could obtain more regular employment. In 1848 Legard considered that the East Riding labourers were amongst the best-paid in England and although this position was gradually eroded they remained amongst the better paid up to the First World War.(41)

The weakness of the support for agricultural trade unions in the East Riding in the 1870s echoed the lack of any overt discontent in the county during the Captain Swing movement of 1830-32.(42) But this passivity on the part of the East Riding farm worker and seeming lack of radicalism was not a sign of deference and dependence. The East Riding farm worker was no more a deferential traditionalist than the farm servant of North-East Scotland whom Ian Carter has championed in his assault on the Newby thesis of the 'deferential worker'.(43) The great bulk of the agricultural workforce of the East Riding at one time experienced the life of a hired servant and their attitudes to the farmers gained in this situation no doubt lasted all their life, and their attitude and behaviour was not deferential. (44)

The two distinctive elements of East Riding rural society in the nineteenth century were the overwhelming support for Methodism and the continuance and growth of the tradition that the young men would spend the first ten years of their working life as hired farm servants. Neither of these two elements contributed to producing a dependent, submissive, cap touching proletariat. In Methodism, particularly Primitive Methodism, the labourers and rural artisans demonstrated their

independence from the control of clergy and landowner and in the hirings and mutualism of living-in were learnt the benefits of collective action. This independence and collective action were combined in the village branches of the affiliated order friendly societies to produce what was the only strong rural working class organisation in the Victorian countryside.

- (1) H.E.Strickland, A general view of the agriculture of the East Riding, York, 1812, p.254
- (2) K.J.Allison, The East Riding of Yorkshire landscape, London, 1976, pp.221-253; ibid., The Victoria History of the County of York, East Riding vol.1, Kingston upon Hull, London, 1969, p.215.
- (3) K.A.MacMahon, Roads and Turnpike Trusts in Eastern Yorkshire, York, 1964; ibid., The beginnings of the East Yorkshire railways, York, revised edition 1974; B.F.Duckham, The inland waterways of East Yorkshire 1700-1900, York, 1972.
- (4) M.G.Adams, 'Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880', Ph.D.thesis, Hull, 1977; A.Harris, The rural landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850, London, 1961, pp.97-123.
- (5) B.English, 'Patterns of estate management in East Yorkshire c1840-c1880', Agricultural History Review, vol.32, 1984, p.29
- (6) e.g. Lord Londesborough with 33,000 acres was resident only for a few weeks at the most each year. D.Neave, Londesborough: History of an East Yorkshire estate village, Londesborough, 1977, pp.21-28; Lord Leconfield of Petworth with 13,000 acres had no large house in the county. J.T.Ward, East Yorkshire landed estates in the nineteenth century, East Yorkshire Local History series 23, York, 1967, pp.29-30, 72.
- (7) Borthwick V/Ret. 1865 Foston on the Wolds, Bempton, Cottingham and Easington.
- (8) In 1801 the vicar of South Cave groaned under the burden of such work claiming that it was 'that curse which the Prophet Isaiah speaks of, adding form to form till there is no room', PRO Crop returns, 1801, East Riding, South Cave. PRO 40/67/26/375
- (9) Report from the Poor Law Commissioners on the employment of women and children in agriculture, PP 1843 XII; Report on employment of children, young persons and women in agriculture, PP 1867-8 XVII
- (10) At the same date 33% of North Riding magistrates were clergy and 20% in West Riding. Yorkshire memorandum book, York, 1828; nationally in 1831 the figure was 22%. E.J.Evans, 'Some reasons for the growth of English rural anti-clericalism c1750-c1830', Past and Present, 66, 1975, pp.101, 104.
- (11) Borthwick V/Ret.1865 Laxton; HCRO Deeds registry CI/47/3 Middleton enclosure award 1805
- (12) ibid., AT/334/34 Bainton award 1775, BB/40/9 Goodmanham award 1777, BT/57/1 Walkington award 1795; E.J.Evans 'Some reasons for the growth of English rural anti-clericalism c1750-c1830' Past and Present, 66, 1975, p.98
- (13) D.McClatchey, Oxfordshire clergy 1777-1869, Oxford, 1960, p.98
- (14) In 1764 127 of the 185 incumbents in the East Riding were non-resident. Borthwick Bp.V.1764/Ret. Archbishop Drummond's visitation returns 1764; At North Dalton in 1867 the vicar claimed to be the first

- resident incumbent since the Reformation. Report of the commission on the employment of children, young persons and women, 1867-8, p.379
- (15) Borthwick V/Ret.1865 Foston, Shipton, Acklam, and Burton Agnes.
- (16) *ibid.*, Catwick. Similar classifications occur in other returns, at Brandesburton it was the 'opulent and educated' who attended church, and at Hutton Cranswick the people 'of some standing and education'. The 'labouring poor' were either active Methodists or attended no place of worship 'preferring a day's idleness to a day's spiritual improvement' or, as a more understanding incumbent in an estate village commented they liked 'to show that they are their own master on Sunday'. *ibid.* Brandesburton, Hutton Cranswick, Newbald, Atwick and Escrick; the Anglican farmers at Catwick were not typical, many farmers were nonconformists. At Londesborough three of the principal farmers were Independents and at Atwick seven of the eleven farmers were dissenters. Others were said to be indifferent to religion and to the spiritual and moral condition of their servants and children. Farmers were criticised for neglecting to use 'the influence which their position gave them'. The clergy did not identify themselves with the farmers whom they felt were in need of a higher and sounder education than they were receiving. In some cases the farms were in the hands of 'ignorant hinds'. *ibid.*, Londesborough, Atwick, Burnby, Cherry Burton, Dunnington, Easington, Market Weighton and Burton Agnes.
- (17) T.W.Bamford, The evolution of rural education 1850-1914, University of Hull Institute of Education Research Monographs no.1, 1965, p.59
- (18) V/Ret UKS Shipton and Ellerker.
- (19) Population of Great Britain 1851, Religious Worship(England and Wales), PP. 1852-53.
- (20) see H.Woodcock, Piety amongst the peasantry, London, 1889.
- (21) J.D.Gay, The geography of religion in England, London, 1971, pp.271, 305, 309.
- (22) A.Everitt, The pattern of rural dissent: the nineteenth century, Leicester, 1972, p.61
- (23) R.Currie, 'A micro-theory of Methodist growth', Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, vol.36, October 1967, p.71
- (24) J.A.Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's agricultural labour force in the mid-nineteenth century', Agricultural History Review, vol.ix, 1961, pp.43-54.
- (25) K.D.M.Snell, Annals of the labouring poor: social change and agrarian England 1660-1900, Cambridge, 1985, pp.69-71; E.Hobsbawm and G.Rude, Captain Swing, Harmondsworth, 1973, p.23
- (26) see also table in Snell, pp.96-97
- (27) The East Riding was 42% arable in 1873-74. J.P.Dunbabin, 'The Incidence and Organization of Agricultural Trades Unionism in the 1870s' Agricultural History Review vol.xvi, 1968, p.124
- (28) Kussmaul, pp.120-121
- (29) *ibid.*, p.23
- (30) Dunbabin, p.124; Snell, p.95.
- (31) S.Caunce, 'East Riding hiring fairs', Oral History, vol.3, no.2, autumn 1975, pp.49-50 ; The subject was discussed at meetings of the Holderness Agricultural Society in 1814, one farmer thought menial servants were less expensive to the farmer than labourer another that 'menials are more at command and are a certain resort on all occasions and at all times when wanted'. Extracts from the minutes of the Holderness Agricultural Society, Hull, 1883, pp.76,79.
- (32) Kussmaul, pp.51-52; HCRO Burn Butts Farm, Watton - hirings book. The chief reasons for this annual move are given by Kussmaul pp.55-56 'Why did servants move so often? The simple answer to this is 'why not?' Nothing inhibited mobility. The hope that any change would be a change

for the better might have motivated many moves ... frequent mobility ensured that the master was a stranger. Servants might have hoped that their bargaining position would be stronger with a master ignorant of the last wage they had received. Servants were, moreover, members of a hierarchial order; in it, to move up was to move to a more responsible position, or to a larger and better-run farm ... Servants gained a legal settlement in a parish by serving there for a year, but lost that settlement if they served a subsequent year somewhere else. Encouraging servants to move on to new masters may have seemed to farming ratepayers to be a way of reducing new settlements in their parish.'

(33) F.O.Morris, The present system of hiring farm servants in the East Riding of Yorkshire with suggestions for its improvement, Driffield, 1854; J.Eddowes, The agricultural labourer as he really is; or, village morals in 1854, Driffield, 1854; ibid., Martinmas musings; or, thoughts about the hiring-day, Driffield, 1854; W.Barugh, Master and man, Driffield, 1854; J.Skinner, Facts and opinions concerning Statute Hirings, London, 1861.

(34) J.Eddowes, Martinmas Musings, pp.7-8

(35) Hull Advertiser, 19/11/1859

(36) ibid., 17/11/1860

(37) ibid., 22/11/1862

(38) Caunce, p.50; The author obtained the same story, with the word 'character' used rather than reference, from C.Butler, Londesborough, 1977.

(39) W.Barugh, pp.19-20; 'Report by Mr.Edward Wilkinson upon the Poor Law Union of Driffield', Royal Commission on Labour: The Agricultural Labourer, 1892, p.62.

(40) Dunbabin, pp.120-124

(41) G.Legard, 'Farming in the East Riding of Yorkshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, 9, 1848, p.125; In England only the agricultural labourers in Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, West and North Ridings, and Cumberland and Durham were usually paid more than the East Riding labourer. Figures for all counties in 1867-70, 1898, and 1907 are given in E.H.Hunt, Regional wage variations in Britain 1850-1914, Oxford, 1973, pp.61-64. The wages of agricultural workers are discussed more fully below pp.165-7

(42) Dunbabin, p.124 footnote 2; Hobsbawm and Rude, Appendix 1.; A.Charlesworth, ed., An atlas or rural protest in Britain 1548-1900, London, 1983; see below pp.131-132

(43) I.Carter, 'Agricultural workers in the class structure: a critical note', Sociological Review, 22, 1974, pp.271-9; H.Newby, The deferential worker, Harmondsworth, 1977.

(44) Men were hired until they got married in their mid-twenties then they often became day or weekly labourers and even when work was hard to come by they would not return to work with horses. 'There is not one man in 50 who will do anything with horses after he is married, not least to look after them in the stables'. 'Report by Mr.Edward Wilkinson upon the Poor Law Union of Driffield' 1892 , p.54.

Chapter 2

THE AFFILIATED ORDERS

A friendly society may be defined as an organisation which had a common fund into which members regularly subscribed small sums in order to receive monetary relief when sick and a fixed sum on the death of the member to pay for a decent funeral.

Although certain medieval guilds could be considered to conform to this definition the modern friendly society only emerged slowly from the late seventeenth century. In 1697 Defoe wrote that 'Friendly Societies are very extensive' but his meaning of the term was wide and details are known of few societies existing before the mid-18th century.(1) After 1760 the numbers founded rapidly increased particularly in the period 1780-1810.(2) Hundreds of friendly societies were established in the early 1790s and the Friendly Society Act of 1793 which gave some legal protection and various rights to friendly societies who registered with the Clerk of the Peace provided an important impetus for the formation of others. Nationally membership increased steadily and estimates give 648,000 members in 1801, 704,350 in 1803, 821,319 in 1813 and 925,429 in 1815.(3) Membership in 1815 was confined to what have come to be called 'local societies' - that is independent village and town benefit clubs. But after 1815 the pattern changed as increasingly friendly society membership meant belonging to a branch of one of the 'affiliated order' friendly societies - the Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids, Shepherds, Rechabites or Gardeners.(4) The orders were affiliations of individual friendly societies who accepted the same basic rules and a central authority. They emerged in the period 1810-35 either from the adoption of a benefit system by older established convivial orders or by

the creation of new orders which had mutual aid rather than conviviality as their main object. The affiliated orders chiefly originated in the industrial areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire and expanded rapidly to the rest of the country from the late 1830s. In the north of England they quickly superseded the local societies. In addition to being branches of a national body the affiliated societies differed from the local clubs by their elaborate ritual and regalia and their insistence on members not divulging the 'secrets' of the orders.(5)

It was their secrecy, ritual and regalia that both made the affiliated orders so attractive to the working class and provoked such severe and prolonged public criticism and distrust from the 'respectable' classes. In 1848 George Legard, in his prize report on the farming of the East Riding, commented:

Throughout this Riding there exist numerous benefit societies, bearing the title of Societies of Odd Fellows, Shepherds, Druids, Foresters, &c...it is to be regretted that, inasmuch as these societies have secret symbols, their affairs are not always conducted with such publicity as might make them most generally advantageous, that the contributions of the poor are often wasted in needless display, and that their number interferes with the establishment of such a benefit-club for the Riding as, by securing the patronage of the landowners, might give the labouring classes the advantages of their co-operation.'(6)

The much criticised 'secret symbols' and 'needless display' of the affiliated orders bore great similarity, however, to the ritual and regalia of the Freemasons to which body many members of the leading landowning families belonged.(7) The organisation of lodges under a central authority, the hierarchy of officers, secrets, signs and passwords and symbolic rituals were elements common both to the Freemasons and the early orders. The relationship between Freemasonry and the emergence of the affiliated orders is obscure and much that has

been written is based on incidental references rather than sustained academic research. Freemasonry in its modern form began in England in the seventeenth century when non-craftsmen joined old established lodges of 'operative' masons. The organization of lodges of working masons developed in England and Scotland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in order to meet the needs of a craft whose members were often itinerant. This necessary mobility meant that the control of the craft along the lines of the localised urban guilds was impossible and the lodge structure enabled both the establishment of an internal discipline and provision for mutual aid which was countrywide. In order to prevent fraud a system of secret signs evolved for the mutual recognition of members. By the mid-17th century gentry and professional men attracted by the fellowship, craft mystery and ritual of the masons were joining lodges and by the end of the century many lodges had ceased either to have operative functions or operative members. Roberts claims that the change from 'operative' to 'speculative' masonry can be regarded as being consummated by 1717 when the first Grand Lodge of Freemasons was founded by a few London lodges. In 1735 the Grand Lodge claimed authority over lodges throughout the country.(7) This imposition of an autocratic central authority led naturally to much dissatisfaction and dissension amongst lodges and the beginnings of imitative orders such as the Oddfellows and Druids have been traced to members of some of the forty-five freemasons' lodges which were expelled by the Grand Lodge of England before 1750.(8) Oddfellows are said to have taken their name because their members did not belong to one trade but to many and the Druids from the ancient Druids who were considered to be forerunners of the Freemasons with many practices in common.(9)

There is no record of an order of Druids until 1781 but the Oddfellows do appear in the 1740s.(10) The first authentic reference to them

relates to the Aristarchus lodge in London in 1748, the minute book of which clearly demonstrates the close connection with freemasonry.(11) The fees payable to this early Oddfellows' lodge include sums for the initiation ceremony and a series of degrees including the Obligatory, Perfection and Royal Arch degrees all of which were common to freemasonry.(12)

It is possible that the Oddfellows and other early orders were founded not as rivals to the Freemasons but as complementary independent secondary organisations. In 1724 the Grand Lodge of England had prohibited any member from belonging to more than one London lodge and this is seen as having encouraged the growth of other orders.(13) Indeed the term 'independent' used in relation to the Manchester Unity Oddfellows may refer to its independence from the masonic order rather than from other Oddfellows.(14) The relationship between the two orders in Manchester in the early years of the nineteenth century seems to have been cordial as it also was at Sheffield. There in 1804 the Amicable lodge of Oddfellows decreed: 'that no regular member of this lodge shall belong to any other except the old Free Masons - if found so doing shall be struck from the list immediately'.(15) At Beverley, however, in 1809 the members of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons objected to the inclusion of the Oddfellows in a procession to celebrate the 50th year of the reign of George III.(16) Later in the century, however, some members of this Freemasons' lodge were also Oddfellows.(17)

There was also a direct link between the Foresters and the masons for the founder of the first two courts of the Royal Order of Foresters in 1790 and 1813 was a mason and a Past Master of the Masonic Lodge of Fidelity at Leeds. The first Foresters' court met in the same room at the Old Crown Inn, Kirkgate as the masonic lodge and several of the founder members were active Freemasons including Francis Maguire who

significantly wrote the ritual for the Royal Foresters.(18)

Gosden minimizes the debt of the Oddfellows and other affiliated orders to the freemasons for their ritual and regalia.(19) The Oddfellows who drew on the Freemasons most directly proclaimed the link in their magazine in 1829 where it was stated that 'The Order of Oddfellows was originally instituted on Masonic principles, the object of which is to cement more firmly the bonds of social feeling and sympathetic intercourse between man and man'.(20) Most of the passages in the early 'lecture' books issued by the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, and some of the other orders, are versions of, or direct copies, from the printed ceremonies and charges of the Freemasons.(21) Even where the wording differs, as in the case of the Rechabites and Foresters, the ritual was clearly derivative.(22)

In his account of ritual in social movements Hobsbawm identified four main elements, 'the importance of binding forms of initiation', the 'ceremonials of periodic meeting, which from time to time reaffirm the unity of the members: meetings, processions, joint acts of worship or the like', 'the practical rituals which permit the members to carry out their functions effectively, such as secret and formal recognition signs - the 'Mason Word', the Freemason's handclasp, passwords and so forth', and 'lastly, most important and most pervasive, is symbolism'.(23) All these four elements were present in the ritual of the affiliated orders and in each the influence of Freemasonry is very evident.

This was particularly so with the elaborate initiation ceremonies and the following extract from a description by an Oddfellow initiated in 1832 shows great similarities with illustrations of masonic initiations.

At the door of the lodge I was blindfolded by the outside guardian, who had a drawn sword, and, with mysterious knocks and whispering, after giving the pass-word, I was admitted into the Lodge room. All was intense silence, I felt a peculiar awe pass over

me; I was told to step over imaginary steps, and stoop under projecting beams, etc.

All at once I was startled by the howling of members, and the rattling of ponderous chains; the noise subsided, and I was asked what I most wanted. My conductor whispered to me 'Say light.' I did so, and my interrogator asked me if I should know the person who proposed me. I said 'Yes.' The bandage was rudely torn from my forehead and my conductor said 'Is that him?' thrusting me close to a painted transparency representing a skeleton, or as they called it, 'Old Mortality.' Two members dressed as priests stood beside the picture with drawn swords, who cautioned me to be very careful and discreet during my initiation ...' (24)

In the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds the blindfolded candidate was greeted on entering the lodge room by 'a rattling of thunder, clashing of swords, stamping of feet, upsetting of furniture and much more' and in the Ancient Order of Foresters the initiate was subjected to a trial by combat with cudgels. (25) The initiation ceremonies and other practical rituals of certain early trade unions owed much to the Oddfellows and so indirectly to the

Freemasons. (26)

The symbolism of the orders as displayed on their regalia and emblems was similarly derivative. The Oddfellows Magazine in 1829 published a lecture on the emblem of the order which clearly showed its indebtedness to Freemasonry. Explanations are given of the symbols which appear on the emblem of the Oddfellows such as the hour-glass, the lamb, bee-hive, terrestrial globes and the all-seeing eye all of which are important 'hieroglyphical emblems' of Freemasonry. (27) One or more of these symbols along with clasped hands occur on the arms or emblems of all the chief affiliated orders. (28) The annual feast day was the occasion when the emblems and some of the other regalia were publicly displayed. In 1838 the anniversary procession of the Oddfellows at Pocklington was headed by 'their brass band and large banner with many small ones - bearing the following emblematical devices - Emblem of Charity, the

Dove, the Owl, the Globe, the Hand and Heart, and the Eye'.(29) Most affiliated order branches went to considerable expense to acquire banners, staves, sashes and sometimes elaborate 'dresses' soon after their establishment.(30) The emblems gained wide circulation as they usually formed part of the design of the highly decorative membership certificates which proudly adorned a wall in many a member's home.(31)

In imitation of the masons the majority of the orders termed their branches lodges and the earliest Oddfellows' orders were initially ruled by Grand Lodges.(32) The dispensation, the authority to open branches in all the orders except the LOAS, and the titles of many of the officers were derived directly.(33)

The adoption of masonic ritual was part of the process of inventing a tradition by the affiliated orders in order to legitimize their organisation and provide it with an air of stability, security and unity.(34) The names of many of the orders and the mythical origins they often claimed were devised to stress their antiquity. At least eight of the early orders had 'ancient' in their title; the Oddfellows sought origins among the Romans and the Foresters traced their ancestry to Adam, the first Forester, or at least to Robin Hood.(35)

Although the form of the ritual and regalia adopted by the affiliated orders chiefly came from the Freemasons certain features can be seen as also having derived from existing rural tradition and custom. Feasting and processions were aspects of the village calendar that had survived from the pre-Reformation period and ritual actions and dressing up in fanciful costumes had lingered on in folk drama such as the plough plays.(36) What was new however was the formalization and extension of these activities and their inclusion in the exclusiveness of a secret society.

The secrecy and the use of passwords and signs by the Oddfellows were defended in 1838 by a lodge surgeon from Ripon in an essay in the order's magazine:

It has been no uncommon objection to our Order, that it is secret. It has frequently been urged, that where there is mystery, there must always be suspicion; and where secrecy is used and enjoined, there must be something to be concealed, which will not bear the light ... But the plain fact is, that without this secrecy the Order could not long exist; or, at all events, its utility would be, in a great degree, destroyed. How, for example, could the stranger ... be recognised as a subscribing member, if he differed in nothing from ordinary men? How could it be known to any given lodge - in Manchester, we will say - that a certain person, stating himself to be a member of a Ripon lodge, was not an impostor, if he could give no sign or evidence of his veracity beyond his bare assertion? And, in this case, either one or other of two things must daily occur. Either the Order must be cheated and imposed upon, or a destitute, and perhaps sick member, be denied the relief to which he is fairly entitled. This was and is often the case among common Benefit Societies, and I have been informed that many of these have failed, or been given up, from the impossibility of protecting themselves from imposition. Many other inconveniences, too numerous to dilate upon, would follow the abolition of secrecy. It is at once the bond of union and of strength. Without it we should soon become a disjointed, useless and unconnected number, without any profit to ourselves, or benefit to others. Subscriptions would not be paid up - meetings would be neglected - and soon we should lose one of the most useful and excellent (of the many) establishments with which our happy country abounds. After all, the mighty mystery consists in but a few pass-words, which are changed quarterly - some few and simple signs, which serve no other purpose than to make us known to each other; and, obvious and trifling as these precautions are, they are sufficient to work well in a community of a hundred thousand men, to unite them together in brotherly fellowship, and to preserve them alike against fraud from without, and treachery from within.'(37)

The orders all had rules to enforce secrecy and the usual penalty for revealing any of the ritual, or signs and passwords to a non-member was expulsion from the society.(38) The IOOF MU was particularly active in

punishing offenders and the Quarterly Reports have frequent entries recording the names of members who had been expelled for this offence. In April 1840 John Rudston, blacksmith, of the Vine Lodge, Hull District was expelled for disclosing the secrets of the Order and William Christopher the Noble Grand of the Providence Lodge, Bourne District was expelled for copying the lecture book.(39) The Oddfellows sent out quarterly the coded passwords, to be given outside and inside the lodge room to the tylers when seeking admission and the key was changed each year.(40) A separate password was issued for members seeking relief when travelling. Examples of the coded passwords and a key for 1847-48 are reproduced below. The slips of paper were pasted into the back of a lecture book of the Victory lodge, Elloughton, East Riding.(41)

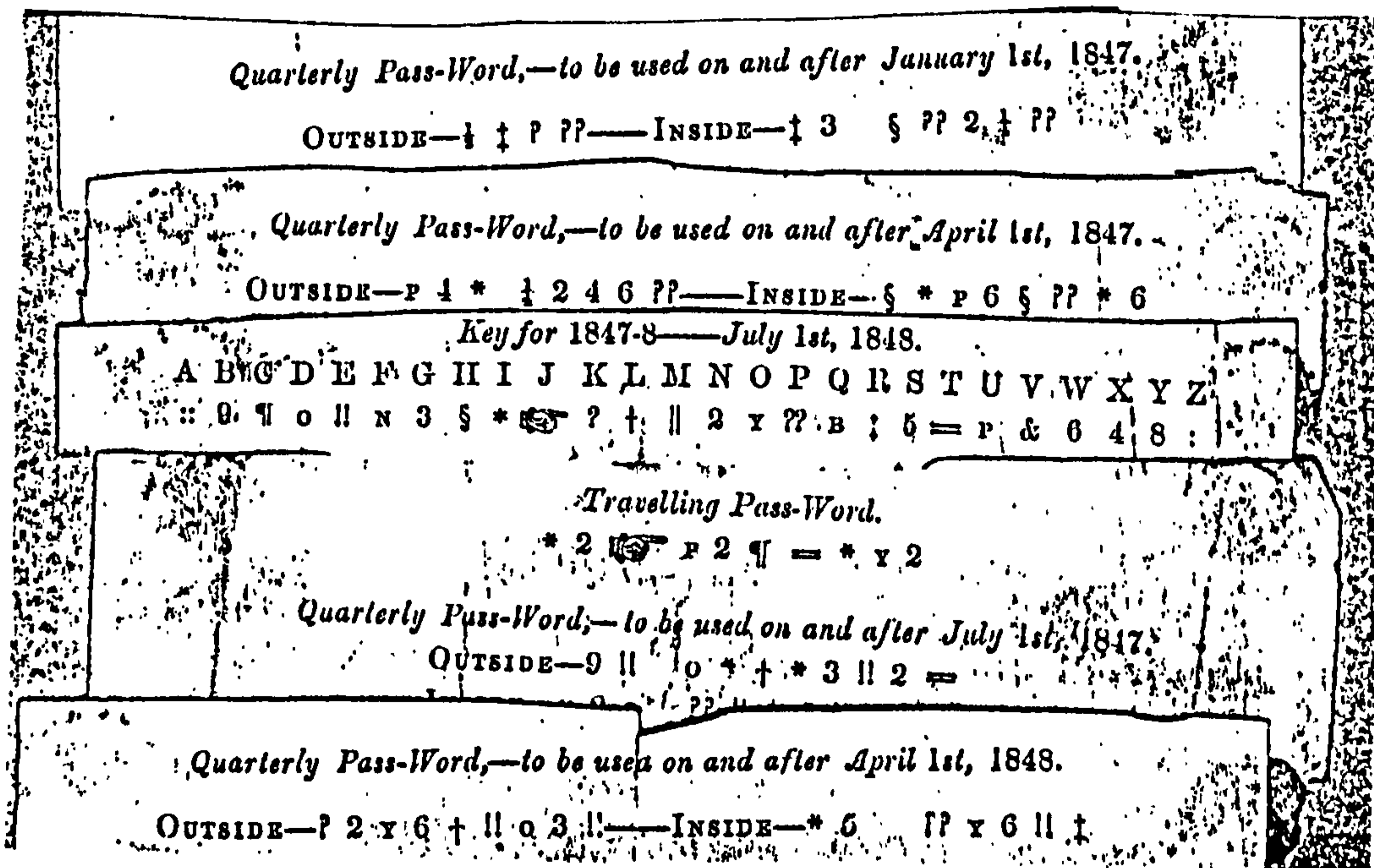


Fig.7 Coded passwords used by IOOF MU in 1847-8

Information on the continued use and appeal of ritual and regalia is limited but as Hobsbawm has pointed out it was in non-political organizations such as the friendly societies that elaborate ritual

developed and continued to flourish in England.(42) Secretiveness and formal ritual helped bind the members together where the economic and political struggles were not the uniting force. The performance of, and excessive punctiliousness to the ritual rarely became, as it seems with some Freemasons, the sole purpose of the affiliated orders, but in certain urban Oddfellows' lodges the semi-masonic ritual was accorded great importance.(43) There is little to suggest how much importance and significance was attached to the ritual by rural branches though the wearing of sashes, the use of passwords and of the lecture books for opening the branch meeting, initiations and the appointment of officers continued well into the twentieth century.(44) From the following section outlining the development of the main affiliated orders it is clear that it was their secretiveness and formalised ritual that was the great attraction they had over the local benefit clubs in the 1830s and 40s when they suddenly exploded into rural and urban working-class life.(45)

The origins of the affiliated orders

As this thesis is particularly concerned with the affiliated order friendly societies an attempt has been made in the rest of this chapter to provide a brief outline of the origins and early development of those orders which opened branches in the rural East Riding in the years 1830-1912. Notwithstanding the large number of order histories that were produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the early history of most of the orders is obscure.(46) This is especially true of the Oddfellows and Druids and the sections that follow on the various orders bearing these names are the least satisfactory being based often on conflicting accounts. The anonymously produced A short history of the chief affiliated friendly societies, Leeds, 1880, is the only

contemporary work which provides authoritative accounts of the origin of the main orders.(47) There is a great need for a modern handbook so that historians can be guided through the maze of orders, secessionist groups and the non-benefit orders such as the Buffaloes and Good Templars which are often mistakenly termed friendly societies.(48)

ODDFELLOWS

In the 1880s there were at least thirty separate orders of Oddfellows in England. The following table lists the twelve most important in terms of membership in December 1889:

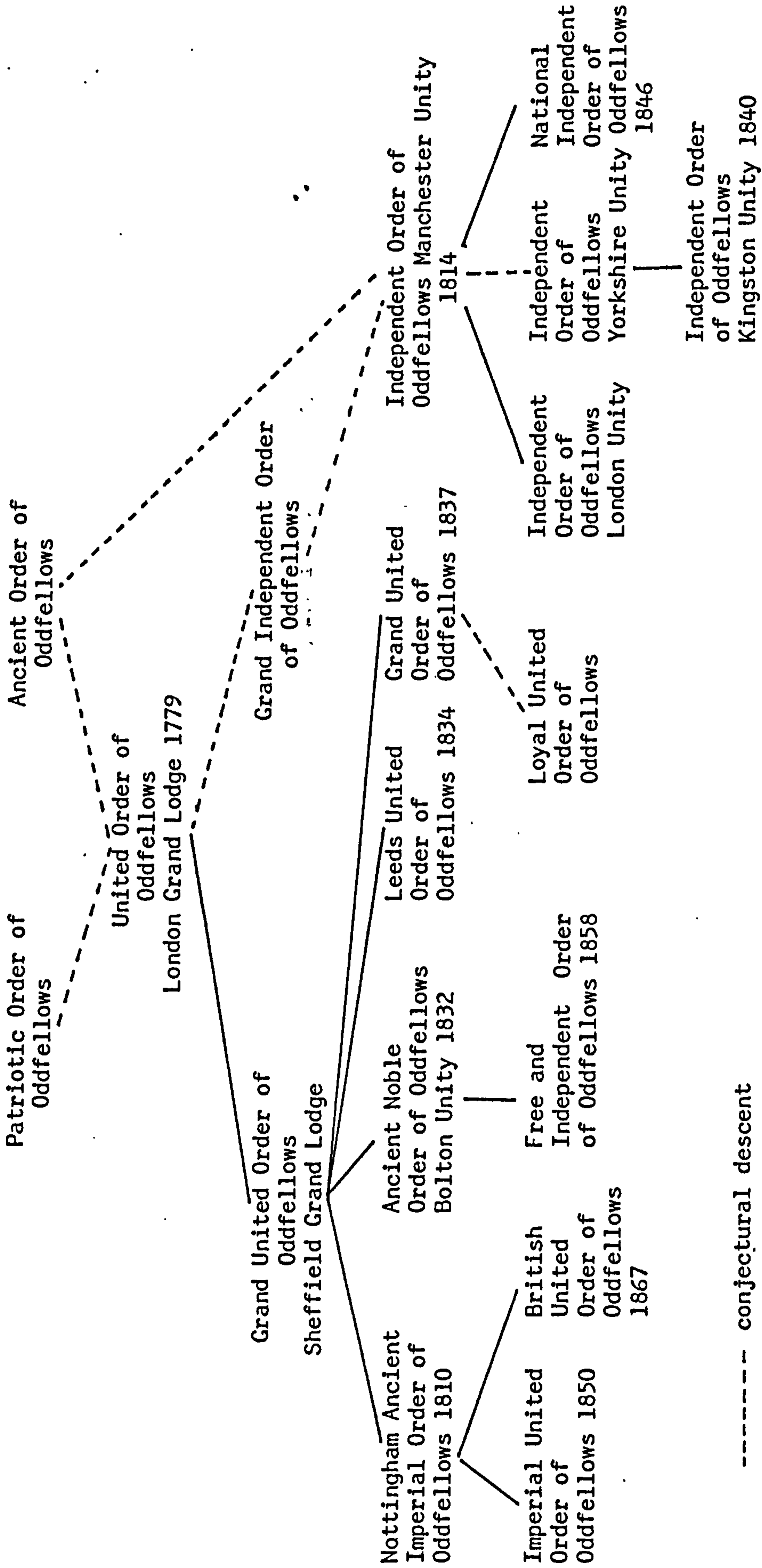
Table 4 : Membership of the main Oddfellows' orders 1889

Order	Members
Independent Order of Oddfellows, M.U.	651,890
Grand United Order of Oddfellows	171,092
National Independent Order of Oddfellows	53,984
Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order	41,831
Ancient Noble Order of United O., Bolton Unity	28,393
British United Order of Oddfellows	13,500
Independent Order of O., Kingston Unity	12,122
Improved Independent Order of O., London Unity	8,078
Independent Order of O., South London Unity	7,402
United Order of O., Norfolk and Norwich Unity	6,500
Derby Midland United Order of Oddfellows	5,500
Leeds United Order of Oddfellows	4,454 (49)

The other eighteen societies calling themselves orders of Oddfellows ranged from the Sheffield United Order of Oddfellows with 1,042 members to the Bromsgrove Provident Independent Order of Oddfellows with only 68 members. (50)

All Oddfellows' orders trace their origins, directly or indirectly, back to convivial societies existing in London in the mid-18th century.(51) The first authentic reference to an Oddfellows' society relates to the Aristarchus lodge of Oddfellows which was meeting at the Globe Tavern, Hatton Garden, London in 1748, and as it was lodge no.9 there clearly were a number of other lodges in existence at that time.(52) During the second half of the century some London Oddfellows' clubs had grouped themselves into two 'orders', the Ancient and the

Fig. 8 PEDIGREE OF THE MAIN ORDERS OF ODDFELLOWS



Sources: I.B.Stead, A short history of the chief affiliated friendly societies, 1880
 J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, 1891

Patriotic. These societies were both convivial and political; the former is said to have supported the Whig interest, the latter the Tory. In about 1779 the two orders were amalgamated to form the United Order of Oddfellows with authority vested in a Grand Lodge meeting initially at the Bohemia Tavern, Wych Street, London.(53) By 1796 there was also a Grand Independent Order of Oddfellows which may have broken away from the United Order.(54) Both orders had opened dependent lodges elsewhere in England by the end of the century. In 1798 when a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of the United Order of Oddfellows for the opening of the Amicable Lodge at Sheffield was issued there was already the Original lodge in existence there and by 1804 there were at least three lodges of this order in the town.(55) In 1804 however the Grand Lodge was dissolved 'on account of the Country Lodges not paying their Arrears being indebted to the grand lodge £29 15s', and the provincial branches became independent lodges which paved the way for the establishment of affiliated orders in the second decade of the century.(56)

The 1798 rules of the Sheffield Amicable lodge of Oddfellows show that although the society required a weekly subscription of threepence from each member and granted a £5 death benefit it was not strictly a friendly society for the members were told that they must not neglect their sick club contributions and then expect to be helped by the lodge.(57) Something of the nature of early Oddfellows clubs is apparent from the following extracts from the rules of Nelson's Independent Lodge of Odd Fellows, Hull which was founded in April 1806:

IV. Every Brother upon his immediate entrance into the Lodge Room shall give the first and second sign to the Noble-Grand, and attend the Secretary. For neglect of these duties he shall be fined three-pence each.

VI. When the Noble-Grand shall call to order, any Brother who may refuse to obey, shall for the first offence be fined Three-pence, for the second Six-pence and for the third shall immediately quit the Lodge for that night; send in a written apology

for his misconduct; and discharge the fines before he is admitted again.

XII. No Brother can be proposed for Noble Grand until he has served three months in some inferior office, namely Vice-Grand, Secretary or Right Hand Supporter to the Noble Grand, nor shall any one be proposed as Vice-Grand, till they have served for three months in one of the above offices, under the said Vice-Grand.

XIV. Any Brother who shall swear, use abusive language, slander another's character, read printed books, eat, or lay wagers in the lodge, while it is open, shall be fined Three-pence for every such offence, to be left to the discretion of the Noble-Grand.

XV. If any Brother shall enter the Lodge in an indecent dress, (so as to degrade the order) he shall be fined Three-pence.

XVI. Every Brother shall keep his seat during the singing of a Song; no orders shall be given for liquor, nor the candles snuffed for each of these offences, the fine is Three-pence.

XVII. Any Brother singing an indecent Song, or giving or drinking a political or indecent Toast, or sentiment, shall for every such offence forfeit Three-pence.

XVIII. Any Brother who shall betray the secrets of this lodge or any other which he may have belonged to, shall be expelled, and never more admitted. (58)

Nelson's Lodge was, as all Oddfellows' clubs appear to have been at this date, a drinking club with the trappings of Freemasonry - secret signs, strict rules relating to dress, language and topics for discussion, and elaborate regalia and ritual. Distressed brethren were relieved but there was no system of sick benefits from subscribed funds.

The exact date when the various Oddfellows' orders and lodges moved from being convivial societies to fully fledged friendly or benefit societies is unclear. The traditional dates of the formation of the early orders can be given, e.g. Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order of Oddfellows, 1810; Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, 1810-14; and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, London Unity, 1822, but it was some time later before they introduced a system of regular weekly or monthly lodge payments in return for sickness and death benefits. And it was not until they became more clearly benefit

societies that they really began to expand, in the case of IOOF MU this was in 1823 and 1835 for the Nottingham Order. The latter order had only 40 lodges in 1835 but by March 1879 1,001 had been opened .(59) The expansion of the IOOF MU the premier Oddfellows order was even more remarkable.

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity

The founding lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity was the Abercromby Lodge which was opened at Manchester 10 October 1810. This lodge apparently had London connections and may have been established by a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of the Grand Independent Order of Oddfellows. In 1813 the Abercromby lodge, the Victory lodge and others from the area held a meeting to establish a common funeral fund and assumed the title of the Independent Order of Oddfellows under the Manchester Compliance with the Abercromby as the Grand Lodge. The following year the Manchester lodges formed ' a general Committee for the purpose of affording each other mutual support, protection and advice and to consider the propriety of passing general laws for the better management of the Order and providing against future contentions and difficulties, caused by the general printed laws not embracing every particular point.' (60) At once the Manchester Committee began corresponding with Oddfellows lodges all over the country inviting co-operation. Dispensations were granted to established lodges willing to 'comply' with the committee and to new lodges. Twelve dispensations had been granted by the end of 1814, 25 by the end of 1816 and 55 by the end of 1819. When the first Annual Committee of the Order met at Whitsun 1822 about 100 dispensations had been issued. At this meeting it is assumed that the words 'Manchester Unity' were substituted for 'Manchester Compliance' in the title of the order.(61)

The first book of rules issued by the Manchester Unity carried the

statement that

The cultivation of friendship, the pleasure of good company, and the improvement of morals are the primary objects for the attainment of which a number of individuals of the first respectability have formed themselves into a fraternity of Loyal Independent Oddfellows.(62)

Thus it still saw itself as primarily a convivial society. However funeral gifts and other benevolent grants were an increasing feature of the lodges' work and the revised laws of 1823 required every member to contribute threepence per week to finance the benefits. Any member being one quarter in arrears was liable to suspension and was prohibited from attending his own or any other lodge.(63) From 1823 the Manchester Unity combined the roles of convivial, secret and friendly society and by 1834 it had 781 lodges and 47,638 members. (64) In 1842 the Order claimed to consist of upwards of 3,500 lodges and about 220,000 members.(65) Two years later when the Annual Committee made moves to control the finances of the lodges and to erode the independence they had had hitherto the Order suffered its first setback and the first boom period of the IOOF MU was over.(66) In 1845 16,000 members left the order and formed the National Independent Order of Oddfellows and it was not until after 1853 that the IOOF MU once again began to expand to become, what it claimed in the 1890s, 'the richest [friendly society] in the world'.(67)

Table 5: Total membership of the IOOF MU 1845-90

Year	No. of members	Year	No. of members
1845	248,526	1855	239,783
1846	255,979	1860	305,241
1847	N/A	1865	373,509
1848	249,261	1870	434,100
1849	234,878	1875	496,529
1850	224,090	1880	532,520
1851	229,040	1885	593,850
1852	225,194	1890	651,890

Source: C. Hardwick, The history, present position and social importance of friendly societies, 3rd edn., London, 1893, pp.24-25.

Grand United Order of Odd Fellows

In the later 19th century the second largest Oddfellows' order was the Grand United Order of Oddfellows which claimed to be of greater antiquity than the Manchester Unity. In 1810, six years after the dissolution of the London Grand Lodge of the United Order of Oddfellows, three former Sheffield lodges of the order met to discuss bringing themselves 'under the bond of Union'.(68) This seemingly resulted in the formation of the Sheffield Grand Lodge which steadily expanded in the industrial areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire and in 1833 the so-called Sheffield Unity issued a list of some 100 lodges under its authority.(69) The Sheffield Grand Lodge ruled the order in a rigidly authoritarian manner and as the number of lodges increased so did the dissatisfaction and matters came to a head at the Grand Lodge meeting at Sheffield in 1837 when the existing system was broken up. The order became the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows [GUOOF] and its headquarters moved to Leeds.(70) It would appear that it was from 1837 that the order became more clearly a benefit society.

The GUOOF expanded rapidly in the late 1830s-early 1840s and it had 31,023 members by 1845 and 37,000 by 1851.(71) In common with all the affiliated orders the GUOOF experienced periods of agitation and disaffection but its more democratic government seems to have prevented any major split. The delegates to the biennial meetings, and the district officers, were chosen by the direct vote of the members in the lodges. The lodges also had more freedom of action than branches of the IOOF MU and AOF and this may have been a major reason for GUOOF's increasing popularity from the 1870s.(72)

Membership of GUOOF

Year	Members
1864	62,206
1866	67,229
1870	71,107
1878	102,657
1889	171,092

(73)

Independent Order of Oddfellows - Kingston Unity

The IOOF, Kingston Unity, was established in Hull on the 11th May 1840 by the Olive Branch Lodge which had seceded from the IOOF, Yorkshire Unity.(74) Little is known about the Yorkshire Unity but it is presumed that it was a breakaway group from the Manchester Unity. The Yorkshire Unity existed in Hull by August 1839 when the Olive Branch Lodge had its anniversary. Later that year two independent Hull clubs, the Phoenix Benefit Society which had been founded by 1797 and the Unanimous Society founded in 1783, joined the Yorkshire Unity as the Loyal Phoenix and Loyal Unanimous Lodges. In the period 1839-41 there were at least 13 lodges in the Hull District of the Yorkshire Unity of which at least six had been old established local societies. There was also in the same Unity the 'Queen Anne' Lodge of Odd Females. The Yorkshire Unity got into difficulties because of recruiting too many financially unsound local societies. It seems that the Unity collapsed soon after the secession of Olive Branch Lodge to form the Kingston Unity.

Two other seceding Hull lodges, Prince Regent and Andrew Marvel, joined the new order and in January 1841 the first new lodge, the Brotherly Love, was opened.(75) Later that year the Order spread outside Hull and established the Brunswick Lodge in Beverley.(76) In 1843 the order consisted of 11 lodges eight of them in Hull. There then followed the opening of lodges and then districts in Grimsby, Leeds, Wainfleet, Middlesborough and South Shields.(77)

In 1879 when the order consisted of 148 lodges and 9820 members it was largely confined to the north east of England from Wainfleet and Boston in the south to Newcastle and Blyth in the north with Leeds district having the largest number of lodges, 29, and members, 2,412.(78)

ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS

Although traditionally the Ancient Order of Foresters traces its origins back to a gathering of Royal Foresters at Knaresborough on 29 October 1745 there is no trustworthy evidence to substantiate this.(79) The existence of Court No.1 of the Order of Royal Foresters meeting at the Old Crown Inn, Kirkgate, Leeds in 1790 seems to be the first authentic information on the Foresters. This Court had close links with the Masonic Lodge Fidelity, Leeds, which met in the same room and provided some of the founder members.(80) When in 1813 Bro. John Smithson, a Leeds flax dresser and a founder of Court No.1, returned to his native town of Knaresborough he was granted a dispensation to open Court No.2 there and from that date the Order of Royal Foresters began to expand. In 1814 two further courts were opened in Leeds and Ashton-under-Lyne. Sixty courts had been opened by 1828, 200 by 1830 and 408 by May 1834.(81) The 358 courts of the Royal Order existing in August 1834 were to be found in Yorkshire, 203 courts, Lancashire, 119, Cheshire, 28, Derbyshire, seven, and America, one.(82)

In 1815 Court No.1 which had renamed itself the Supreme Court of Antiquity assumed complete control over the order and as the order expanded moves to increase the court's power led to great unrest. At the annual meeting or 'anniversary' of the Order in May 1833, in the face of great pressure for it to be a movable event, the officers resolved that

'the anniversary of the Supreme Court be always held in Leeds'. The following year however the reformers managed to have this resolution rescinded and Manchester was fixed for the annual meeting in 1835. The Supreme officers retaliated and declared that:

the executive power for the government of the Ancient Order of Royal Foresters shall for ever remain with the Supreme Chief Ranger and other officers of the Supreme Court.

and that,

as the members of Court No.1, or Court of Antiquity, at Leeds planted with their own hands - within their own Court, as it was were - the sapling of Forestry, and watered it, and watched it with paternal care, until it has become a stately and goodly tree, the right of its guardianship remains with the members of that Court, and about its roots shall Foresters for ever hold their Swain Mote. Therefore, where the Court No.1, or Court of Antiquity, is held, there also must the Supreme Court be held; and as its members did from all antiquity grant dispensations for holding Courts, and gave laws for their guidance and government, that power, that supremacy is indisputably their right and their patrimony; therefore, none but the members of the Court of Antiquity, Leeds, can, or ought to be, Supreme officers.(83)

Not unnaturally this statement roused a storm of protest and the Manchester District called for representatives from all courts opposed to the 'arbitrary measures of the Supreme Officers' to meet at Rochdale on 4 August 1834. The 297 delegates to this convention formally established a new order to be known as the Ancient Order of Foresters.(84)

Within three months 294 courts of the Royal Order had received new dispensations and become courts of the Ancient Order, and six new courts had been opened.(85) By 23 February 1835 a further 48 courts of the Royal Order had altered their allegiance to that of the Ancient Order and 15 additional new courts had been opened making a total of 363 and a membership of 16,510. Four years later the 1001st court was opened and

the rapid expansion continued until 1847-49 when severe economic depression and internal disputes led to a decrease in lodges and membership.(86) Recruitment revived in 1850 and there was no further set back until the late 1880s by which time the Foresters' had overtaken the IOOF MU in membership but not in funds.(87)

Table 6: Total membership of the AOF 1844-1895

Year	No.of members	Year	No.of members
1844	65,909	1855	109,102
1845	76,990	1860	189,584
1846	83,493	1865	301,077
1847	84,472	1870	376,663
1848	80,490	1875	491,196
1849	80,089	1880	555,062
1850	84,348	1885	647,077
1851	89,875	1890	693,505
1852	94,323	1894	730,601
1853	100,556	1895	723,329
1854	105,753		

Source: T.B.Stead, Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society for 1896, Dundee, 1896, pp.621,624. The date of the returns is taken to be December each year.

DRUIDS

The various orders of Druids are traditionally considered to have originated with a convivial society established at the King's Arms Tavern, Poland Street, London on 21 November 1781. This society, the founding 'lodge' of the Ancient Order of Druids, was set up by Henry Hurle, carpenter and builder.(88) Though not a benefit society impoverished members were relieved. During the 1780s and 90s lodges of the order were opened in the West Country, East Anglia and Staffordshire and by the 1820s the order was spreading northwards. There are records of lodges being opened in Nottingham by 1826, Bamforth, Lancashire in 1828, Bradford and Leeds by 1830 and Halifax by 1831.(89) In the 1820s when there was a general move amongst the old convivial societies to become benefit societies splits began to appear in the Druids and new

orders were formed.

The Loyal Order of Druids established in Lancashire on 29 August 1829 was seemingly the first of the new benefit orders.(90) Little has been discovered about this order but it may be the same as the later recorded Loyal Order of Druids, Leigh Unity.(91) Leigh was an important early centre of Druidism. In 1829 the 'Fortitude Lodge of Old Druids' at Leigh was registered and several female 'Druid' lodges at Leigh were enrolled in 1835-36.(92) In 1839 during the Chartist agitation it was claimed that members of the Society of Druids at Leigh were being granted money for purchasing weapons.(93)

The most important of the new orders was the United Order of Ancient Druids which was formed on 26 December 1833 when representatives of 53 disaffected lodges of the Ancient Order of Druids met at the Crown Tavern, Clerkenwell Green. These lodges following the lead of the Nottingham Lodge had become dissatisfied with the arbitrary and autocratic rule of the London based Council of Direction. The new order adopted a system of annual delegate meetings and at that held at Birmingham in 1838 it was made obligatory upon all lodges to establish sick and funeral funds.(94) From 1839 Biennial Meetings were held and in the next 20 years the venues were Leeds, Derby, Bradford, Nottingham, Hull, Leicester, Halifax, Manchester, Burton-on-Trent, Huddersfield and Kidderminster which shows how the control and support of the order was clearly in the North and the Midlands.(95) The numbers attending the Kidderminster meeting were far fewer than at Huddersfield two years previously for on the 1 November 1858 a majority of the lodges and districts of the United Ancient Order of Druids seceded and formed the Order of Druids following differences on the subject of travelling benefit and the amalgamation of all Druids into one society.(96)

The Order of Druids drew its greatest support from Lancashire and

Yorkshire and in 1864 could boast 804 lodges and 41,609 members in England and Wales while the United Ancient Order of Druids after some recovery had only 221 lodges in 1861 and 17,828 members in 1867.(97) The numerical superiority of the secessionists continued in the 1870s:

	Order of Druids			United A.O.Druids		
	Members	Lodges		Members	Lodges	
Nov.1871	57,067		Mar.72	19,317		
Dec.1878	54,025	893		22,172	293	(98)

However in the later 19th century following the removal of its headquarters to Hull in 1875 the UAOD expanded greatly and in 1914 it had 179,966 members compared to the Order of Druids' 70,486 members.(99)

LOYAL ORDER OF ANCIENT SHEPHERDS

The origins, establishment and subsequent history of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds are more fully recorded than for most of the other affiliated orders. On Christmas Day 1826 twelve men met at the Friendship Inn, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne for the purpose of setting up a new benefit society. The landlord, Thomas Scholfield, was an Oddfellow and it had been the original intention of those meeting to form a lodge of the IOOF, MU. However their application to open a lodge had been refused on the grounds that there were already three IOOF MU lodges in Ashton and Dukinfield District and thus they resolved to form an independent society.(100) At the second meeting on 3 February 1827 the following resolutions were passed:

That this Society, having held its first meeting on Christmas Day for the purpose of proclaiming glad tidings to future generations, it is resolved that it shall henceforward be entitled 'The Society of Ancient Shepherds'.

That this Society hold its meetings at the house of Mr.Thomas Scholfield, the Friendship Inn,

Ashton-under-Lyne, and that, in the event of extending its usefulness beyond one Lodge, this shall be called the 'Loyal Abel, No.1'.(101)

The majority of the founders of the LOAS were recent migrants from the village of Mossley three miles from Ashton-under-Lyne and the society provided them with a continuing point of contact attracting to it many members of their native village.(102) A second lodge was opened, in October 1827, at Mossley and the development of the order had begun. Another lodge was opened at Lees,^{or Oldham} in 1827 and a further 22 in 1828. In 1829 a system of Districts was introduced and the first formed were at Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale and Ossett.(103) Ten years after the founding of the order it consisted of 13 districts and 176 lodges almost all in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire and by 1848 there were 524 lodges and 15,155 members. In that year the Wisbech district seceded and membership dropped by 1,384. A further decrease occurred in 1850 but from the following year the pattern was of a steady increase in membership particularly after 1870.(104)

Table:7:Total membership of the LOAS 1850-1905

Year	Members	Year	Members
1850	14,637	1880	61,246
1855	17,690	1885	66,941
1860	N/A	1890	88,883
1865	30,844	1895	107,525
1870	32,875	1900	118,338
1875	56,053	1905	125,921

Source:D.H.Hague, Historical Sketch of The Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds[LOAS Stockport c1967], pp.33-34

GARDENERS

Although a number of Orders of Gardeners existed in England in the nineteenth century only one, the National United Order of Free Gardeners (NUOFG), was of national importance. (105) The origin of the society is somewhat obscure but it is said to have been founded in the

neighbourhood of Oldham in about 1820. Early lodges were opened at Shaw, Milnrow, Blackburn, Preston and Oldham.(106) A Free Gardeners' Society at Great Harwood, nr.Blackburn was the first to be registered in 1824.(107) By 1833 the Order, then known as the Order of Ancient Free Gardeners, Lancashire Union, had spread to Huddersfield, Bradford, Halifax, Leeds and Barnsley in the West Riding.(108) Unspecified reforms took place in 1833 and they heralded a great period of expansion and by 1840 about 500 dispensations to open lodges had been issued. These included lodges at Malton, York, Harrogate, Stockton, and Middlesborough. (109)

At the annual meeting at Bolton in 1842 propositions were brought forward by certain Yorkshire lodges to have the initiatory ceremonies and lectures printed, and also to reduce the tramping allowance. These propositions were rejected after strong opposition from the Lancashire delegates. As a result the Leeds, York, Knaresborough, Harrogate, Sheffield, Birmingham and Hayfield districts seceded to form an order called The Order of Ancient Free Gardeners, Yorkshire Union.

The Lancashire Union which was renamed The United Order of Free Gardeners still retained many Yorkshire lodges and rapidly built up a dominant position.

Table 8: Membership and Lodges of National United Order of Free Gardeners

	Members	Lodges
1850	14977	
1851	15171	
1857	17125	330
1859	18328	327
1860	19522	350
1861	19010	346
1865	20559	373
1870	27782	527
1872	34961	
1875	40834	633
1880	37756	655
1885	45795	718
1890	52061	675

Sources: NUOFG Annual Returns 1851,1857-90

The Yorkshire Union or Unity which was renamed The Grand National Order of Free Gardeners in 1848 did not have such success. In 1857 it consisted of only 44 lodges and 2,236 members. Membership hovered around 2,100-2,300 during the next fourteen years and at the annual meeting in 1870 it was resolved to take measures to amalgamate with the United Order of Free Gardeners. This amalgamation took place in November 1871.(110) The United Order added the word National to its title when it registered under the Friendly Societies Act of 1875 as there was already a society registered as the United Order of Free Gardeners.(111)

TEMPERANCE ORDERS

The holding of friendly society meetings in public houses which had long been the subject of attacks by clergy and others was one of the obvious targets of the temperance movement when it appeared in Britain in 1829-30.(112) The rise of teetotalism after 1832 and its closer involvement with political and religious working-class radicalism encouraged moves to form temperance benefit societies.(113) A number were founded but only two were particularly successful, the Manchester based Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity, and the Order of Sons of Temperance which began in America.

Independent Order of Rechabites

In 1835 the Committee of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Society established the Salford Temperance Burial Society. This organisation, however, gained few members and following two items in the Preston Temperance Advocate in July and August 1835 which pointed to the greater attractiveness of 'a Teetotal Order something like the Oddfellows, free from every temptation to take intoxicating licquors' the burial society resolved on 25 August 1835 to establish a total abstinence benefit

society on fraternal lines to be called 'The Independent Order of Rechabites'. The branches were to be called tents and the burial society became No.1 Ebenezer Tent.(114)

Membership of the society rapidly increased and in November 1835 a second tent was opened in Salford and during 1836 a further 39 tents were opened chiefly in north west England. At the order's first annual meeting, known as the Movable Conference, held at Stockport on 26 December 1836 the order was divided into nine districts: Manchester and Salford, Stockport, Rochdale, Warrington, Liverpool, Isle of Man, Bolton, Potteries and Newcastle, and Keighley and Bradford. The following year a further 30 tents were opened and in its progress eastwards Perseverance Tent 48 was opened at Leeds, Providence Tent 69 at York and Good Samaritan Tent 70 at Hull.(115) The existence of a flourishing temperance or more often teetotal society was the chief requisite for the opening of a tent. Tents were rarely opened without there being a temperance organisation already in existence. Thus the Rechabites had advantages over other affiliated orders and the contemporary popularity of the temperance cause provided the basis for the orders' staggering development in its early years. Within ten years 1112 tents had been opened.(116)

In 1836, because of the pressure for opening the tents to women, there was established the United Order of Female Rechabites [UOFR] . The early female tents were all in Yorkshire and the third to be opened was at Hull. The expansion of the female order seems to have come to an abrupt halt in July 1843 by which time 369 tents had been opened. A speedy decline followed and the remnants of the order were united with the IOR in August 1856. (117)

The decline that hit the United Order of Female Rechabites was part of the catastrophic reversal in fortune that beset the Rechabites

generally after 1843. Late in 1843 the London District seceded and formed a new order but far more serious was the great loss in the following three years of tents and districts consequent upon them being given the power to enrol separately and the right to dissolve.(118) The drop in support for the temperance movement in the late 1840s and early 1850s also did not assist the Rechabites. Nationally membership dropped from the 26,000 returned for January 1843 to less than 6,000 in 1856.(119) Membership remained around 6,000 until 1863 when the order once again began to expand and it rapidly regained its position amongst the leading affiliated orders.

Table 9: Adult membership of the Independent Order of Rechabites 1850-1920

Year	Members	Year	Members
1850	9,060	1890	95,074
1860	6,115	1900	168,293
1870	15,402	1910	259,508
1880	34,641	1920	377,525

Source: R. Hight, Rechabite History, Manchester, 1936, p.501

Order of the Sons of Temperance

The Order of Sons of Temperance was the last of the major affiliated orders to be established and the only one that was not English in origin. This American Order forbade its members to 'make, buy, sell, or use, as a beverage, any spirituous or malt liquor, wine or cider' and prohibited them 'from manufacturing, purchasing, or selling all alcoholic or intoxicating liquors'.(120) Two brothers named Oliver founded the Order in New York on 29 September 1842. The primary purpose of the society was temperance work and the provision of benefits was virtually non-existent. In America the attraction of the Order was the combination of the ritual and regalia of the secret societies with

a) temperance propoganda.

The Order was introduced into England in 1849 by a certain Mr. Thomas who had been initiated in America. He opened the 'Mariners' Division' in Liverpool. The lodges of the Order are called Sub[ordinate] Divisions, the districts Grand Divisions and the annual meetings National Divisions. The Order spread from Liverpool to Hulme, Manchester, Salford, Oldham, Compstal, Ashton, Rochdale, Merthyr Tydfil, Aberdare and Bradford.(121) By 1878, when the order had become totally independent of the American order, it was well established in the industrial areas of the North and Midlands as well as in South Wales, Glasgow and London.(122) In 1872 it had 11,625 members, in 1878 14,021 members and by the end of 1889 25,089.(123)

All the orders, except the Sons of Temperance, had their origins or initial success as affiliated benefit societies in Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorkshire in the 1820s-30s. There they had their chief early following and most orders retained a Lancashire/Yorkshire bias in membership. This was particularly so in the case of the largest orders, the IOOF MU and AOF. By 1845, when there were 4611 Oddfellows' lodges and Foresters' courts throughout England, 2311, just over half, were in three counties: Lancashire with 737 lodges and 332 courts, Yorkshire 600 lodges and 383 courts, and Cheshire 117 lodges and 142 courts. (124) The early lodges and courts were founded in established or emerging industrial towns by men engaged in the textile or other industries. A number of the founders must have been recent urban migrants, such as some of the twelve who set-up the LOAS, who sought companionship in their new surroundings through a friendly society.

However it would be wrong to see the arrival and great success of the affiliated orders solely in the terms of a reaction to the harshness of

a new industrial environment. The orders also had early success amongst the agricultural workers in adjoining rural areas and the following two chapters outline firstly their development in the small towns and villages of the East Riding and secondly provide possible reasons for the timing of their arrival and their consequent fluctuations in fortune.(125)

(1) Fuller, West Country friendly societies, p.1. For a fuller account of the early history of friendly societies see the books by Gosden and Fuller.

(2) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.2

(3) Gosden, Self-help, p.12

(4) In 1874 the fourth report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Friendly and Benefit Building Societies classified friendly societies in seventeen groups but in this thesis only three of these groups are considered; the local village and country societies, the local town societies and the affiliated societies or orders. Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.14-15. It is the affiliated orders and the various types of local societies which were overwhelmingly the most numerous and were generally intended by the phrase 'friendly society'.

(5) G.Legard, 'Farming of the East Riding of Yorkshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, 21, 1848, pp.127-128

(6) Amongst the members of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons no.294, Beverley were the first and second Barons Londesborough and the first and second Earls of Londesborough, Henry Burton and John Christie Clitherow of Hotham, and Christopher Sykes from Sledmere.

J.Moffatt, History of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons No.294, Beverley, Beverley, 1968,

pp.103-104; From 1721 the Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England have always been noblemen and from 1782 to 1843 the office was held continuously by three members of the Royal family. J.M.Roberts, The mythology of the secret societies, St.Albans, 1974, p.41.

(7) ibid., pp.34-37; for the origins of freemasonry see D.Knoop and G.P.Jones, The genesis of Freemasonry, Manchester, 1957.

(8) Richardson Campbell, Provident and industrial institutions, Independent Order of Rechabites, Manchester, n.d., pp.280-281.

Secessions and expulsions were particularly numerous in the late 1730s-early 1740s. W.Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 16th edition, London, 1846, pp.209-214. The 189 lodges dependent on the Grand Lodge in 1741 were reduced to 157 by 1748. Roberts, p.380.

(9) Richardson Campbell, p.281; W.Preston, pp.121-124.

(10) J.Spry, History of Oddfellowship, London, 1867, pp.187-8. The reference in Spry to the mention of an Oddfellows' lodge in The Gentleman's Magazine for 1745 cannot be traced and appears to be without foundation. W.T. Bushrod 'The development of the great affiliated friendly societies', Manchester, M.A. thesis, 1924, p.61.

(11) ibid., p.61-62

(12) W.Preston, p.65; The United Ancient Order of Druids also had a

Royal Arch degree. Richardson Campbell, p.282. A dictionary of masonic terms published in 1853 defined the degree and Royal Arch degree as follows:

Degree: 'A degree, as the word implies, is merely a grade or step, or preparation, as one grade is but preparatory to another higher, and so on in progression to the 'ne plus ultra'.... Why are there degrees in Freemasonry? The reason why this question is asked by the men of the world, is because they are men and not schoolboys who are initiated, and because the whole of the Order could be communicated to them at one time. But still there are degrees, or steps, and truly for this simple reason, as there is no art or science which can be communicated at one time, so neither can Freemasonry; and although they are men of mature age who are initiated, yet they require to be proved step by step. Freemasonry is a science which requires both time and experience, and more time than many Masons, especially government officers or tradesmen, can devote to it; the only time they in fact can appropriate to this purpose being their hours of recreation. It is, therefore, good that it is communicated by degrees. Those degrees are communicated in the lodge at the end of certain determinate periods, or immediately after each other, according to the regulations of the lodge, or the candidate's power of comprehension'.

Royal Arch Degree: 'This degree is more august, sublime, and important than those which precede it, and is the summit of ancient Masonry. It impresses on our minds a more firm belief of the existence of a Supreme Deity, without beginning of days or end of years, and justly reminds us of the respect and veneration due to that holy name.' G.Oliver, A dictionary of symbolical masonry, London, 1853, pp.104, 313.

(13) Richardson Campbell, p.281

(14) In the minutes of the Grand Lodge of the Manchester Unity for 1815 is an entry relating to two men who were considered unfit 'for either the masonic or independent orders'. Bushrod, p.70

(15) Sheffield Public Library, Beauchief Manuscripts, BM 971/4 Committee transactions of the Amicable Lodge of Odd Fellows at the George Inn, Market Place, Sheffield, 3 November 1804.

(16) J.Moffatt, History of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons, pp.22-23

(17) e.g. William Crosskill, agricultural implement manufacturer and mayor of Beverley, initiated a mason 1849 was examining officer for the Oddfellows in Beverley; Harry Wray, Conservative solicitor and mayor of Beverley, member of Rising Star lodge of Oddfellows, initiated a mason 1886; and Rev.Ernest J. Barry, curate of Beverley Minster, minute secretary, vice-grand and noble-grand of the Rising Star lodge of Oddfellows 1889-90, initiated a mason 1882, lodge chaplain by 1886, Provincial Grand Chaplain 1887. J.Moffatt, op.cit.; Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley, minute books of the Rising Star lodge, IOOF MU.

(18) W.G.Cooper, The Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society 150 years 1834-1984, Southampton, 1984, p.2

(19) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.127.

(20) ibid.

(21) e.g. In the initiation ceremony of the Freemasons the initiate was told:

'The three great moral duties, to God, your neighbour, and yourself, you are strictly to observe'; in the IOOF MU: 'There are three general heads of duty, which you, as an Odd Fellow, ought always to inculcate, namely, To God, your Neighbour, and Yourself'; and in the LOAS 'Our Order recommends to thee three great moral duties: first, our duty to God; second, to our neighbour; and third, to ourselves'. W.Preston, p.34; Supplement to the lecture book of the Manchester Unity of the

Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 1834, Manchester, p.28; Lectures, charges, etc., of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton, 1835, p.16.

(22) Richardson Campbell, Rechabite history, Manchester, 1911, pp.59-68; Formularies and lectures of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society, Huddersfield, 1857

(23) E.J.Hobsbawm, Primitive rebels, Manchester, 1971, pp.151-2

(24) Richardson Campbell, Provident and industrial institutions, pp.264-265; an engraving of a Freemason's initiation is reproduced in Sherri.J.Brown, 'Friendly societies and their symbols and ritual', Journal of the group for regional studies in museums, no.10. October 1982, p.12. For other descriptions of affiliated order initiations see Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.132-134 and Hobsbawm, Primitive rebels, p.158. John Loveless openly ordered from the village painter a figure of 'Death painted six feet high' for the initiation rights of the 'Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers' which had its 'Grand Lodge' at Tolpuddle. S. and B.Webb, The history of trade unionism, London, 1926, p.45. For many lodges the figure of death was seemingly reduced to the small representation of a skull and cross bones which is hidden by a flap of paper at the back of the Supplement to the lecture book of the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester 1834, printed by P.G.M. Mark Wardle.

(25) Sherri.J.Brown, p.9; W.G.Cooper, p.10.

(26) Early trade union initiation ceremonies clearly derived from the same source are described in S. and B.Webb, The history of trade unionism, pp.127-128; E.P.Thompson, The making ..., pp.557-561; C.Behagg, 'Secrecy, ritual and folk violence: the opacity of the workplace in the first half of the nineteenth century' in R.D.Storch, ed., Popular culture and custom in 19th century England, London, 1982, pp.154-179. The Webbs quote John Tester, a former leader of the Bradford Woolcombers' Union, who in 1834 wrote a series of letters, to the Leeds Mercury, denouncing the Leeds Clothiers' Union. In one he stated that 'the mode of initiation was the same as practised for years before by the flannel-weavers of Rochdale ... A great part of the ceremony, ... particularly the death scene, was taken from the ceremonial of one division of the Oddfellows, ... who were flannel-weavers at Rochdale, in Lancashire; and all that could be well turned from the rules and lectures of one society into the regulations of the others was so turned, with some trifling verbal alterations'. Webb, pp.127-128. R.A.Leeson questions the validity of this view of the origins of the Woolcombers ritual, R.A.Leeson, Travelling brothers, St.Albans, 1980, p.259

(27) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.129-130; W.Preston, pp.63-64; G.Oliver, pp. 16-17, 42-43, 153, and 175.

(28) Trade Union emblems sometimes incorporated features such as the beehive, the clasped hands and the all-seeing eye. see R.A.Leeson, United we stand, Bath, 1971. For a note on friendly society banners see Appendix 4 below.

(29) Hull Advertiser 13/7/1838

(30) The following typical entries occur in the account book of Court Friendship, Ancient Order of Foresters, Keyingham for the first six months after it was founded at the end of June 1839.

1839 June 29	To 2 Court Horns @ 4s each	8s
July 10	To 2 doz. staves for Court	18s
Augt 7	To 2 doz Cudgels or staves	2s 6d
	To Outer Beadale's sash	6s 8d
	To Initiation Sash	1s 6d
Sept 24	Outter Beadles' Horn Cord	

	and Tassels	4d
	do. do. Sash Trimmg and Fringe	6d
Nov 27	To Bro.Sherwood's Bill for 3 large Ornaments gilding	7s 6d
	To Bro.Wise's Bill for 3 staves 2 Hammers and 3 Ornaments and stave painting	9s.

The court did not acquire its first banner until 1851 but each year borrowed banners and other regalia from Hull courts. Foresters' Hall, Keyingham court cash book 1839-60 (now HCRO). In May 1842 Lund Oddfellows resolved that 'the Lodge officers have each a cap viz. the G.M., N.G., V.G., secretary, the supporters and the Warden, and that they be provided at the expense of the Lodge and for the use of the officers during their sitting and no longer'. Oddfellows Hall, Lund, minute book 1839-1859 St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU, Lund. For a description of the costumes of the Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of Oddfellows see Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.130-131. A photograph of IOOF MU lodge officers in costume in 1910 is reproduced in Northamptonshire Past and Present, vol.5, no.5, 1977, p.454.

(31) In July - December 1839 thirty-one new members of Keyingham Foresters' court purchased membership certificates at 6d each. Keyingham court cash book, op.cit. A study of branch and order account books could reveal similar information, on the popularity or otherwise of the membership certificates, to that produced for the certificates of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers by Christian Muller. E.Hobsbawm, Worlds of labour, London, 1984, p.73

(32) The LOAS, UAOD, NUOFG, and the various orders of Oddfellows all called their branches lodges, the Rechabites had tents, the Foresters courts and earlier Druids temples and gorsedds.

(33) 'Dispensation. Is an instrument which legalizes an act or ceremony, such as opening a lodge without a warrant, forming a masonic procession, &c, which would be illegal without it. The power of granting dispensations is very properly vested in the Grand and Provincial Grand Masters or their deputies, who are the best judges on what occasions it ought to be exercised.' G.Oliver, p.110.

(34) The invention of tradition by the affiliated orders is not dealt with in E.Hobsbawm and T.Ranger, eds., The invention of tradition, Cambridge, 1983. In his introduction Hobsbawm writes: 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.' This is very much the case with the affiliated orders and their invented tradition fits into Hobsbawm's three overlapping types: 'a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.' ibid., pp. 1 + 9.

(35) e.g. Ancient Order of Foresters, United Ancient Order of Druids, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ancient Free Gardeners, Ancient Noble Order of Oddfellows, Bolton Unity, Ancient Order of Romans, Ancient Order of Britons and the Free and Independent Order of Ancient Greeks, Northern Star, 18/12/1841; 'Workmen's Benefit Societies', The Quarterly

Review, vol.116, 1864, pp.321-2; Gosden, Friendly societies, p.1; W.Cooper, 'Robin Hood - and the Foresters', Foresters' Miscellany, February 1983, pp.33-35.

(36) Plough plays were still common in and around South Cave in the late 1820s-early 1830s. Robert Sharp noted in his diary on 2 January 1832 'Almost every day there are parties or sets of Plough Boys going about with their trumpery music and rattling drum, and what they get given they spend for the good of the publicans and for their own ill - there wants a reform here'. HCRO DDX/216. For a fuller description of East Riding plough plays see M.C.F.Morris, The British workman, Cambridge, 1928, pp.54-55

(37) A.Smith, 'An essay on the nature and advantages of Odd Fellowship', The Oddfellows' magazine, Jan. 1838, pp.8-9.

(38) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.128-129. Until May 1834, when they learnt of its illegality, the IOOF MU administered an oath to each new member, on admission, that he would not divulge the secrets of the order. J.Spry, The history of Odd-Fellowship, London, 1868, p.39

(39) IOOF MU, Quarterly report, April 1840, p.26. In 1848 when the Hand and Heart lodge of the Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order of Oddfellows at Ancaster, Lincolnshire, passed a resolution 'That no brother appears hear with black eyes or any other marks of violence' they felt it necessary to pass another resolution: 'That the aforesaid proposition be kept secret only to Brothers of the Lodge and to warn them at their peril to keep the secret from any one but Brothers of the Lodge on payment of 1 shilling'. Minute book of Hand and Heart lodge no.76, NAIU00, 1848-83 in hands of N.Lyons, Scawby, Lincs.

(40) One tyler stood outside the lodge door to check on those seeking admission and to ask for the current outside password and another was just inside the door to receive the other password. The tyler is a masonic office. G.Oliver, op.cit., p.369

(41) The numerous examples in the lecture books date from 1847 to 1915. Victory lodge records, Oddfellows Hall, N.Ferriby. Examples of the passwords of the NUOFG are in HCRO DDX/254.

(42) Hobsbawm, Primitive rebels, p.161

(43) ex inf. late H.Godbold, IOOF MU District secretary, Beverley. Beverley district had a regalia sub-committee still in 1920. IOOF MU, Report of the annual meeting of the Beverley district for 1920, Beverley, 1921. It appears that the use of emblems and ritual has survived more fully in the Oddfellows than the other orders. By the late 1970s the literature and letter headings of the AOF and UAOD displayed modern logos rather than the order arms or emblems but the IOOF MU still used their arms on their literature and the IOOF MU 1978 lodge directory portrayed, and provided a full key to, the emblems of the order and past officers certificates. Correspondence with order headquarters 1979-80; AOF Court directory, Southampton, 1979; IOOF MU, Directory and list of the lodges, Manchester, 1978, pp.135-139. For the decline of labour ritual in the twentieth century see E.Hobsbawm's chapter on 'The transformation of labour rituals' in Worlds of labour, pp.66-82.

(44) In 1931 the minute book of Elloughton IOOF MU lodge notes the opening of the fortnightly meetings 'in full ritual' and the singing of the opening and closing odes. On 14 November 1931 'Sister Hattersley was initiated into the order with full ritual and the singing of the odes. Being the first sister to be initiated with full ritual it was very impressive'. Visitors from Hull, Newcastle, Bradford and Goole were noted as having been 'all very impressed with this country lodge'. HCRO Victory Lodge, IOOF MU, Elloughton minute book 4. The condition of certain lecture books from the same lodge illustrate their continuous use and the great discoloration, through long handling, of the pages

dealing with the ritual of the lodge opening, the initiation ceremony and the funeral address shows which ceremonies were most commonly used.

(45) e.g. the Manchester and Salford Temperance Friendly Society made no headway until it transformed itself into a secret order then it was immediately successful. see p.81

(46) See bibliography pp.438-40 below for list of order histories consulted.

(47) This book was by T. Ballan Stead, the secretary of the Ancient Order of Foresters.

(48) e.g. Sherri J. Brown, 'Friendly societies and their symbols and ritual', pp.7-11 deals extensively with the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes and also refers to the Order of Good Templars. The Buffaloes are mentioned in Gosden, Self-help, p.3 and the Order of Good Templars is classed as a friendly society in the index to J. Bellamy and J. Saville, Dictionary of labour biography, vol.2 p.431, vol.3 p.224, and vol.4 p.222. A brief note on the Buffaloes and Good Templars is appended to this chapter.

(49) J.F. Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, pp.160-161

(50) ibid., p.237

(51) London in the 18th century abounded in a great range of drinking clubs for all sections of society. see M.D. George, London life in the eighteenth century, London, 1966, pp.266-267; T. Burke, English night life, London, 1941, pp.50-61.

(52) J. Spry, History of Oddfellowship, London, 1867, p.187-8. A search through The Gentleman's Magazine for 1745 has not revealed the entry concerning an Oddfellows club that Spry also refers to and it is said to be without foundation. W.T. Bushrod, 'The development of the great affiliated friendly societies', MA thesis, Manchester, 1924, p.61.

(53) Independent Order of Odd Fellows 1810-1975, [IOOF MU, Manchester, 1975, p.1].

(54) R.W. Moffrey, 'Rise and progress of the Manchester Unity 1810-1904' in E.L. Jones and D. Hudson, eds., Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity, Friendly Society Souvenir Manchester AMC, Manchester, 1904, pp.34-35

(55) [T.B. Stead], A short history of the chief affiliated orders, [Leeds, 1880, p.22. The dispensation is at the headquarters of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, Manchester.] [Short history]

(56) Sheffield Public Library, Beauchief Mss 971/3 Bye Laws of the Amicable Lodge of Odd Fellows, Sheffield, 1798

(57) ibid., 971/4 Committee Minutes of Amicable Lodge, Sheffield, Aug.4 1804

(58) Rules and orders to be observed by the Brothers of Nelson's Independent Lodge of Odd Fellows Began the 14th of April 1806, Hull, n.d. Copy in Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley, 1980. The lodge had links with the United Order for although the initiation fee was 5s Rule III stated: 'Should the person proposed belong to the United Order of Oddfellows, he shall only pay the sum of One-shilling and One-Penny and by so doing be admitted a free Brother'. ibid.

(59) Short history, pp.52-57

(60) Independent Order of Odd Fellows 1810-1975, [p.2]

(61) ibid., [p.3] Numbers of dispensations granted calculated from Directories of IOOF MU 1850-1940.

(62) Short history, p.7. Rules of 1823.

(63) Independent Order of Odd Fellows 1810-1975, [p.3]

(64) J.F. Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, pp.69-70

(65) C. Hardwick, The history, present position, and social importance of friendly societies, 3rd. Edition, London, 1893, p.22.

(66) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.31,33.

- (67) Friendly societies almanack and diary, Hull, 1895.
- (68) Sheffield Public Library, Beauchief Mss., BM 971/4 Committee minutes of the Amicable Lodge of Oddfellows, Sheffield 1804-1811.
- (69) J.Thornley, History of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, Manchester, 1911-13, Pt.1, p.21
- (70) Short history, p.23.
- (71) J.Thornley, op.cit., Pt.II, p.95; C.Hardwick, The history, present position, and social importance of friendly societies, p.26
- (72) Short history, pp.25-26
- (73) ibid., p.24; J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, p.160.
- (74) IOOF, Kingston Unity, 'Minutes of the Biennial Moveable Conference, Scarborough, 1976', p.2.
- (75) ibid., 'Grand Master's Address, Biennial Moveable Conference, 1978'; National Conference of Friendly Societies, Souvenir handbook Hull, 1915; Grimsby Observer, 19/11/1879 I owe this reference to Rex Russell.
- (76) PRO FS/1/864 Yorks. 2268 Rules; Hull Advertiser 11 August 1848.
- (77) Short history, . p.71
- (78) ibid., p.72.; In 1915 the order consisted of 15 districts, all in the north and east except London, and 170 lodges. Souvenir handbook op.cit.
- (79) The Knaresborough meeting is referred to in a footnote to the early laws of the Order. Short history, p.16.; W.G.Cooper, The Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society 150 years 1834-1984, AOF, Southampton, 1984 p.2; see also T.B.Stead, 'Historical sketch of the Order', in Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society 1896, Dundee, 1896, pp. vii-xxxviii; 'Historical Sketch of the Order', in Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society 1978, Southampton, 1978, pp. v-lxiv; J.F.Wilkinson, The friendly society movement, London, 1886.
- (80) W.G.Cooper, op.cit., p.2
- (81) ibid., pp.4-5, p.27.
- (82) Short history p.16
- (83) ibid., p.17
- (84) 'Historical sketch ...', 1978, p.viii.
- (85) 2nd quarterly report of the first Executive Council of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Manchester, October 1834.
- (86) 3rd quarterly report of the first Executive Council of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Manchester, February 1835; W.G.Cooper, pp.8-9
- (87) cf. Table 5 above, p.70. T.B.Stead, Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society for 1896, Dundee, 1896, p. 624.
- (88) F.Askew, 'Rise and revival of the United Ancient Order of Druids', UAOD Quarterly Magazine, June 1900, pp.228-232; W.North, 'Who was Hurle, the founder of the A[ncient] O[rder of] D[ruids]', newspaper cuttings from East London Observer 6 August - 17 September 1932; S.Piggott, The Druids, Penguin, 1974, pp.155-156; Short history, pp.58-59. R.S.Brooks, Essay on the Friendly Societies in England, UAOD, n.d., p.2.
- (89) The Druids' monthly magazine and literary journal Vol.1, 1838-39. There was a Provincial Grand Lodge of Ancient Druids in Sheffield by 1813 for a medal was struck to commemorate its first church parade in June that year. Undated newspaper cutting [June 1913], Sheffield Public Library, Newspaper cuttings relating to Sheffield, vol.16
- (90) The rites and ceremonies used in the opening and closing of gorsedds the installation of officers the initiation of members and the consecration of new gorsedds of the Loyal Order of Druids, Bolton, 1848. [copy in Castle Museum, York]
- (91) C.Walford, The insurance cyclopaedia, 1870-78, vol.IV, p.432-33
- (92) ibid.
- (93) The Druids' monthly magazine, April 1839, p.335

(94) F. Askew, 'Rise and revival', p.231.

The Ancient Order of Druids although depleted by the secessions of the Loyal and United Orders remained an important order in the south of England but it never became a benefit society. The other orders of Druids looked upon the Ancient Order as their parent body. In the 1938 Directory of the UAOD is a section on the Ancient Order noting that 'any brother of the Druidic Orders associated with the International Grand Lodge of Druidism can visit the Temple' where the meetings of the Grand Lodge and Supreme Chapter of the Ancient Order are held. The Temple in 14/18 Lamb's Conduit Street, London, resembled Stonehenge. The Ancient Order's special features were said to be 'its various rituals, its social character, and its Voluntary Benevolent Fund. It does not cater for National Health Insurance or Sickness and Death Benefits, but by means of this Benevolent Fund help is given to distressed brethren and their dependents, and annuities of £26 are granted to brethren over the age of 65 years who have the requisite qualifications, and have been chosen by ballot to receive this benefit. Provision is also made for Convalescent Home treatment for brethren and their near relatives. Women are not admitted to membership of this Order.' The Ancient Order apparently continued to take part in ceremonies at Stonehenge until 1955. Ancient Order of Druids introductory book, London, 1889 [copy in Bodleian Library - contains list of lodges] ; Directory and diary of the United Ancient Order of Druids Friendly Society 1938, Hull, 1937, p.36; S. Piggott, The Druids, Harmondsworth, 1974, p.156.

(95) Directory and diary of UAOD 1938, p.20

(96) Short history, p.30; F. Askew, 'Rise and revival', p.274.

(97) ibid.; The Order of Druids almanack 1864, Manchester, 1864

[Bodleian]; Book of constitutional laws of the United Ancient Order of Druids and rules for government of the Hull District 1861 HCRO DDML

12/10

(98) Report of E.L. Stanley, Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, 1874, pp.11 and 22.; Short history, pp.32, 61. In 1871 62% [581] lodges of the Order of Druids were in Lancashire and 18% [168] in Yorkshire while the respective figures for the UAOD were 1% [3] lodges in Lancashire and 40% [111] in Yorkshire. The five northern counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Northumberland and Durham contained 94% of the Order of Druids lodges and only 41% of the UAOD. The UAOD was stronger in the East Midlands with 62 lodges (22%) the south with 59 lodges (21%) and Warwickshire 18 lodges and Gloucestershire 12 lodges. Outside the northern counties the Order of Druids was only well represented in Derbyshire (23 lodges), Middlesex (16 lodges), Staffordshire and Worcestershire (10 lodges in each county). Stanley, op.cit., pp.11 and 21. See also Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.48-49.

(99) Directory and diary of UAOD 1938 p.9; Order of Druids directory 1914, Manchester 1914.

(100) E. Crew, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Friendly Society, A.U., Centenary souvenir 1826-1926, LOAS Manchester 1926, pp.5-12; D.H. Hague, Historical sketch of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds [LOAS Stockport c1967], pp.2-4; E. Crew, 'Foundation and progress to the present Day of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity)' in The Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Guide and Directory 1923-1924 pp.iv-vi; Short history, pp.34-36

(101) E. Crew, Centenary souvenir, p.13

(102) ibid., pp.14-15

(103) Short history p.87

(104) D.H. Hague, op.cit., p.33; E. Crew, Centenary souvenir, pp.41-42; The LOAS was unique amongst the non-temperance affiliated orders in having

associated with it female lodges. The first female branch being opened at Rochdale in 1829. There was, apparently, a Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses independent of the parent body but it was beset by rifts and information on the various female orders is limited.

ibid., p.74.

(105) In the 18th century there were numerous friendly societies especially catering for practising gardeners. see Ruth Duthie, 'Florists' societies and feasts after 1750', Garden history, vol.12, Spring 1984, pp.8-38. The other orders existing in 1880 were: 1. Order of Free Gardeners in Scotland - in 1872 it had 7,000 members and 46 lodges, six of which were in England. 2. Ancient Order of Free Gardeners established c1866 based in the north of England with 3,107 members in 1879. Annual meetings in 1878 at Newbiggin-by-the-Sea and in 1879 at West Hartlepool. 3. British Order of Free Gardeners 4,947 members in 1879 annual meetings at Barrow 1879 and Glasgow 1880. 4. Shropshire United Order of Free Gardeners registered in 1852. Short history pp.45-46.

(106) ibid., H.T.Finch, History of the Order, NUOFG, Dudley, 1900.

(107) C.Walford, Insurance cyclopaedia, Vol.IV., p.414.

(108) Short history, pp.46-47

(109) ibid.p.47; National United Order of Free Gardeners Friendly Society Short history, Sandbach, n.d.

(110) Short history pp.48-50

(111) ibid., p.46.

(112) B.Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, London, 1971, pp.103-106.

(113) ibid., pp.117-120

(114) R.Campbell, Rechabite history, Manchester, 1911, pp.3-39;

R.Highet, Rechabite history, Manchester, 1936, pp.7-27; Short history, pp.93-94.

(115) R.Campbell, p.47-48, 73, 162.

(116) ibid., p.173.

(117) ibid., pp.219-227

(118) ibid., pp.150-151

(119) ibid., p.120; R.Highet, p.501. For the temporary decline of the temperance movement see B.Harrison, op.cit., p.21. and ibid., 'Temperance Societies', The local historian, Vol.8., No.4, 1968, p.135. In Banbury the Temperance Society entered a decline after 1844 which persisted throughout the 1850s. B.Harrison and B.S.Trinder, 'Drink and sobriety in an early Victorian country town: Banbury 1830-60', English historical review supplement, 1969, p.22.

(120) Short history, p.100

(121) ibid., pp.100-101; The Son of Temperance, vol.III No.36, October 1884.

(122) Short history, p.102

(123) ibid.; J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, p.161

(124) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.31,42.

(125) The East Riding was not the only rural county where the affiliated orders had early success. In 1845 Lincolnshire was the county with the fourth highest number of combined IOOF MU lodges and AOF courts with 105 of the former and 116 of the latter. ibid.

APPENDIX: NON-BENEFIT SOCIETY ORDERS: Buffaloes and Good Templars

The Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes

Although sometimes classed with the affiliated order friendly societies the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes was not, and is not, a self-help benefit society.(126) The order originated in a convivial society founded in London in 1822.(127) It is not clear when the system

of lodges developed but lodges of the Loyal or Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes had been opened at Dewsbury, West Riding and Boston, Lincolnshire by 1848 and Rochdale, Lancashire by 1854.(128) In 1866 delegates from nine London lodges met and formed the Grand Lodge of England which had become the premier authority for the RAOB by 1888 when it held its first convention at Derby.(129)

Concern for the financial well being of its members was a feature of the order and by means of small voluntary contributions, initiation fees, and fines immediate, but temporary, relief was given to 'brethren in pecuniary difficulties'. For some twenty years from the mid-1860s a Buffaloes' sick and funeral fund existed in the London area but generally such moves were frowned on by an order whose motto is 'philanthropy and conviviality'. The organisation, management, ritual and regalia was modelled on the Freemasons and even more than the affiliated order the Buffaloes can be seen as the working-class masons.(130) The convivial nature of the order remained its primary object and this probably accounts for its present greater strength as a continuing local organisation. The rise of the Buffaloes deserves serious attention but documentary material and newspaper references are scarce. The order had its greatest strength in the towns and had reached Hull by 1864 when the Hull Advertiser reported "A row among the 'Buffaloes' in Hull". The paper stated that it was a society 'whose principal object appears to be the imbibing of large potations of the drink that inebriates but does not cheer'.(131)

The Independent Order of Good Templars

Along with the Buffaloes the Independent Order of Good Templars is often mistakenly called a friendly society. It was in fact a most successful temperance society which gained a great following in England from the late 1860s. The origins of the order are rather obscure but it was claimed to have had connections with the Sons of Temperance. In America the Sons of Temperance had originally children's branches known as the Cadets of Temperance and when their members grew older a body called the Knights of Jericho was formed to accommodate them. It is said that it was a branch of the Knights at Utica, New York State, which in 1850 changed its name to The Order of Good Templars. The Independent Order of Good Templars emerged in 1852 following disagreements amongst the original founders.(132) The principles of the society were total abstinence, by life-long pledge, and the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors. It was non-beneficiary, 'the object being rather to do good than receive benefit'.(133) The order was introduced into England by Joseph Malins at Birmingham in 1868 and it had immediate success. By 1874 there were said to be the amazing number of 4,000 lodges with 200,000 members in England.(134) The East Riding of Yorkshire Lodge was instituted 1 April 1874 and by 1888 there were 15 lodges in Hull and ten in the East Riding at Beverley, 3 lodges, Driffield, Filey, Hunmanby, Leven, Nafferton, Pocklington and Skipsea. The meetings were mainly held in temperance halls, cocoa rooms and nonconformist school-rooms.(135)

(126) The modern official history does carry a paragraph under the heading 'Friendly societies' but the author noted: 'I have asked the publishers to print this heading in invisible ink so as not to enrage a large section of the brotherhood. Now I don't want to turn the Order into a friendly society but I see no reason why I should use violent

language in saying so.' M.W.Payne, The origin and development of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, Grand Lodge of England, 1973, p.140. In 1864 Samuel Smiles wrote that '"The Ancient Order of Buffaloes" is merely an organization of working men to provide a common fund by fortnightly payments of 8 d., out of which 10s. a week is allowed to the contributors during sickness'. Anon(S.Smiles), 'Workmen's benefit societies', Quarterly review, 116, 1864, p.322 but this was probably a different organisation.

(127) ibid., p.15.

(128) ibid., pp.50, 57, + 138

(129) ibid., pp.91-106 There were delegates from Bedford, Bolton, Bournemouth, Bradford, Cardiff, Doncaster, Durham, Huddersfield, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Northampton, Plymouth and Staffordshire.

(130) ibid., pp.81-82

(131) Hull Advertiser, 14/12/1864

(132) G.P.Williams and G.T.Brake, Drink in Great Britain 1900-1979, London, 1980, pp.238-239. For more on the order in America see J.G.Woolley and W.E.Johnson, Temperance progress of the century, Toronto, 1903.

(133) East Riding Yorkshire District Lodge, Independent Order of Good Templars, The official Templar guide Hull and District, No. 53, Feb., 1888.

(134) N.Longmate, The Water-Drinkers, London, 1968, p.214; see also J.Malins, Life of Joseph Malins, Birmingham, 1932.

(135) The official Templar guide, No.53, Feb. 1888.

CHAPTER 3

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES IN THE EAST RIDING 1830-1912

During the course of research for this thesis references have been found to 372 East Riding friendly societies of which 330 were established after 1830.(1) The timing of the founding and dissolution of the societies and the fluctuations of their fortunes are explored fully later and the object of this chapter is to provide an introductory outline of their origins and development in the county. Although a great range of sources have been explored it is likely that the appended list of friendly societies could be greatly enlarged and this is particularly so in relation to local clubs founded before 1830 where there has had to be heavy reliance on the lists of registered friendly societies and parliamentary reports.

Table 10: Foundation date of local societies -
East Riding and Hull 1720-1830

Decade founded	Number of societies		
	East Riding	Hull	Total
1721-30	0	1	1
1731-40	0	0	0
1741-50	0	0	0
1751-60	1	0	1
1761-70	2	0	2
1771-80	3	2	5
1781-90	4	14	18
1791-1800	10	28	38
1801-10	5	26	31
1811-20	5	4	9
1821-30	6	0	6

Sources: P.Davis, The old friendly societies of Hull, Hull, 1926; HCRO QS Index to Quarter Sessions Order Books 1708-1808, 1809-28, 1828-41. see also appendix 1

Only 42 friendly societies in 27 towns and villages are known to have been founded in the East Riding before 1830 and table 10 above shows

that over a third of these were founded 1790-1810.(2) Strangely the first three recorded friendly societies were all based in Howden: Howden Friendly Society founded 1751 was followed by Howden Female Friendly Society in 1763, and Howden Union Society in 1764. There may be some significance in the fact that Howden was the westernmost market town in the county and one early affected by ideas spreading from the West Riding. In the late 18th century, Howden, which had a population of 1552 in 1801, was described as 'large and populous'. It had a great range of craftsmen and tradesmen and a significant number of gentry and professional people.(3) A list of the 120 members of Howden Friendly Society in 1821 is headed by 25 'free members' who included six attorneys, six gentlemen, three farmers, two clergymen, two bankers, three innkeepers, a surgeon, a tanner and a grocer.(4) The majority of the benefit membership were craftsmen, tradesmen and farmers. It was just such men as these in the small towns that were active in promoting and joining friendly societies before the late 1830s and table 11 below shows that half of the local societies established in the East Riding by 1830 were in eight market towns.(5) Certain of the village societies however were large and served a wide area and the longest surviving local society was the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society which was founded in 1789 and had at its peak over 700 members.(6) Kilham and Cottingham also had large societies but in other cases the societies were small and shortlived. Nothing is known about the Skipwith society which had 30 members in 1803 and the small Flamborough and Filey societies were both founded solely for resident fishermen.(7)

Table 11 : Pre-1830 friendly societies in East Riding
 1803 1815 No. founded
 No. Members Members before 1830

TOWNS:

Beverley	3*	767	770	7*
Bridlington	4*	620	741	4*
Driffield	1	233	451	2
Hedon	1	60	154	1
Howden	3*	271	317	3*
Mkt.Weighton	1	181	237	1
Patrington	1	93	111	1
Pocklington	2	390	479	2
Total	16	2615	3260	21

VILLAGES:

Brandesburton	-	-	91	1
Bubwith	1	50	78	2
North Cave	-	-	-	1
South Cave	1	53	75	1
Cliffe	1	45	47	1
Cottingham	2	291	414	2
Etton	1	155	532	1
Ferriby	1	102	132	1
Filey	-	-	-	1
Flamborough	-	-	25	-
N.Frodingham	1	66	152	1
Hunmanby	1	122	165	1
Kilham	1	120	301	2
Nafferton	-	-	52	1
Newport	-	-	-	1
Sherburn	1	47	45	1
Skipwith	1	30	-	1
Sutton	-	-	67	1
Wansford	1	78	135	1
Total	13	1159	2311	21
East Riding	29	3774	5571	42
Hull	52	5496	5291	84**

* includes 1 female society

** includes 13 female societies and 5 Oddfellows lodges

Sources: Appendix 1; Abstracts of answers relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor

House of Commons Accounts and Papers 1803-4 vol.13; *ibid.*, 1818 vol.19.

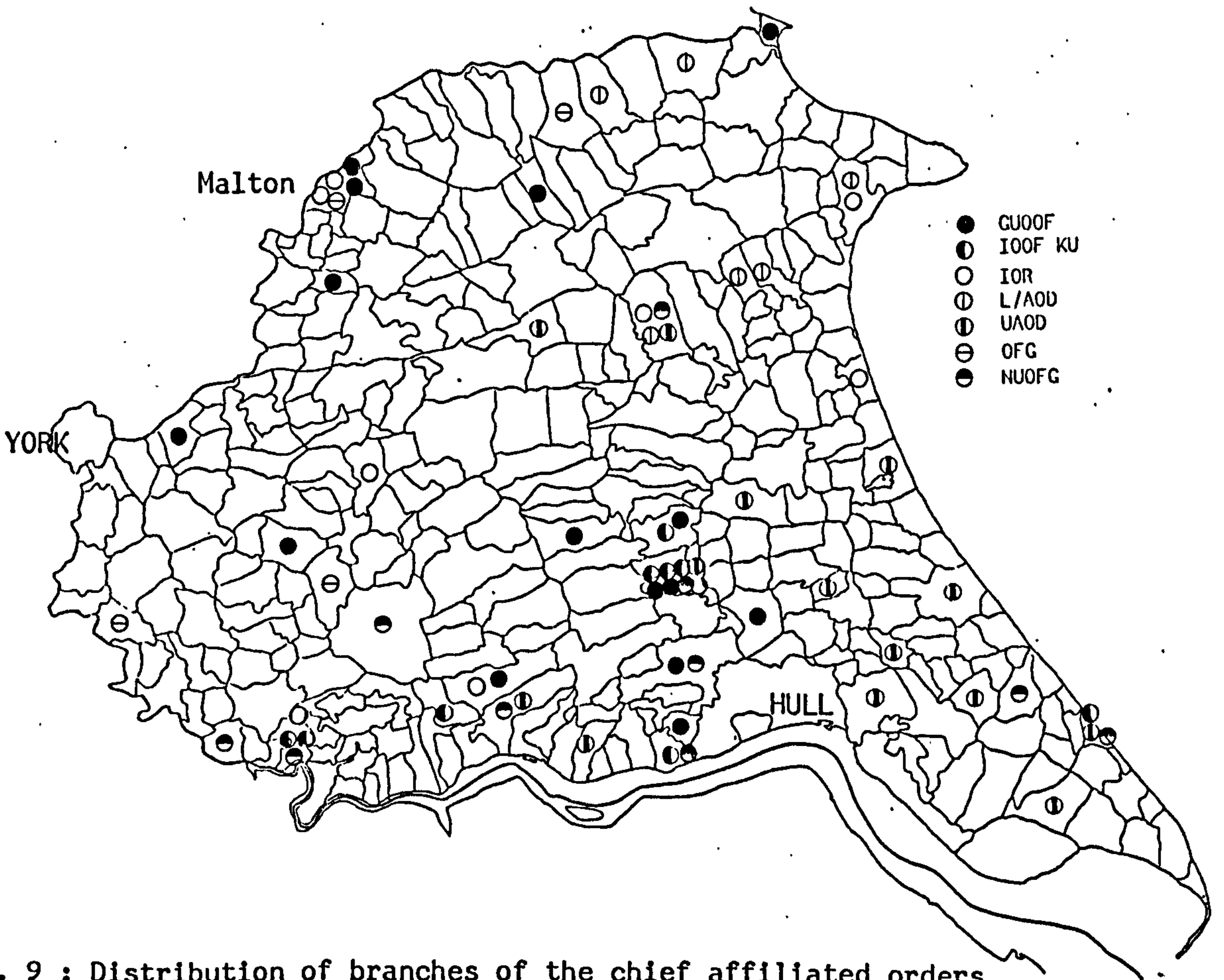
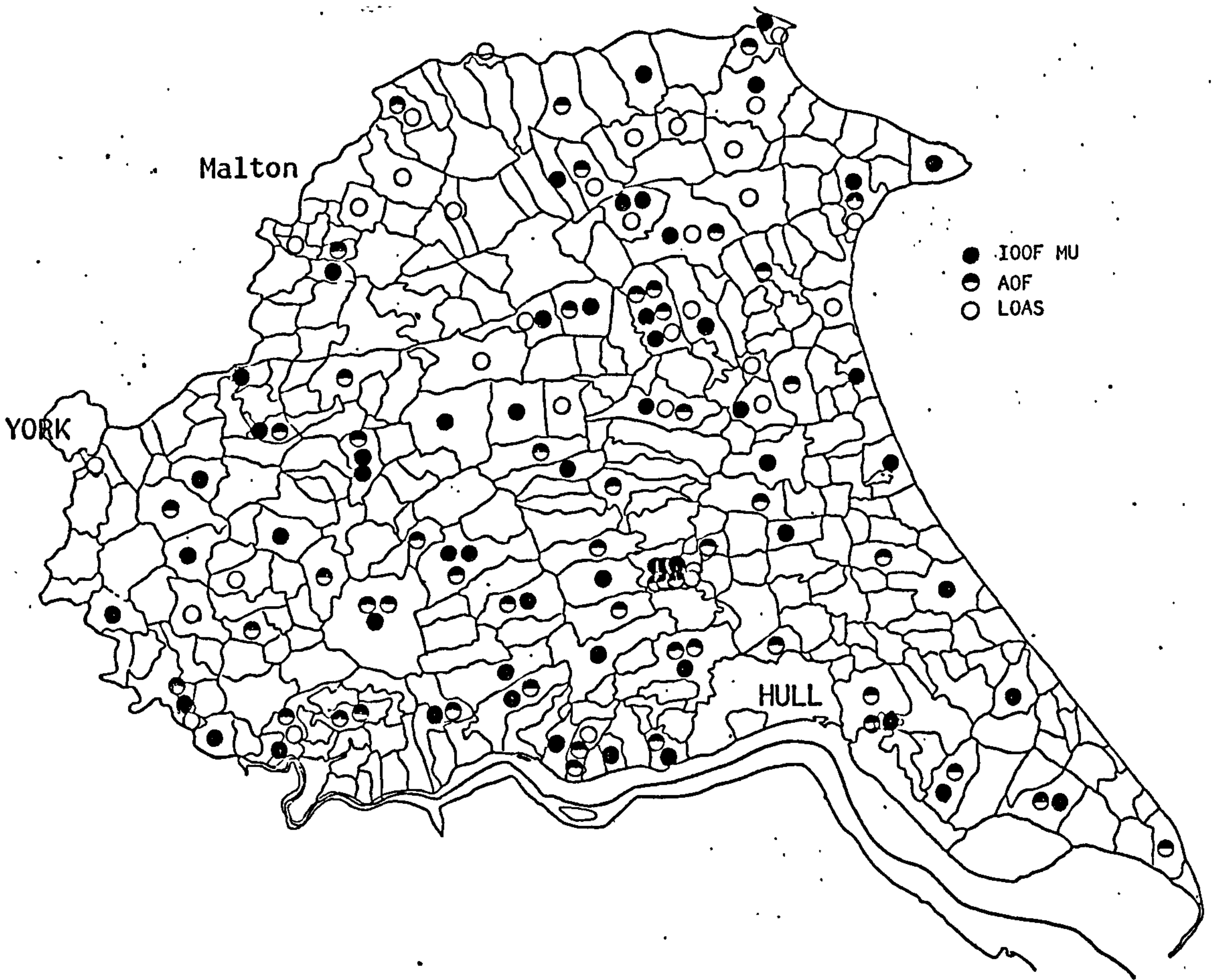


Fig. 9 : Distribution of branches of the chief affiliated orders in the East Riding 1834-1912

The influx of the orders 1831-46

Few of the early local clubs survived to the late 1830s and the great majority of the societies that flourished in the county during the Victorian period were branches, or former branches, of affiliated orders. There were branches of at least eleven different orders in the rural East Riding in the period 1830-1912 but the majority belonged to only three, the IOOF MU, AOF and LOAS and 87 per cent of their branches were opened in the years 1831-46. (8)

Table 12: Affiliated orders in the East Riding and Hull 1827 - 1912(9)

Order	No. of branches opened	
	East Riding	Hull*
Independent Order of Oddfellows, MU.	61	20
Ancient Order of Foresters	54	22
Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds	36	33
Grand United Order of Oddfellows	19	24
United Ancient Order of Druids	18	35
Sons of Temperance	14	15
Independent Order of Rechabites	10	13
Independent Order of Oddfellows, K.U.	10	8
National United Order of Free Gardeners	10	27
Loyal Order of Druids	8	-
Order of Ancient Free Gardeners	4	-
National Independent Order of Oddfellows	-	21
Loyal United Order of Oddfellows	-	16
Order of Druids	-	22
Total:	244	256

* The chief sources have not been so thoroughly searched for Hull societies and it is likely that the figures for some of the orders are not complete.

It was the IOOF MU that appeared first in the East Riding and although the order had been established at Hull in 1827 it was seemingly introduced independently to the county from the West Riding when the Wellington lodge, Howden was opened by the Good Samaritan lodge, Goole, in 1831. (10) In turn the Howden lodge promoted branches in the

nearby villages of Barmby Marsh in 1834 and Newport in 1836. This pattern of early market town lodges opening other branches in surrounding villages was repeated all over the East Riding. The market town community was attracted to the secret orders by their ritual and exclusiveness and the early influential members were exactly that group, professionals, tradesmen and craftsmen, who had managed the early local societies. They promoted the order in the surrounding countryside to establish district branches to boost a joint funeral fund and to show their strength for the purpose of recruiting. The first lodge in Beverley was opened in 1832, then followed lodges in Market Weighton and Great Driffield in 1833, and Pocklington 1834 and district status soon followed. Pocklington district was responsible for opening lodges at Wilberfoss in May 1838 and Warter in August 1839 and a full account of the latter ceremony appeared in the Hull Advertiser:

POCKLINGTON - OPENING OF AN ODD FELLOW'S LODGE AT WARTER - The district officers and several brothers of the Lord Byron Lodge, Pocklington with many others from Market Weighton, and the adjacent places, proceeded to the house of Mr. William Wilson, Bay Horse, (or more commonly known by the name Creeping Kate) Warter, on Monday, the 26th instant, with an excellent brass band and the usual paraphernalia of the order; when, after perambulating the village and immediate neighbourhood, they partook of an early supper provided and served up by the worthy host and hostess in capital style. They commenced opening a new lodge of the Manchester Unity, and initiated a number of the respectable inhabitants of the place and environs Brother Sheridan of Pocklington being called to the chair, and Brother Marshall of the Griffin Inn, Market Weighton to the vice-presidents. It is named the Loyal Priory Lodge, No.1895.... (11)

The Hull district's impact on the county was largely confined to the town's traditional area of influence, the villages to the north and west and more particularly Middle and South Holderness. Lodges at Cottingham, Hessle and Patrington were opened by Hull district in 1836-37, at Hedon

in 1838 and at Keyingham and Aldborough in 1839.(12)

The great activity in 1838-39 by the Oddfellows was matched by the Foresters and Shepherds who had opened their first East Riding branches respectively at Howden in 1836 and Beverley in 1838.(13) Far greater detail exists on the dispersion of these two orders and a picture of a frantic rush to open courts and lodges is conveyed by the entries in their original dispensation and surance books and by newspaper reports. The Foresters spread into the East Riding from Howden, first to Newport, eight miles to the east, in September 1836, and then to Holme on Spalding Moor, nine miles north-east, in August 1837. The opening of the next court at Market Weighton was reported as follows in the Hull

Advertiser:

The brethren of Court Alexandrina, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, met last week, at the Bay Horse, Market Weighton, landlord Mr.Simpson, to open a new court of Forestry. According to ancient custom, after initiating several members into the rites and mysteries of the order, the officers put on the splendid regalia belonging to Court Kingston, Hull, and then paraded the town, with a good band of music, and a large concourse of inhabitants, all highly delighted with the splendid sight - the church bells ringing merrily during the procession; after which forty sat down to a sumptuous dinner provided by the worthy host and hostess. Harmony shortly afterwards commenced, when several appropriate toasts were given, and many excellent songs sung in a superior style; after which the company separated; highly gratified with the proceedings. The prospects of Court Good Advice are most flattering, its members being some of the most respectable tradesmen of the town.(14)

In the summer of 1838 twelve new courts were opened in the East Riding in June, July and August. Courts vied with each other to open new branches of the order and there was no sign of any overall control with promoters coming from a number of directions.(15) Rivalry between courts was particularly marked around Hull.

The first Hull court, Court Kingston at Hull had been opened in

December 1834 but it was not until 1838 that two further courts were opened in the town.(16) One of the new courts was Court Forester's Home, opened on 11 January 1838, and its surviving proposition and minute book records that on 14 July 1838 the court initiated four men as founders of a new court at Cottingham.(17) This action brought Court Forester's Home into direct conflict with Court Kingston, which was at the same time engaged in promoting another court at Cottingham. The rivalry and fervour of the friendly society movement in the summer of 1838 is well portrayed in the following reports of the opening of the two Cottingham courts which were granted dispensations on the same day.

On Friday last [20 July] the delightful village of Cottingham was enlivened by the arrival of the Hull coach containing a numerous body of the members of Court Forester's Home, fully attired in the insignia of their order, amidst the acclamation of the assembled throng; they alighted at the Angel Inn, where they were warmly greeted by their friends, and in a most polite manner ushered into a room most tastefully decorated for the occasion. The business of the evening soon after commenced, and after going through the regular form of opening a new court, nineteen gentlemen, comprising the principal tradesmen of the village, were duly initiated members of that most benevolent institution. The business of the court being ended, the members were invited to partake of a most sumptuous supper provided by their highly respected host, Mr.W.Tennant. [one of the four founders]The cloth having been removed, the health of the Hull members was given by the worthy chairman, and drank with enthusiastic applause; the C.R. of the opening court, replying in a neat speech, and wishing every prosperity to Court Foresters' Garden (the name given to the new court). Harmony and appropriate toasts, &c., succeeded each other, by the different members, until morning's dawn saw the Hull gentlemen with spirits gay, mount the stage again for their respective homes.

On Wednesday, the 25th inst. [25 July], the officers of Court Kingston, No.337 of Hull, met at the house of Brother Thomas Kirk, sign of the Duke of York [Cottingham] for the purpose of opening a new court [Court Forester's Staff] of this excellent order. The officers being arranged in their regalia, each with a green sash, preceded by a band of music and a large green flag, bearing the arms of the order,

proceeded to church, where the worthy vicar preached a most excellent sermon from the 4th chapter St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy, at the 5th verse The discourse of the rev. gentleman drew forth admiration of every hearer. [Dinner and loyal toasts followed] At 5 o'clock the members perambulated the town, with the band which made Cottingham appear all bustle. (18)

During 1839-40 Hull courts turned their attention to South Holderness and courts were opened at Keyingham, Easington, Patrington, Preston and Hedon. (19) The founders of the Keyingham court were initiated at Court Angel at Hull on 17 June 1839 and nine officers of the Hull court went to Keyingham for the opening on 29 June. (20) In the same month the founders of the Easington court were initiated at a special meeting of Court Forester's Home and twice in the autumn of 1839 officers of this latter court travelled the twenty or more miles to attend church services at Easington and Welwick with their new brethren. (21)

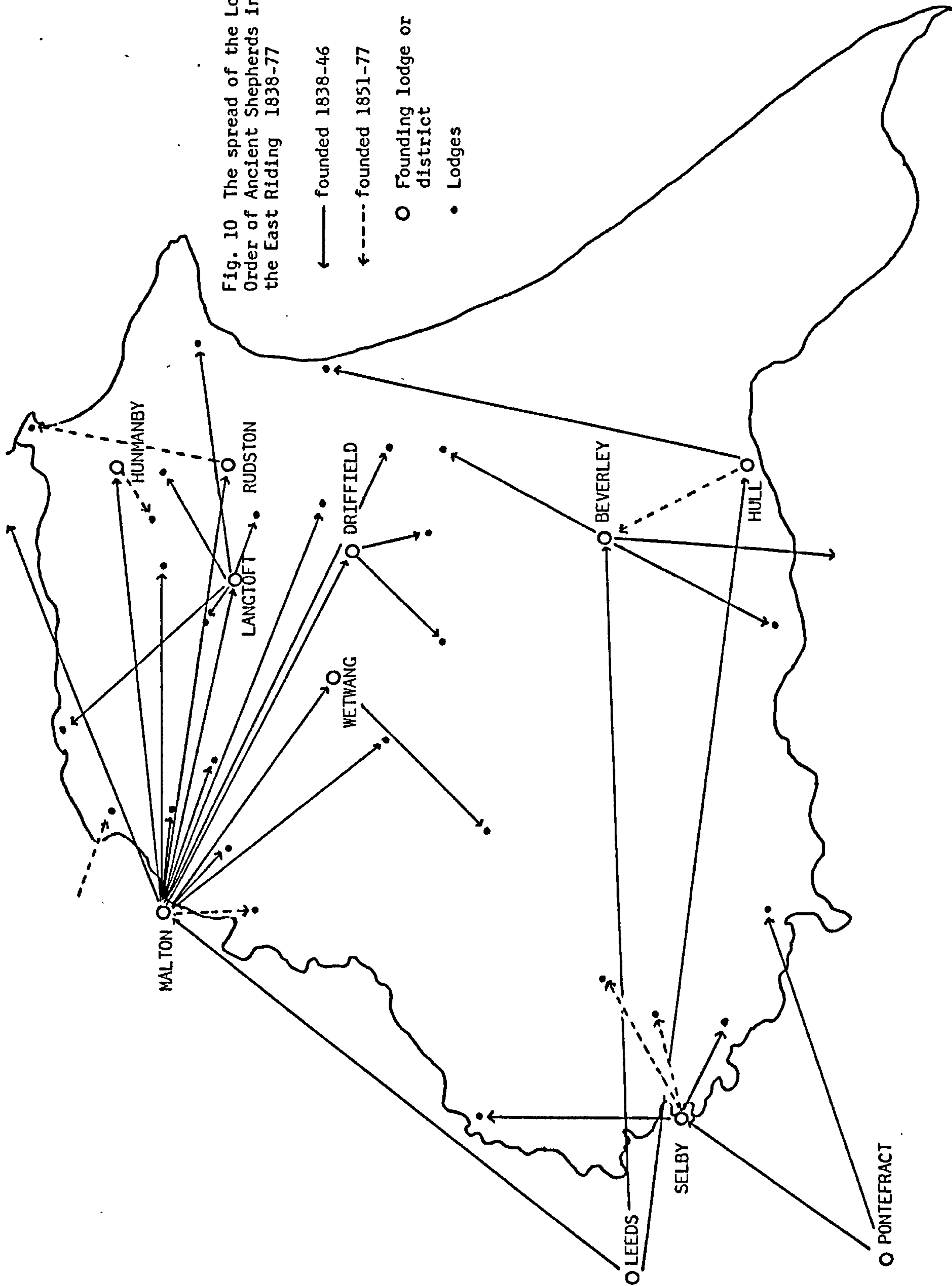
The rivalry of the Hull courts came to a head in the autumn of 1839. The independence of the courts and districts of the AOF had led to the existence of two districts based on Hull. The Hull and East Riding District had as its senior courts Kingston and Angel, while Court Forester's Home headed the Hull and Lindsey District, which comprised two courts in the East Riding, 17 in Lincolnshire and one in Nottinghamshire. By 1839 at least nine courts had been opened in Hull and in October a meeting of the Hull and East Riding District passed a resolution that 'no leave be given to open any more Courts in this borough'. The Executive Committee of the AOF was asked not to grant any more dispensations for Hull. However at the end of 1840 the Hull and Lindsey District did open a new court, Court Howard, at Prince Street, Hull and it was granted a dispensation. The Hull and East Riding District immediately appealed against the opening to the Warrington High Court Meeting on the grounds that under Rule 77 of the General Laws of

the order consent had not been given by the three nearest courts. The appeal was carried and the dispensation cancelled. Court Forester's Home reacted by calling a special meeting to which it is claimed they only summonsed about 30 of the 200 or more members. At this meeting the court decided to secede from the AOF and apply for a dispensation from the Royal Order. The Royal Foresters readily granted a dispensation and the funds of the AOF court were appropriated for the 'new' court. The AOF was powerless to do anything but grant a new dispensation to the remaining loyal members of Court Forester's Home and give them financial and moral support.(22)

Ironically this dispute came to its climax in 1841-42 while the national headquarters of the AOF were at Hull. During that time the executive committee was made up of members of Hull and East Riding District courts and the High Chief Ranger was Edward Wright of Court Sir Clifford.(23) Although numerous events associated with the AOF occurred in Hull during the year only two courts were opened in the county. The boom period for Forestry in the East Riding was over.(24)

The Oddfellows and Foresters missioned the East Riding from the west but the Shepherds, Druids and Gardeners penetrated chiefly from the north. Thirty-six lodges were opened in the East Riding by the LOAS, 28 of them between June 1838 and June 1846 and figure 10 illustrates the pattern of development in the county.(25) The first East Riding Shepherds' lodge was opened at Beverley in June 1838 by Leeds district which had been formed in 1834. The same district was also responsible for opening a lodge at Malton in November 1837 and at Hull in December 1838. It was new districts based on the towns of Malton, Beverley and Hull that assisted the opening of the majority of the lodges in the county. Malton District was the most active and 22 lodges were formed directly or indirectly by its officers.(26) Typical of the newspaper

Fig. 10 The spread of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds in the East Riding 1838-77



accounts of such openings is the following relating to Wetwang a village twelve miles south-east of Malton.

On Monday week last, a deputation from the Shepherd's Lodges in the Malton district, belonging to New and Old Malton proceeded to the village of Wetwang, near Driffield to open a new lodge of the loyal order of Shepherds in that village. The new lodge is called 'The Shepherd's Delight' and is held at the house of Mr. Wm. Shields, the Black Swan Inn. On the occasion in question, 18 young men were initiated into the arcana and mysteries of the order after which they along with the deputies, sat down to a most excellent and substantial dinner, amply provided for them in true Shepherds' hospitality by the worthy host, and to which ample justice was done. In the course of the day, the deputies and the newly made members perambulated the village, attended by a good band of music, and created such a sensation as had never before been known in the retired village of Wetwang. We understand the order meets with much encouragement and success, and is rapidly increasing in this neighbourhood.(27)

The order was particularly successful in a block of settlements to the west of Bridlington and lodges were established in eleven adjoining villages.(28) It was in this same area that a number of 'gorsedds', apparently of the Loyal Order of Druids, were founded in the period 1839-43.(29) There were Druids' societies established in York, Malton and Scarborough by 1839 and it seems likely that the societies at Ganton, Flixton, Hunmanby and possibly Bridlington were established from Scarborough.(30) The society at Burton Agnes was opened by a deputation from Bridlington on the 7 August 1840, and almost certainly the gorsedd at Harpham in the next village was opened from Burton Agnes.(31) Harpham soon became the head of a district which comprised the gorsedds at Harpham, Bridlington and Driffield.(32) All these early Druids societies closed or went independent by 1864.(33) Much less is known about the Ancient Free Gardeners but of the four lodges established in 1838-39 in the north and west of the county, at Riccall, Norton, Sherburn and Seaton Ross, three were opened by delegates from the Malton area.(34)

The only other order to be successfully introduced into the East Riding was the temperance Independent Order of Rechabites and its 'tents' were largely confined to the towns. The Good Samaritan tent was opened in Hull in 1837 by the Keighley and Bradford district and in July 1838 the first East Riding tent was opened at Bridlington.(35) There was a thriving temperance society already in existence in the town and the order soon had a substantial membership.(36)

On Tuesday afternoon last, the second day of the fair, the members of Tent No.97 of the Independent Order of Rechabites in the Manchester and Salford union, assembled in the Market Place, Bridlington in their full regalia, preceded by the tee-total band of music, and, after parading through the principal streets, went to the Quay, where they and several others, friendly to the temperance cause, partook of an excellent and social tea together in Mr. Burton's school-room, which was filled with guests. In the evening, the Order returned in procession to Bridlington, where a public meeting was held in the Friends' meeting-house. Mr. John Coulson, P.C.R. in the chair, by whom and the following gentlemen, Messrs. Goforth, Wilkinson, Nicholls, Wilson and Trotter, the audience was severally addressed in explanation of the principles of Rechabitism and tee-totalism. This tent, which was opened last July, numbers already fifty members, including several reformed drunkards.(37)

In the years 1838-41 tents were also opened in two villages, Skipsea and North Cave and four towns, Driffield, Howden, Norton and Pocklington.(38) The radical Frederick Hopwood, a temperance lecturer from Pocklington, who became the Deputy Chief Ruler of the East Riding District 1839-42, district delegate to the annual meetings of the order 1840-43 and High Chief Ruler of the Rechabites 1843-46 was the most influential figure in the movement locally.(39) The Rechabite order virtually collapsed in the mid-1840s by which time the initial influx of the affiliated orders into the East Riding was over.(40) In the years 1837-46 at least 138 affiliated order branches were opened in the county but in the next decade only four branches were opened and it was not

until 1858 that the orders began again to expand.

Second generation affiliated orders

The two chief features of the expansion of the affiliated orders in the East Riding after 1858 were firstly that the main orders of the earlier period, the IOOF MU, the AOF and the LOAS, although expanding nationally, opened few new branches and that their place was taken by the Grand United Order of Oddfellows (GUOOF), the National United Order of Free Gardeners (NUOFG) and the United Ancient Order of Druids (UAOD) and secondly that the new developments emanated from Hull rather than the West and North Ridings.(41) In the years 1858-70 forty-three affiliated order branches were opened in the East Riding of which 13 belonged to the GUOOF, eight each to the UAOD and NUOFG, and five to the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity (IOOF KU).

The most significant development was the growth of the UAOD which opened 51 lodges in Hull and the East Riding between 1858 and 1912 and by the end of the nineteenth century it had become the most influential order in the region. The national headquarters of the order was at Hull from 1875 to 1948 and the general secretaryship was held for most of this time by two Hull men, Morris Rosenbaum, 1875-1903 and Francis Askew, 1909-37.(42) The Hull district of the UAOD had been established in 1839 but in 1858 its seven lodges and 400 members seceded en bloc to the newly formed Order of Druids.(43) Shortly afterwards, however, two of the seceding lodges Bannister and Druids' Friends Home changed back and re-established the United Order in Hull. They immediately resolved to form new lodges and by 1864 25 lodges had been opened eight of them in the East Riding.(44) This remarkable growth owed much to Morris Rosenbaum who had been appointed District Secretary in 1860. Rosenbaum

was the sole founder of six lodges including those at Patrington, Hornsea and Beverley.(45)

Rosenbaum's success led directly to his appointment as General Secretary to the UAOD in 1875 and the removal of the Order's headquarters from London to Hull in the same year. The management of the order then passed into the hands of Hull and East Riding men who formed the executive committee.(46) There followed a period of great expansion nationally with 375 lodges being opened throughout the country in the years 1876-95.(47) A further eight new lodges were opened in the East Riding in 1884-96.(48) From the Druids' base in Hull the obvious area for expansion was the town's traditional hinterland Holderness to the east and it was there that ten of the new lodges were opened.(49) Amongst the 'new' East Riding lodges were two which had once belonged to the Loyal Order, Bridlington Prince Albert Lodge and Harpham St.Quintin Lodge. The latter had a not untypical history, founded as a gorsedd of the Loyal Order in 1842-43 it soon became the head of a district. In September 1864 when they had 65 members the Harpham Druids decided to become an independent society - the word Gorsedd was to be done away with and the name in future was to be the St.Quintin Lodge of the Independent Order of Druids. The officers were to be known as President, Vice-President and Stewards instead of the Arch-Druid, Vice-Arch etc.(50) Membership initially rose to 99 in 1866 but fell in the late 1870s-1880s and it would appear to be dwindling funds and membership that prompted the lodge to join the United Ancient Order of Druids in 1892.(51)

The success of the Druids in the East Riding was not equalled by the other order which for some time had its national base in Hull, the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity.(52) It opened only six lodges in the county: at Howden in 1856 and 1860, Beverley, Withernsea and Leconfield in 1859, and Hessle in 1863.(53) Until 1863 Hull

dominated the order, the district providing all the members of the committee of management and all the trustees. However this monopoly was broken by a resolution which was carried at the Annual Moveable Committee in Leeds in that year which limited the attendance at annual meetings to district or lodge delegates and this eroded Hull's power for it had previously controlled the order with the combined votes of its delegates and the members of the management committee. The resolution caused great commotion in the area and resulted in two Annual Moveable Committees being held simultaneously in 1864. One, with most districts attending, was held at the Mason's Arms in Leeds while Hull District went to Wainfleet, Lincolnshire and held its own. The principal result of this disruption was the secession of the lodges in York and Beverley districts, the former joining the National Independent Order of Oddfellows and the latter the Grand United Order of Oddfellows. (54)

The acquisition of three former IOOF KU lodges, two at Beverley and one at Leconfield, in 1864 provided an important boost to the Grand United Order which had so far made little impact on the East Riding. (55) A Hull district of the order which had existed in the 1840s had closed by 1848 and it was not until ten years later with the opening of Loyal Kingston lodge by Leeds district that the GUOOF returned to the town. (56) Three more lodges were opened in 1859 and a new Hull district formed. The district opened lodges at Anlaby and Cottingham in 1863-64 and welcomed the seceding Beverley district of the IOOF KU. This last became a GUOOF district and opened further lodges by 1873 at North Cave, Beverley [2], Wawne, Etton and surprisingly four in Hull. (57) There appears to have been little national control of district development for in 1869 there were nine Hull lodges, three in Beverley district, five in Humber district and one independent. (58)

The revival of GUOOF was paralleled by the return of the Gardeners which since the early 1850s had been represented in the East Riding by only one lodge at Norton.(59) In the two years after the opening of the Good Samaritan lodge at Hull in 1866 a further ten lodges were founded in the town and a district established.(60) This most ambitious and successful district opened 44 new lodges in the next five years, 12 in Hull, eight in the East Riding and others as far afield as Sheffield, Lincoln, and Worksop.(61) By 1882 the district comprised 80 lodges.(62) The East Riding lodges were opened at Hessle in 1868 at Withernsea, Beverley, Driffield, South Cave and Howden in 1869 and at Cottingham and Holme on Spalding Moor in 1870.(63)

The second great phase of the development of the affiliated orders in the East Riding came to a close in 1870 and in the next 30 years only seventeen new branches were opened and of these eight belonged to the UAOD and three to the GUOOF.(64) One order, however, did not really penetrate the East Riding until the early twentieth century. This was the Order of the Sons of Temperance which in the years 1900-13 opened fifteen sub-divisions in the towns of Bridlington, Hedon, Hornsea, Withernsea, Driffield, Market Weighton, Hessle and Filey and in the large 'open' villages of Cottingham, Sutton, Leven, Nafferton, Beeford and Anlaby Common. These branches and that already opened in Beverley in 1893 were established through the thriving Hull Grand Division which had been founded nearly 30 years earlier. (65) The development of the OST far outshone locally the other older temperance order the Rechabites which although expanding nationally only established branches at Beverley in 1899 and Bridlington in 1904 after its severe set back in 1843. (66)

Registration, independent societies and the coming of National Health Insurance.

The older orders lost a great deal of support in the East Riding in the second half of the nineteenth century and the IOOF MU, AOF and LOAS had a marked reduction in number of branches and members but this decline was more to do with the secession and expulsion of courts and lodges than outright closure. At least 40 East Riding societies which had been founded as affiliated branches before 1866 were functioning as independent societies in 1900. The approximate date of leaving the order has been discovered for 33 of these societies.

Table 13 : Date of leaving Affiliated Order

Decade	No.
1850-59	7
1860-69	10
1870-79	7
1880-89	3
1890-99	6

Source: Appendix I

In 1900 when there were only ten official AOF courts at least 16 former courts still existed and there were also eight former IOOF MU lodges.(67) The independence shown by these breakaway branches was from both their own orders' management committee and from any control by central government in their attitude to registration under the various Friendly Society acts. As the pressure upon branches to register was one of the factors leading to secessions and expulsions and because the failure to register underlines the antagonism by village societies to any outside interference with their affairs a brief account on registration is necessary here.

The Friendly Society acts of 1834, 1846, 1850 and 1875 marked significant phases in the process of central government registration of the affiliated orders. (68) The Friendly Societies act of 1834 no longer required societies to submit their rules to quarter sessions for their confirmation by local justices of the peace but instead two copies of the rules were to be sent, by the club seeking registration, directly to the barrister appointed by the National Debt Commissioners to certify the rules of savings banks. The rules would be certified, if containing nothing illegal, and one copy sent to the local clerk of the peace for enrolment. From this date magistrates were required to accept the decision of the barrister and registered societies received some freedom from local paternalistic control. Although the act greatly enlarged the range of purposes for which friendly societies might be formed and provided a more efficient system of registration it did not, seemingly, extend the benefits of registration to the affiliated orders which under the terms of the Corresponding Societies act and the Seditious Meetings act were deemed illegal. (69) These acts had made societies with branches illegal and had prohibited certain meetings of more than 50 persons. In 1846 a further Friendly Societies act, of importance for establishing the position of 'Registrar of Friendly Societies', declared that these provisions should not apply to registered friendly societies but still the affiliated orders were unable to register principally because the scale and nature of their organisations went beyond the scope of the current acts. The three main obstacles, were, firstly, the cost involved on the orders of registering, as required, each branch independently, secondly unacceptable procedures within the orders for dealing with disputes and, thirdly, the requirement by the law that there should be annual general meetings called in the county where the society was established. (70)

The chief benefit of registration to any friendly society was the right to sue at law and therefore protect the funds of the organisation. Unregistered societies were classed in law as partnerships and unless all the partners acted together they could not proceed against an offending partner, who might have absconded with the club box, unless he agreed. The perils to the affiliated orders of not being able to register were highlighted in 1848 when the Corresponding Secretary of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity embezzled £4,000. He was tried but acquitted on the grounds that the Odd Fellows was both a mere partnership and an illegal organization. This unleashed a campaign by the orders to gain legal protection which was granted by the Friendly Societies act of 1850.(71) At once the Ancient Order of Foresters registered its general rules, and in 1851 the IOOF MU followed suit.(72) Individual districts, courts and lodges however were required to register separately and in Yorkshire the Odd Fellows' lodges showed considerable reluctance.

Table 14 : IOOF MU Lodges registered by 1860

Counties	No of lodges	No registered	%
Yorkshire	499	170	34
Leics., Notts., Northants.	185	102	55
Lancashire	540	326	60
Lincs., Norfolk, Suffolk	205	146	71
Dorset, Hants., Somerset, and Wilts.	77	63	82

Source: IOOF MU, List of Lodges 1860, Manchester 1860 (73)

Of the 18 village and small town lodges in the East Riding in 1860 only six had registered their rules by then, of the remaining 12, five did not register and eventually left the order, two registered in 1862, one in 1865, two in 1872, one in 1876 and the last in 1893.(74) The Foresters' courts were even slower in registering and only four of the

24 existing rural courts in the East Riding were registered by 1860, five registered during the 1860s, four in the 1870s, one in 1883 and ten never registered while members of the order.(75)

Discussions on whether or not to register were clearly held in local courts and lodges but unfortunately the minute books are rather brief on this matter. Lockington AOF resolved on 13 January 1851 to register and in April Hutton Cranswick AOF sent two members 'to Lockington Foresters court to inquire about the legalization of the order and to see what steps be taken at the earliest opportunity'. However neither court registered at that time. Middleton Foresters discussed enrolment three times in 1854, 1862 and 1864 and on the last occasion it was seemingly agreed that the court be enrolled but there is no record of such action being taken. Lockington Foresters, at a summoned meeting of members in December 1873, resolved not to register and this reluctance to register was possibly the cause of their expulsion from the order in that year.(76)

During the period 1850-70 failure to register was not always the choice of the society for Gosden claims that the then Registrar, Tidd Pratt, had no time at all for the affiliated orders and he 'seemed intent on putting as many obstacles as possible in the way of registration by the orders. He was prepared to register the general rules of an order but refused to recognize any registration of a branch except as a separate society, an independent unit, free of all central control, able to dissolve itself when it pleased'.(77) Following the death of Tidd Pratt and the subsequent Royal Commission on Friendly Societies the official attitude to the affiliated orders changed. The orders were to be encouraged and their management of their constituent branches assisted. To further this a new Friendly Societies act was passed in 1875 which no longer required each affiliated society to

register separately. The affiliated orders could register centrally and their courts and lodges would register as branches. By doing this the societies 'renounced a position of legal independence for one of legal subordination' which the Chief Registrar, Ludlow, said showed 'the strength of the federal principle amongst our industrious classes. That their confidence in that principle is justified appears, moreover, by the progress which is visible in almost all the affiliated bodies'.(78)

Pressure was exerted, by the two main orders, on branches to register or re-register as branches and registration became one of the rules of both orders and this accounts for some of the suspensions and secessions after 1875. Hutton Cranswick AOF agreed in 1887 by a majority of 25 to 3 to register as a branch but Witherwick AOF court which registered in 1853 refused to re-register as a branch and consequently it was suspended from the order in 1895.(79)

For many societies the benefits of registration were far outweighed by the loss of independence both in regard to the parent body and central government.(80) Following the 1875 Act a registered society was required to have its accounts audited annually and it had to send annual returns of receipts and expenditure to the Registrar's office. Every five years returns of sickness and mortality and a valuation of assets and liabilities had to be sent in. Failure to send in any returns or any other information requested by the Registrar was a punishable offence which could lead to loss of registration. A member of a society or any one else with an interest in its funds had the right to inspect the society's books and to be given a copy of the last annual return.(81) Such requirements as these were no doubt instrumental in leading some of the more vigorous East Riding societies to choose to manage their own affairs independently of the orders or the Chief Registrar.

Out of 136 affiliated societies in existence in the East Riding in the period 1850-75 only 68 (50%) registered during those years and only a further 19 (14%) in the next 25 years. Amongst those that did not register were some of the most influential of the local societies, the Foresters' courts at Middleton, Lockington, Muston and Walkington, former Oddfellows' lodges at North Dalton, Helperthorpe, and Warter, Shepherds' lodges at Burton Fleming, Foston, Huggate, Langton, Nafferton, Rillington, Rudston, Westow and Wold Newton, and Druids' lodges at Flixton, Ganton and Rillington, all of which were still in existence in 1912.(82)

All these unregistered societies were at some stage either expelled or seceded from the parent orders but not chiefly because of their refusal to register. Courts and lodges were suspended for not making returns, for refusal to adopt rates agreed by the executive councils, for non-payment of levies or district dues, for illegally seceding from districts or for breaking many of the increasing number of general laws of the orders. It is said that Hutton Cranswick AOF left the order in 1894 because it was refused permission to build a hall with its own funds. The hall was built by the independent society in 1901 and in 1905 it rejoined the AOF.(83)

The independent courts and lodges often continued to use their former names and their original ritual and regalia. This could bring them into conflict with their parent order. In June 1898 Middleton Foresters' court, which left the AOF in 1866, issued a poster advertising the 60th anniversary of Court Devonshire at the top of which were the arms of the Order and the words 'Ancient Order of Foresters' underneath. A copy of the poster got into the hands of the AOF executive council and they threatened legal proceedings against the Middleton society. The latter pleaded ignorance but the AOF insisted that they should insert a

disclaimer in the chief local newspaper.(84)

It was with these independent branches that the affiliated orders were most concerned in their final period of activity just before the First World War and their interest was occasioned by the passing of the National Insurance Act in December 1911. This act, the contents of which are discussed in chapter 10 below, provided for the administration of the state health insurance through approved societies but to gain approval an independent friendly society with less than 5,000 insured members had a choice of three alternatives : (i) they could form or be formed into a loose association of other similar small societies in the same county or county borough, (ii) they could with other small societies constitute themselves into a new 'Society with branches', possibly becoming a County Society, or (iii) they could become branches of some existing large society in accordance with its rules.(85) It was the last alternative that most East Riding independent societies chose and in 1911-13 there was great competition on the part of national and district officers of the affiliated orders to win over the village clubs.

Once the terms of the National Insurance bill with regard to receiving approved status were learnt letters poured out of the offices of the affiliated orders. On receiving letters from various orders offering 'amalgamation' the committee of the Cottingham United Friendly Society resolved to ask an officer of one of the societies to come and explain to them how the bill would affect their society. On 14 November 1911 a deputation from the United Ancient Order of Druids attended the committee and spoke about the bill and it was decided to hold a special meeting of the Cottingham United Society on 1 December at which it was to be recommended that the society amalgamate with the UAOD. However at the meeting this recommendation was not accepted as there was also a

proposal to join the National United Order of Free Gardeners, a society well known to members as there was already a thriving branch of the order in the village. The decision was deferred for one month when members cast 23 votes for joining the UAOD and 33 for the NUOFG.(86) There was a similar occurrence at Patrington where members of the old established Amicable Society decided to join the UAOD in 1913 probably because of the presence in the village already of a large Druids' lodge.(87)

A number of independent branches chose to return to their original founding order. On 8 January 1912 the independent Lockington Foresters rather belatedly discussed the National Health Insurance scheme which they thought 'might interfere with the interests of Court Wellington' and they asked the secretary to write 'to the Commissioners of the State asking them to grant an exemption to this court'. Clearly the court had not fully understood the implications of the National Insurance Act and at the end of March a proposal to affiliate with an established order was carried 31 to 18 but a second proposal calling for a postal vote of all members was also carried. A month later the ballot papers were counted, 342 voting papers had been sent out and 323 received back of which 227 were for affiliation and 96 against. At the end of June it was unanimously agreed to rejoin the Ancient Order of Foresters. (88)

The less flourishing Keyingham Foresters whose membership had declined from 431 in 1890 to 240 in 1911 was also approached by a number of orders including the Sons of Temperance, the United Ancient Order of Druids, the Sheffield Equalized Independent Druids, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of Foresters. The last had written to the Keyingham Foresters for the second time on 15 December 1911 inviting them to rejoin the order and offering to consider favourably an application offering that:

We will not insist upon a valuation being made prior to a Dispensation being issued on condition that your Society gives an undertaking to put its affairs on a solvent basis when making the re-adjustments required by the Bill, and will charge NEW members the contribution required by the General Laws of the Order for the benefits they undertake to pay.

Keyingham Foresters' decided to join the AOF and the new court was opened on 10 May.(89)

The independent Court Bethel's Benefit at Leven rejoined the AOF, Seaton Oddfellows rejoined the IOOF MU and the former Shepherds' lodges at Langton, Westow and Rillington, and the Shepherdeses' lodge at Nafferton, rejoined the LOAS. At Market Weighton however the former AOF branch that had become independent in the 1860s chose to join the IOOF MU in 1912. Conversely the former IOOF MU lodge at Garton on the Wolds joined the AOF.(90)

The years 1911-13 marked the final flurry of activity by the affiliated orders in the East Riding and no new friendly societies have been recorded as having been established after 1913. National Health Insurance although it gave a boost to the funds and membership of the affiliated orders also marked the end of their development in the East Riding and throughout Britain. What is surprising however is how many individual branches established in the nineteenth century still existed at the beginning of the 1980s. There were at least twenty-six branches of affiliated orders and one independent society still functioning in the county in 1980, seventeen of which had been founded by 1843, but sadly it is unlikely that they will survive much longer.(91) Although their decline since 1912 has been steady none of the societies had uninterrupted development up to that date and the following chapter examines their fluctuating fortunes from the 1830s.

- (1) Details of these 372 societies are given in appendix 1 below.
- (2) The date or decade of the foundation of only 36 of the 42 pre-1830 are known.
- (3) D. Neave, Howden explored, Georgian Society for East Yorkshire, 1979, pp.6-9
- (4) HCRO QDC 2/24 'Articles for the regulation of the friendly society instituted at Howden the 8th day of April 1751', Howden, 1821
- (5) e.g. Beverley Brotherly Society in 1801 had 64% of its membership from skilled artisans and tradesmen, Beverley Independent Society in 1831 60%, and Market Weighton Friendly Society 57% artisans, tradesmen and farmers. Rules of Beverley Brotherly Society, 1801 and Rules of Beverley Independent Society, 1831, Beverley Library; Rules of Market Weighton friendly society 1829, PRO FS 1/797B; The New Union Society of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, was made up of 'weavers, a predominant group, husbandmen, joiners, tanners, cordwainers, hatters, with a labourer or two to make up weight'. J.D. Marshall, 'The rise and transformation of the Cumbrian market town 1660-1900', Northern History, 19, 1983, p.187
- (6) PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19, Rules of the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society 1794 and 1827
- (7) ibid FS 4/57 Rules of Filey Fisherman's Fund 1811; HCRO-PR 2366/6 Rules of Flamborough Fisherman's Fund 1815; Abstract of answers relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor in England House of Commons Accounts and Papers 1803-4, vol.13.
- (8) For full lists of the branches of each order which were opened in the East Riding 1830-1912 see Appendix 2 below.
- (9) For East Riding branches see Appendix 2. Hull figures compiled from: P. Davis, The old friendly societies of Hull, Hull, 1926; F.W. Fierke, 'The rise and progress of friendly societies in Hull', in Souvenir handbook of the National Conference of Friendly Societies, Hull, 1915.; Friendly societies almanack, Hull, 1895; Report of Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, 1876; IOOF MU, List of lodges, 1860, 1877, 1940; GUUOF, dispensation book, quarterly reports 1858-6, Directory, 1880-3, 1900; LOAS, surance book, Directory 1890, 1947; NUOFG, Directory 1851, 1867-75; IOR, Richardson Campbell, Rechabite history, Directory, 1900, 1920; AOF, Directory, 1850, 1868, 1896; UAOD, List of lodges, 1862, 1938; Order of Druids, Directory, 1864, 1914, Almanack, 1895; OST, F.W. Fierke (ed.) Order of Sons of Temperance Society Hull Grand Division Jubilee Souvenir, Hull, 1915, pp.4-8; 'Rise and Progress of the Hull Grand Division', The Pioneer, No.26, May 1899, pp.27-38; No.27 August 1899, pp.1-10; No.28 November 1899 pp.11-16.
- (10) Because of the loss of the dispensation book of the IOOF MU it is impossible to give as detailed an account of the arrival and spread of this order in the East Riding as it is in the case of the AOF and LOAS below.
- As noted above the Nelson Independent Lodge of Oddfellows had been founded in Hull in 1806 but it lasted only until 1818 when its property was sold. The Andrew Marvell Lodge, No.1 of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Hull Unity existed in 1819 and at the same date there were at least two lodges of the United Order of Odd Fellows in the town. The Anacreontic lodge is mentioned in 1813, the Shakespeare lodge in 1817, and the 'Laws of the United Order of Odd Fellows' were filed at Hull Quarter Sessions in 1820. The history of the IOOF MU in Hull begins with the opening in 1827 of the Philanthropic Lodge and the establishment of a Hull District in the same year. In May 1828 members of the

Philanthropic Lodge opened the Loyal Clarence Lodge at the Mason's Arms, High Street and three more lodges were opened in 1829. P.Davis, The old friendly societies of Hull, p.18-19; A membership certificate of Nelson Lodge dated 1813 is referred to in F.W.Fierke, 'The rise and progress of friendly societies in Hull', [p.2]; The Odd Fellows Magazine, 1828, p.71 account of the first anniversary of the Philanthropic Lodge, 6 August 1828; *ibid.*, June 1828, p.46.; The Good Samaritan lodge, Goole, celebrated its first anniversary in September 1829. The Odd Fellows Magazine, March 1830, p.223

(11) Hull Ad., 30/8/1839; for opening of Wilberfoss Lodge see *ibid.*, 8/6/1838. Officers from Driffield district opened lodges at Nafferton in June 1838, and at Weaverthorpe in February 1839, and Bridlington district was responsible for opening lodges at Flamborough and Hunmanby in October 1838, and at Skipsea in March 1839. The Hunmanby lodge was opened within a few days of one being opened three miles away at Filey by Scarborough district. *ibid.*, 15/6 and 26/9/1838, 8/3/1839; Yorks.Gazette, 2/3/1839.

(12) IOOF MU, List of Lodges 1845; Quarterly Report July 1839; Hull Ad., 15/6/1838; 11/1 and 16/8/1839.

(13) Court Crow's Nest AOF, Howden opened in April 1836 had early links with Court Port of Goole, Goole and it seemingly initiated the founders of Howden court. The Goole court whose dispensation was dated 20 July 1835 had in turn been opened by a court from Doncaster (Court St.Albans 245) which had originally been a member of the Royal Order but had seceded and joined the Ancient Order in October 1834. AOF Dispensation book and LOAS Surance book.

(14) Hull Advertiser 20/4/1838

(15) The Court True Freedom at Pocklington was opened by officers of a court at York with the assistance of the District Chief Ranger from Leeds and at least three Hull Courts promoted branches in South Holderness and surrounding villages. Hull Advertiser 29/6/1838; AOF Dispensation book.

(16) 3rd Quarterly Report of the First Executive Council of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Manchester, February 1835. In P.Davis, The Old Friendly Societies of Hull, 1926 the date for the introduction of the AOF to Hull is given as 1835 and F.W.Fierke, Souvenir Handbook, National Conference of Friendly Societies, Hull, 1915 gives the date as 30 Dec. 1835, as does the article on 'Forestry in Hull and Neighbourhood' in the Directory of the AOF 1890, pp. xlv-xlvii. The dispensation for Court Kingston was dated 7 January 1835. AOF Dispensation Book. A report on the second anniversary of Court Kingston in Februray 1837 in the Foresters' Miscellany comments: 'Hitherto Hull has appeared almost a barren soil for Forestry, but from the apparent interest taken by the visitors, great hopes are entertained that an impulse has been given to it that will carry it forward to a great success.' A year later the Hull Advertiser remarked that 'Forestry has had much to contend with' since its commencement in Hull. 'Forestry in Hull and Neighbourhood' p. xlv. Hull Ad. 9 Feb. 1838

(17) Proposition and Minute Book of Court Forester's Home, Hull 1838-52 in possession of L.Salton, 1979.

(18) Hull Advertiser 27 July 1838

(19) AOF Dispensation Book

(20) Keyingham Foresters' account book 1839-69, Foresters' Hall, Keyingham (now HCRO)

(21) Proposition and Minute Book, Court Forester's Home, Hull 1839; Hull Ad. 23/8 + 1/11/1839

(22) 'Forestry in Hull and Neighbourhood', pp. xlvi; General Laws for the Government of The Ancient Order of Foresters, Dewsbury, 1840, rule

77; A full report of the anniversary on 11 January 1842 of the reformed Court Forester's Home with speeches made by the High Court Ranger, High Court Treasurer and the Permanent Secretary of the Order appears in Forester's Miscellany, 1842, pp.28-29.

Away from the rivalry of the Hull courts Forestry continued to spread outwards from the market towns of the East Riding. Court Crow's Nest at Howden continued to actively open new courts - Bubwith in July 1838, North Newbald and Hemingbrough the following month, and Eastrington in February 1840. The Driffield Court, Alfred the Great, opened courts at Middleton on the Wolds and Hutton Cranswick on Friday and Saturday 15 and 16 February 1839. The Middleton Court in its turn opened Court Wellington at Lockington in November 1840. Yorks Gazette 11/8/1838; Hull Ad., 31/8/1838, 22/2/1839, 13/3/1840; Lockington Foresters' Proposition and Minute Book 1840-85 -2/11/1840; Dispensation Book AOF Southampton.

(23) 'Forestry in Hull and Neighbourhood' p.xlvi-xlvii; The first Permanent Secretary of the Order, David Redfearn, was appointed at the beginning of the Hull High Court. He held the office for less than a year as he was forced to resign 'in consequence of an exposure of his conduct in running away from Hull with another person's wife. Soon after, the pair went to America, and were never heard of afterwards.' 'Historical Sketch of the Order', AOF Directory 1896, p.xix.

(24) 41 courts were opened in the five years 1836-41 and only 13 more were to be opened in the next 70 years although nationally the order continued to expand at a tremendous rate except for a reversal in 1849-50.

(25) The fortunate survival of the original register of lodges from 1826 makes it possible to chart the geographical progress of the order. Lodges were opened by districts and 'surances' were granted by the three Chief Officers who until 1860 were always chosen from the Ashton District. A 'surance', a term peculiar to the LOAS, was the contract or warrant for the establishment of the lodge; other affiliated orders granted 'dispensations'. The register of lodges gives the number of the lodge, its name, founding district, date of surance, host (inn where lodge held), and place. LOAS Head Office, Stockport, Mss. Register of Lodges 1826-89. A female order was founded alongside the LOAS. The Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses was introduced into Hull in October 1838 by the officers of Leeds St.Peter's District. Within nine months five courts were opened in the area. The Welton and North Frodingham courts founded in 1839-40 were closely linked with LOAS lodges in the same village. The Welton lodge and court were opened on the same day and at North Frodingham the Shepherds and Shepherdeses held joint feast days and other celebrations. By April 1848 there had been formed the Order of Ancient Shepherdeses, Kingston Unity which seems to have been set up by the Hull District of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses. In January 1850 the Hull District of the Kingston Unity Order consisted of 32 Courts with 730 members. Hull Advertiser, 15/11/1839; 4/12/1840; 7/5/1841. The Ancient Shepherdeses' Quarterly Magazine, Vol.1, No.1, Jan.1850, p.11-14. There were Courts from as far afield as Doncaster and Knaresborough in the Hull District.

(26) LOAS Register of lodges. When Langtoft Lodge was opened in January 1839 by the Chief Shepherd from Malton and four brethren from Snainton the Hull Advertiser noted 'it is an extraordinary instance of the rapid spread of the order in Malton and neighbourhood, that this is the eighth lodge which has been opened in the district in the short space of the last fourteen months.' Hull Advertiser 4/1/1839. The speed of development of the LOAS was probably a major reason for the early demise of many of the lodges. Less than half of the 40 lodges founded in the Malton District by 1843 were still in existence in 1852. LOAS Reports of Annual

Meetings 1838-54

(27) Yorks. Gazette 2/2/1839.

(28) Six of these lodges still existed in 1912 although all but one had left the order and become independent. The Nafferton lodge was just surviving in 1981. See appendix 1 for details. Information from LOAS Yorkshire District Secretary 1981; for Nafferton Lodge see Yvonne Dobson, 'I live in a village: A Scrapbook of village life'. Typescript c1971.

(29) The Gorsedd - the stone circle of the Druids was an eighteenth century invention. S. Piggott, The Druids, pp.142-43

(30) Yorks. Gazette 8/6/39; Hull Advertiser 1/11/39;

D.J. Salmon (ed.), Malton in the Early Nineteenth Century, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications No.26, Northallerton, 1981, p.55.

(31) Hull Advertiser 14/8/40

(32) HCRO DDX 61 Records of Harpham Druids 1846-1913.

(33) see appendix 1 for details.

(34) Yorks. Gazette 20/5/37, 3/3/38, 16/6/38, 8/6/39, 6/6/40; Hull

Advertiser 2/3/38; D.J. Salmon, Malton in the Early 19th Century, N. Yorkshire County Record Office Publications No.26, Northallerton, 1981, p.55.

(35) R. Campbell, Rechabite History, Manchester, 1911 p.47-48, 73, 162, Hull Advertiser, 28/5/1838, 6/9/1839.

(36) ibid., 26/10/1838.

(37) ibid.

(38) R. Campbell, pp.47-48

(39) Frederick Hopwood is first recorded as a full-time teetotal lecturer living at Pocklington c1838-42. He then moved to York where he was the secretary of the influential York Total Abstinence Society. A radical politician who was described as 'a chartist' by the York Gazette. In 1847 Hopwood led the attack on George Hudson that resulted in the 'Railway King' losing favour in York. Hopwood however failed to secure a seat on the City Council in that year despite a vigorous well supported campaign. Hopwood was actively involved with the Order of Rechabites from its arrival in the East Riding. In 1839-42 he was Deputy Chief Ruler of the East Riding District and in 1840-43 attended the annual meetings of the order as representative of the district. In July 1843 Hopwood was elected High Chief Ruler of the Order a position he retained to the next conference in July 1846. Hopwood was probably involved with the flourishing Pocklington Total Abstinence Society and he was a popular speaker at local temperance meetings and Rechabite festivals in 1838-44.

A.J. Peacock and D. Joy, George Hudson of York, Dalesman Books, 1971, pp.43-60; A.J. Peacock, 'Chartism in York', York History, No.3, p.142; A.J. Peacock, 'York in the Age of Reform', Ph.D. thesis, University of York 1973, p.471. R. Campbell, Rechabite History pp. 87-88, 93, 105, 117, 126, 149, 155. Hull Ad. 1/2/1839, 8/3/1839, 24/7/1840, 17/5/1844;

Yorks. Gazette 14/7/1838; Rechabite Magazine April 1841, p.40. In 1840

Hopwood was appointed to audit the books of the IOR along with John Strachan of South Shields, secretary of South Shields Total Abstinence Society, a moral force Chartist and radical. R. Campbell, p.88.

B. Harrison, Dictionary of British Temperance Biography, Society for the Study of Labour History, 1973.

(40) The East Riding District was reduced from 14 tents in 1842 to three by 1857. Of the East Riding tents listed above Bridlington closed or left the order by 1844, Skipsea, Pocklington, Malton 208, Howden and Norton all disappeared between 1844-51 and North Cave between 1852-57. Driffield survived to close between 1864-65 and by 1870 the East Riding District consisted of only the Good Design tent in Hull. I.O.R., Annual

Movable Committee Reports 1837-69.

(41) The activities of the IOOF MU, AOF and LOAS in the East Riding in the years 1850-1900 can be briefly summarised:

IOOF MU

The general disruption in the order after 1845 was probably partly responsible for both for the increase in lodge closures and the lack of activity in opening new ones in the following 15 years. The number of existing lodges in the East Riding dropped from 36 in 1850 to 21 in 1860. The opening of two new IOOF MU lodges in 1861 at Langtoft and Hutton Cranswick had only a limited impact on the decline of the order locally which was reduced to 15 lodges by 1875. The last quarter of the century saw the surviving lodges benefitting from the general support for the affiliated orders and although only one new lodge was opened, only three closed or left the order and membership rose from 1,747 to 2,294. IOOF MU, Directory and List of Lodges, Manchester, 1850, 1860, 1875, 1900.

AOF

Only three courts were opened by the AOF, Easttrington and Sutton-on-Hull in 1858, and Holme-on-Spalding Moor in 1864. Then no wholly new court was opened in the East Riding until 1912. The number of active courts in the East Riding declined from a peak of 37 in 1845 to only 7 in 1905. Not all of this decline was due to the collapse or closure of courts a number of courts including those at Keyingham, Middleton and Lockington left the AOF and became independent rejoining after 1911. AOF Dispensation book; AOF, Directory of courts, 1845-1913.

LOAS

The number of LOAS lodges in the East Riding declined sharply from 1850. Only

the Selby district apparently continued to expand in the 1860s and it was instrumental in re-establishing the order in Hull in 1866. The original Hull district, which had been created by renaming the Beverley district in 1841, had ceased to exist in 1857 but was refounded with seven lodges in 1870. In all 20 lodges were founded in Hull in the years 1870-85 but the only new East Riding lodge was established at Beverley in 1877. LOAS Register of lodges; LOAS Reports of annual meetings.

(42) UAOD Quarterly report and magazine vol.11., pp.269-271. Morris Rosenbaum who died in 1905 ran a registry office for servants in George Street in 1892 - T.Bulmer, History and directory of East Yorkshire 1892, Preston, 1892, p.954. The strength of the order in Hull and district owes much to Francis Askew (1855-1940), secretary of Druids' Friend Lodge, editor of UAOD magazine 1897-40, and General Secretary of the Order 1909-37. Askew a printer moved from Dartford to Hull in the late 1870s. He was an active Baptist and Rechabite. A trade unionist and Liberal. A member of Sculcoates Board of Guardians from 1895 and Hull City Council from 1897. Alderman 1908 and Lord Mayor 1916-17. Chairman of Education Committee. Member of committee to establish Hull University College 1925. Awarded honorary Doctorate of Laws by Leeds University in 1933. UAOD Quarterly report and magazine vol.III, no.17 June 1901; United Druids monthly magazine, Dec.1940, pp.461-465; J.Bellamy and J.Saville (eds.) Dictionary of labour biography, vol.3, pp.8-9

(43) Druids' monthly magazine Vol.1, 1838, p.84; Hull Ad. 7/8/1840.

F.W.Fierke, 'The rise and progress of friendly societies in Hull', upg.

(44) UAOD Quarterly report and magazine June 1902, p.278. UAOD Hull District annual report 1895; This great expansion which constituted a third of all the new UAOD lodges founded during the period is said to have been the inspiration for the development of the whole order in the later 19th century. UAOD Quarterly Report op.cit. In 1864 there were

- also 20 lodges of the Order of Druids in Hull but none in the East Riding. The Order of Druids Almanack 1864, Manchester, 1864.
- (45) UAOD Quarterly report and magazine Vol.11., pp.269-271.
- (46) United Druids' monthly magazine June 1905 p.37; Mss.Attendance Book 1875-1971, UAOD Offices, Bristol; UAOD Hull District Annual Report 1912.
- (47) F.Askew, op.cit., p.323.
- (48) see Appendix 2 list D
- (49) At Skirlaugh, Sproatley, Patrington, Preston, Hornsea, Burton Pidsea, Leven, Aldbrough and Withernsea.
- (50) HCRO DDX 61/2 Harpham District Druids Minute Book.
- (51) HCRO DDX 61/7,11-12.
- (52) The Hull District was badly hit by the cholera epidemic in 1849 which caused a severe strain on all the branches contributing to the district funeral fund. Nine levies in addition to the quarterly ones of a 1d per member were ordered and this was a cause of some dissension. Brunswick Lodge, Beverley had its funds reduced to £10 so it chose to leave Hull District and form a district on its own. Souvenir handbook, op.cit.,; Beverley Guardian 3 August 1895.
- (53) see appendix 1
- (54) Short history, p.73
- (55) J.Thornley, pt.II, p.95; HCRO QSV/3 Easter 1845 Vol.Q 144.; it is possible that the British Oak Lodge at Norton was an older lodge for it is described as being re-opened in 1861. GUOOF Quarterly Report, Feb.1861
- (56) A Report of the proceedings of the 11th A.M.C. of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows Dewsbury June 1848, Leeds, 1848; GUOOF, Quarterly report, Aug. 1848 - April 1858; Quarterly report and magazine, Aug.1858 - Feb. 1861; District and funeral laws of the York City District of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, York, 1861.
- (57) GUOOF Dispensation book; Quarterly Report, Feb. 1863 - Feb. 1865, May 1873.
- (58) GUOOF, Directory 1869
- (59) The Gardeners had lost ground rapidly in the 1840s and by 1852 following the collapse of the Riccall lodge only the society at Norton remained active. UOFG Annual Returns 1851, 1857-72.
- (60) A small lodge of the UOFG, the Rose of Kingston founded c1840, had existed in Hull in 1851 but it had dissappeared by 1857. The revival of the order in Hull occurred in 1865 when members of the York District opened the Good Samaritan Lodge and the the following year the Hull District was formed. ibid.
- (61) ibid.
- (62) NUOFG, Quarterly report, 10, May 1882, pp.22-23
- (63) Eastern Counties Herald 18/3/1869, 6/5/1869, 4/11/1869; UOFG Annual returns 1851, 1857-72.
- (64) see appendix 1.
- (65) F.W.Fierke(ed.)
Order of Sons of Temperance Society Hull Grand Division Jubilee Souvenir, Hull, 1915, pp.4-8; 'Rise and progress of the Hull Grand Division', The Pioneer, No.26, May 1899, pp.27-38; No.27 August 1899, pp.1-10; No.28 November 1899 pp.11-16; 1893-1913; F.W.Fierke(ed.) National Conference of Friendly Societies Souvenir Handbook 1915, Hull, 1915,np.

Membership of Hull Grand Division 1879-1914
(figures for Dec.31st each year.)

1879	137	1895	1955
1880	162	1896	2506
1881	166	1897	2850

1882	201	1898	3102
1883	228	1899	3679
1884	225	1900	4249
1885	255	1901	4849
1886	226	1902	5468
1887	269	1903	6092
1888	301	1904	6617
1889	431	1905	7250
1890	655	1906	7610
		1907	8077
1892	1188		
1893	1362	1914	10897
1894	1566		

Sources: The Pioneer 1893-1913; F.W.Fierke (ed.)
Order of Sons of Temperance Society Hull Grand
Division Jubilee Souvenir, Hull, 1915.

- (66) I.O.R., Directory, 1888-89, 1896-97, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1910-11.
- (67) AOF Directory of AOF FS for 1900; IOOF MU List of Lodges for 1900.
There were 13 official IOOF MU lodges still functioning in 1900.
- (68) A more detailed account of the various friendly society acts is given in P.H.J.H.Gosden, Friendly societies, pp. 155-197 and ibid., Self-help, pp.30-38, 63-90.
- (69) There is however evidence that branches of affiliated orders were enrolled under the 1834 act. The rules of the King Oswald lodge, IOOF MU, at Oswestry were 'allowed' by the Shropshire justices sitting in Quarter Sessions in October 1844, and those of the Admiral Rodney lodge, IOOF MU, Maesbury by the same justices in January 1846. R.LL.Kenyon, Abstract of the Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, vol.IV 1840-89, Shropshire County Records, n.d., pp.43,52; IOOF MU, Directory and List of Lodges 1940-41, Manchester, 1940, p.277
- (70) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.181
- (71) ibid., Self-Help, pp.35, 66-67.
- (72) ibid., pp.67-68; The IOR registered in 1854, but the LOAS did not register until 1867. R.Campbell, Rechabite history, pp.202-205; E.Crew, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Centenary Souvenir, p.55.
- (73) Nationally by the end of 1858 1,673 (52%) out of 3,198 IOOF MU lodges had registered and 926 (49%) out of 1,876 AOF courts. Gosden, Self-Help, p.73
- (74) See appendix I. In contrast 14 of the 15 Hull lodges and all three Beverley lodges had registered by 1860. IOOF MU, List of Lodges 1860, Manchester, 1860.
- (75) See appendix I. AOF, Directory of Courts 1860.
- (76) Hutton Cranswick, Lockington and Middleton AOF Minute Books in hands of courts 1980.
- (77) Gosden, Self-Help, pp.72-3.
- (78) ibid., p.84 quoting Report of the Chief Registrar for 1880, p.4
- (79) Hutton Cranswick AOF Minute Book; T.B.Stead, Directory of Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society for 1896, p.613. Witherwick was one of 42 AOF courts suspended in 1895 for violating general law 59 (not registering as branches).
- (80) For a list of the legal privileges which a registered friendly societies enjoyed at the end of the century see Gosden, Self-Help, p.90.
- (81) ibid., pp.80-81.
- (82) Appendix I below.
- (83) ex.inf. S.H.Edmond, secretary Hutton Cranswick AOF court, 1980.

(84) Correspondence from J.L.Stead, Secretary of AOF in possession of Middleton Foresters 1980.

(85) National Health Insurance Commission, Questions and answers for members of dividing societies and slate clubs, Official explanatory leaflet no.3, 1912, pp.1-4; ibid., The position of small societies under the act, Official explanatory leaflet no.13, 1912, pp.1-6.

(86) HCRO DDX 254/2 Cottingham United Friendly Society Minute Book 1906-26. At the vote taken on 1 December, 24 votes for amalgamation with the Druids, 3 votes for the Gardeners and 34 for the decision to be deferred one month.

The C.H.Wilson lodge of the NUOFG, Cottingham founded in 1870 had 265 members in 1910. Probably also the United Society members, a number of who worked on the extensive market gardens in the area thought the Gardeners' society more appropriate. There were 70 plus market gardeners in the village in the early 20th century. VCH ER, vol.4, p.75

(87) UAOD, Directory of lodges, 1938 see also Appendix 1. (88) Lockington Foresters' minute book 2, 8/1, 25/3, 26/4, 24/6/1912.

(89) HCRO Keyingham AOF miscellaneous letters 1911-12.

(90) see appendix 1

(91) The 27 societies existing in 1980 were IOOF MU, Beverley [2 lodges], Bishop Burton, Elloughton, North Ferriby, Hutton Cranswick, Lund and Long Riston; AOF, Beverley, Bishop Wilton, Bridlington, Driffield, Hutton Cranswick, Keyingham, Lockington, Middleton, and Sutton on Hull; GUOOF, Norton, Etton and Leconfield [united]; UAOD, Beverley, Leven, Preston; NUOFG, Beverley and Cottingham, LOAS, Nafferton; and the independent Good Samaritan Society at Hedon.

Chapter 4

FLUCTUATIONS IN THE FORTUNES OF EAST RIDING FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

Local societies in decline

There is substantial evidence to show that by the early 1830s local friendly societies established in the late 18th and early 19th century, if not already closed, were in serious decline and a vacuum was being created which was soon to be filled to overflowing by the affiliated orders. It would be impossible to discover the total number of local societies that existed in the East Riding but one can be sure that the 34 societies that enrolled with the Clerk of the Peace before 1830 were by no means the total number established.(1) The names of a further eight have been found and there are indications of many more.(2) For Hull Davis lists 79 pre-1815 societies of which only 21 were enrolled.(3)

Of the 42 societies that are known to have been established in the East Riding before 1830 only 15 definitely existed after 1840.(4) Many of the older societies were finding by the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century that their ageing membership was drawing heavily on the funds and few if any of the societies could be described as actuarially sound. The severe economic conditions of the years 1828-30, when two poor harvests brought about unemployment, hunger and widespread rural unrest, added to the difficulties the societies were experiencing. An anonymous printed circular, dated 2 June 1832, addressed 'To the Members of the Benevolent Society at Brands-Burton' states:

Is it not a notorious fact that nearly eighteen societies within the last year, have through necessity, been compelled to break up; more than one

at Beverley, and, at this time, more of the Beverley Clubs have the subject in contemplation.(5)

Nothing is known of the 18 clubs that had broken-up. However one of the Beverley clubs contemplating breaking up was the Beverley Brotherly Society. This society established in 1776 had a membership of 378 in 1794, but was clearly in decline by 1830. In that year it had 276 members, in 1831 258 and in 1832 231, and in the last two years its funds fell from £868 to £774.(6) In early October 1832 the Hull Rockingham carried the following report under the heading 'Breaking up of Societies at Beverley':

On Wednesday last the members of the Old Brotherly friendly society at Beverley assembled together for the purpose of sharing proportionately the funds of the institution which amounted to 2s 6d to each member for every twelve months from the time of his entrance. The following day the members of the New friendly society in that town had a similar meeting when the stock was divided, each of them receiving 3s per year from the time of their entering. We have not ascertained the cause that actuated these proceedings but we always feel regret at the breaking up of such institutions. (7)

The New Friendly Society had been founded in 1789 and would appear to have been flourishing in 1830 when it had 502 members.(8) The Beverley societies had probably found themselves in similar situations to that which prompted the Market Weighton Friendly Society to decide to close and divide its funds in January 1831. The society, founded in 1794, had 252 members in 1831 but of these 107 [42%] were over 50 and only 36[14%] under 30.(9) There was little in such a society, with increasing sick and funeral benefit payments, to encourage young men to join especially in a period of financial insecurity. At least 21 East Riding friendly societies appear to have been broken-up in the period 1830-32 and other old established clubs were suffering reverses.

The changing fortunes of the South Cave Friendly Society, founded

1770, are chronicled in the splendid journal kept for the years 1826-37 by its clerk Robert Sharp, the village schoolmaster. Sharp makes frequent references to the 'club' noting its monthly meetings, annual feasts and funerals. He considered the club as prosperous in July 1833 although its funds and membership had declined in the previous six years. Attendance at the club feast, which was compulsory for those living within five miles, fell from 120 members in 1827 to 93 in 1832. Total membership figures and the funds of the society are rarely referred to but both were declining for there were 138 members in 1830 and only 122 in 1835, and there were decreases in the society's funds of £28 in 1830 and £15 13s in 1833. An increase in funds of £23 15s in 1834 reflected an improving situation for the society which in the previous 18 months had gained at least five new members. When in February 1833 three new members were proposed Sharp noted that 'It is a long time since any new members came in'. (10)

The difficult economic situation in 1828-30 was probably the chief factor that brought about the downfall of so many societies in the early 1830s, and although the hardship faced by the East Riding agricultural labourer in these years was not as great as in the 'low-wage' counties of the south and west of England it still was severe.(11) Sharp who taught in the school above South Cave market hall took the opportunity to attend the weekly markets and in his journal he notes the comments of the local farmers which, with the contemporary diaries of the vicar of Driffield, Richard Allen, provide illuminating notes on the economic problems of the East Riding farming community.(12)

The farmers, and consequently the farm servants and labourers, fared best when corn prices were high. However the poor harvests of 1828-30 were followed by only moderately high prices owing partly to the relaxation of corn importation in 1828 and farmers economised by cutting

their labour force.(13) At the end of 1828 Allen noted that in the Driffield area many farm servants of both sexes were still unhired and in the following winter both diarists record the low price of agricultural products and the general depression of trade and agriculture. The farmers complained that they were going to 'wreck and ruin'. At Driffield in January 1830 many farm servants were again unemployed and the farm and other auction sales which were taking place weekly in March and April were said by Allen to be indicative of 'extreme poverty'. 'Poverty was the complaint of all ranks and degrees' and the scarcity of money adversely affected the attendance at the annual Driffield Missionary meeting in May 1830.(14)

Many small farmers and agricultural labourers sought a solution to their problems in emigration in the early months of 1830. Emigration fever was high at South Cave at the end of January and in March Allen complained that the strength of the nation was removing to America. Fifty-four villagers left Wetwang for America early in the year and in May 19 people emigrated from South Cave to Canada. Amongst the latter was James Milner who three months before had been granted, at his own request, his £12 funeral money by the friendly society and excluded from further benefits.(15)

Low wages and unemployment were still present in December 1830 - January 1831 when the East Riding experienced a number of incidents related to the Captain Swing riots. Threatening letters, stack fires and the destruction of thrashing machines were reported from various areas of the county and large numbers of special constables sworn in.(16) However the East Riding was considered by contemporaries to have shown little disaffection at this time and the 'very few cases' of unrest that occurred were attributed to 'private pique, stimulated into action by the apparent success of the incendiaries in the south'.(17) Employment

and increased wages were the main aims of the rioters in the East Riding. Robert Sharp reported that farmers at Walkington were threatened 'that if the labourers have not their wages raised they must abide by the consequences'.(18)

Agricultural wages and prices improved the following year and the mid-1830s saw a modest revival of interest in friendly societies. In the three years 1833-35 nine new societies were opened in the East Riding, more than the number of new societies recorded in the previous 15 years. Savings banks had record takings and agricultural workers were able to save. In 1832 Driffield Savings Bank took in over £2000, more than a third of the total takings for Hull Savings Bank, £800 of which was taken at Martinmas.(19)

Despite economic improvement local friendly societies dominated by professional men and the rural middle class with a high proportion of older members were unable to attract new members and their depleted funds prevented them from staying off the far more attractive affiliated orders when with the introduction of the New Poor Law, many saw joining a friendly society as the only way of avoiding the workhouse. The local societies found themselves at a low point at the key period of change in methods of dealing with the poor.

The great explosion 1836-43

The arrival of the affiliated orders in the East Riding in 1831-36 coincided with the dissolution of many local societies but evidence to link the two events is not conclusive. The first lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity (IOOF MU) was opened at Howden at the end of 1831 or early 1832 at a time when there were two flourishing local societies in the town which were to last for at least

another twenty years.(20) At Beverley the Rising Star Lodge, IOOF MU, was founded in April 1832 less than six months before the breaking up of the town's two oldest and largest clubs. Membership figures for the Oddfellows' lodge suggest that very few of the local societies' members had changed their allegiance; however the appearance of a more viable club took away the chance of the older societies recruiting new young members.(21) As is outlined above the IOOF MU spread slowly until 1836-37 when the implementation of the New Poor Law began to take place in the East Riding. Working men on their own initiative and with the indirect encouragement of the Poor Law Commissioners looked for ways of providing for themselves rather than face the prospect of the workhouse. Friendly societies were seen as one answer but in the East Riding they were few and far between following the collapse of many of the old local societies. However the IOOF MU and the Ancient Order of Foresters had reorganised themselves and begun to spread throughout Yorkshire just at the right moment to make the greatest impact.

In the eight years 1836-43 at least 147 friendly societies were established in the East Riding. Of this number, which was almost half of the societies founded at a known date in the county in the period 1830-1920, 143 (97%) were branches of the affiliated orders and only four were local societies.(22) This explosion, which reached its peak in the period June 1838-June 1839 when some 60 branches were opened in the East Riding, occurred throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire and came at a period of heady working-class activity with Chartism and the Anti-Poor Law campaigns.(23) The severe unemployment, industrial distress, and sharp rises in domestic prices of the years 1837-42 which activated these socio-political movements would not seem to be conducive to the establishment of organisations which required regular financial contributions and periodic expenditure on drinking, feasting and

regalia. However in this period 'the want of trade and the demand for labour', which later on was seen as having a major effect on the prosperity of the affiliated orders, did not have a detrimental effect on the expansion of the orders. The incentive for the expansion in fact came out of the distress and also from fear of the New Poor Law of 1834.

The Poor-Law Amendment Act was passed in the middle of August 1834 and in the following months the Yorkshire Gazette stressed its significance to the development of friendly societies:

It is now more important than ever to the working classes to support these societies ... The poor law amendment bill ... will render the situation of poor men, obliged to seek parish relief, so dreadful that everything should be done to preserve them from that necessity ... He may be compelled to leave his home ... A friendly society will offer him a refuge from this fate ... (24)

Charles Hardwick, a leading Oddfellow and a great publicist of the order and friendly societies in general, expressed the view in 1859 that 'the true origin and rapid growth among the sound-hearted British populace of sick clubs and other friendly societies' was 'the honourable substitute for the parish relief of the semi-slave by act of Parliament'. (25) In 1835 the Registrar of Friendly Societies, Tidd Pratt, provided the Poor Law Commissioners with statistics which showed a marked increase in the number of benefit societies and in savings bank deposits since the passing of the Poor Law Act. He confidently attributed the doubling of friendly society registrations to the workings of the act and three years later he reported that his conclusions on the links between the act and the expansion of friendly societies was borne out by conversations and correspondence with founder members. Tidd Pratt remarked that he had been informed in letters 'that now is the time that parties must look to themselves, as they could not receive outdoor relief under the new law.' (26)

The threatened ending of outdoor relief and the introduction of the workhouse test were viewed by contemporaries as the main impetus for the growth of the affiliated orders. A correspondent to the Hull Advertiser in March 1839, writing about the spread of the Ancient Order of Foresters in the area gave his opinion that:

The present poor laws, no doubt, act as a stimulus in the formation of societies of this description ... The increase in the members of this society appears from the opening of unions throughout the kingdom to be very great.(27)

Table 15 : Foundation dates of East Riding Friendly Societies 1820-49

Year	No.founded	Year	No.founded
1820	0	1835	3
1821	1	1836	8
1822	0	1837	9
1823	0	1838	36
1824	3	1839	38
1825	0	1840	17
1826	0	1841	13
1827	0	1842	17
1828	2	1843	9
1829	0	1844	4
1830	0	1845	0
1831	1	1846	5
1832	1	1847	0
1833	4	1848	1
1834	2	1849	0

Source: see appendix 1

The table above shows that in the East Riding the great increase in friendly societies did not coincide with the two years immediately following the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act but was consequent upon the implementation of the act in the county. It was not until the end of 1836 that the new Poor Law Unions were established in the East Riding and the Guardians began their work.(28) The Beverley, Bridlington, Driffield and Pocklington Guardians held their first meetings in October-November 1836, and the Howden Guardians in February

1837. (29)

Workhouse provision was at first totally inadequate in most East Riding Unions and therefore out-door relief was continued to be paid.

(30) In January 1837 the Beverley Guardians set a scale of out-relief for every male pauper 'eating with his family' which allowed 4s per week for the man, 2s for his wife, and 1s 6d for each child. In December 1838 the consideration of a motion 'that all out-door relief to the able-bodied should be discontinued' was postponed indefinitely.(31) At Howden in February 1837 the Guardians ordered that out-door relief was to be paid into the hands of the Overseers until further notice.(32) The Driffield Guardians however adhered more strictly to the wishes of the Commissioners and in November 1836 while continuing money payments to the non-resident aged sick and infirm they restricted able-bodied male paupers to 'such value of relief as they have hitherto received but to be given wholly in kind.'(33) More restrictive action was taken by some unions after the receipt of the order prohibiting out-door relief from the Commissioners in August 1841, although able-bodied males still continued to receive allowances in periods of great hardship.(34)

The threat of the workhouse began to be a reality to many in the East Riding as large new buildings in central positions replaced a number of smaller establishments. Beverley workhouse was enlarged in 1836, that at Driffield built 1837-8, Patrington 1838, Skirlaugh 1838-39, Howden 1839, Bridlington 1847 and Pocklington 1852.(35) It is significant that although only three friendly societies were founded in Driffield Poor Law Union area in the 18 months between the establishment of the Union and the opening of the workhouse, at least 16 were founded in the following 12 months.

No evidence has been found for Anti-Poor Law movement activities in the rural East Riding although initially certain landowners and farmers were determined to oppose the act.(36) However the propaganda of the West Riding Anti-Poor Law campaigners must have permeated into East Yorkshire and many in the county must have considered the workhouse to be the

Poor Law Bastille...a dreadful prison to which all classes of the poor, and not merely the able bodied, were to be consigned. Here man and wife would be separated, fed on a starvation diet and subjected to brutal discipline.(37)

The founders of many of the East Riding friendly societies must have been motivated by the feelings expressed by 'one of the poor' in 1836:

We must look out for ourselves, and provide for a day of sickness and old age, now that there is no parish to look to.(38)

Boards of Guardians were actively encouraged by the Commissioners to promote friendly societies and in January 1837 they issued an 'Instructional letter addressed to various Boards of Guardians on their formation' which contained the following statements:

the Commissioners trust that you will, each in his own neighbourhood do all in your power to promote the formation of such habits of forethought, of frugality, and self-dependence, as will keep them the able-bodied poor from falling back into pauperism, by aiding the establishment of sick-clubs, savings banks, and annuity societies; and by inculcating on your labourers and servants the importance of thus guarding against loss of work, sickness, and old age.....

It is most satisfactory, that the strict enforcement of the measures adopted under the new Act have generally been followed by the formation of various kinds of benefit clubs, and by an immediate increase of depositors in the

savings' banks. But the prosperity of such institutions may be greatly advanced by individuals of the station of the Guardians ...

The Commissioners consider that true benevolence towards the labouring classes is evinced in acting with them rather than for them, and in inducing them by every means to provide for themselves.(39)

Certain East Riding guardians did openly support friendly societies in their areas. Thomas Clarke, first Chairman of Howden Board of Guardians, was a patron of the town's old established Union and Friendly Societies as well as appearing as chairman at anniversary dinners of Oddfellows' lodges at Howden and Selby. (40) Clarke was proud of his 'spacious Union Workhouse' which he described as 'a pleasing, cheerful and ornamental structure'. He was full of praise for the New Poor Law which he thought brought great benefits to the poor who were 'not only much more considerably cared for,...their comforts have increased, and what is best of all there is an increased and improved spirit of independence and self-reliance and by consequence greater efficiency and extended happiness and content.'(41) The Rev.Thomas Guy, vicar of Howden and vice-chairman of Howden Union was a free member of both the town's old local societies and he regularly preached sermons for the Oddfellows' Lodge. His sermon of 1834 was printed in aid of the National school. (42) At Pocklington the chairman of the Board of Guardians, Robert Denison, not only laid the foundation stone of the Oddfellows' Hall in 1839 but also sent along the gardeners from his estate at Kilnwick Percy to decorate the finished building with foliage on its opening.(43) Henry Grimston of Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds, the chairman of Driffield Guardians actively supported friendly societies in the area and in particular the large Etton Amicable and Friendly Society which had been founded by his father.(44)

The man who did more than any other guardian in the East Riding to fulfil the Commissioners' instructions to aid the establishment of benefit societies was the Rev. John Blanchard. Blanchard, who was chosen as vice-chairman of the Driffield Board at its first meeting on 13 October 1836, was an active magistrate and the patron and rector of the wealthy living of Middleton-on-the-Wolds where he owned 900 acres and lived in a large Georgian mansion. He was by far the largest landowner in his parish and with his sporting interests was a typical Victorian 'squire'. In 1833 he had gained great notoriety by imprisoning the farm labourer Jeremiah Dodsworth for non-payment of tithes on his wages.(45) Blanchard would seem an unlikely figure to become closely involved with the affiliated orders but he was a popular preacher at anniversary services and was often the chairman at society feasts. He was an annual subscriber to Middleton and Lockington Foresters and Lund Oddfellows from their establishment in 1839-40.(46) In his sermon at the anniversary of Court Rose of the Dale, Ancient Order of Foresters, at Kilham in 1842, he was said to have expressed great disquiet at some of the provisions of the New Poor Law.(47) Unfortunately we do not know which aspects of the poor law were alluded to by Blanchard 'in severe terms' but he would probably have been in agreement with William Emmitt, the chief promoter of the Foresters in South Lincolnshire who claimed that if gentlemen and farmers would come forward and 'join heart and hand in the good work ... then we should have no need of those foul dark spots which disfigure our beautiful island called Union Houses.'(48)

The circular sent out by the Poor Law Commissioners in April 1840 which laid down that friendly society members should not receive relief from their societies and the poor rates simultaneously may have been a factor in slowing down the expansion of the orders from that year but it

is more likely this was caused by the over abundance of societies already opened and the worsening economic situation for the agricultural labourer from late 1841.(49)

Although distress was being felt in the industrial areas at this time it was not evident in the East Riding where the high grain prices of 1838-41 ensured fuller employment and to some extent higher wages for the agricultural labourer thus giving him the ability to join the new affiliated orders.(50) Information on agricultural wage rates is patchy and unsatisfactory but comments in the press and statistics from the other great rural 'working-class' movement Primitive Methodism suggests that the East Riding labourer and rural artisan was in a better position than he had been for some years. Primitive Methodism expanded greatly in the East Riding in the late 1830s and the figures for chapel building, membership and income clearly indicate that there existed both an ability to contribute funds and a desire to belong to a communal organisation. The close correlation between the dates for chapel building and friendly society establishment shown in figure 11 is particularly marked. The peak year of 1839 was probably to some extent distorted as it was the centenary of John Wesley beginning his evangelical work and an extra effort was exerted by both the Wesleyans and Primitives in opening new chapels. In the Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit eight chapels were completed in that year and during 1838-42 membership increased by 28%.(51)

A final factor which it is more difficult to quantify but one which would seem to have been important for the spread of the affiliated orders nationally and in the East Riding was the passing of the Beerhouse Act in 1830. This act which threatened the public house and village inn was an incentive to publicans to explore new ways of recruiting and keeping regular customers. Thus becoming the host of a

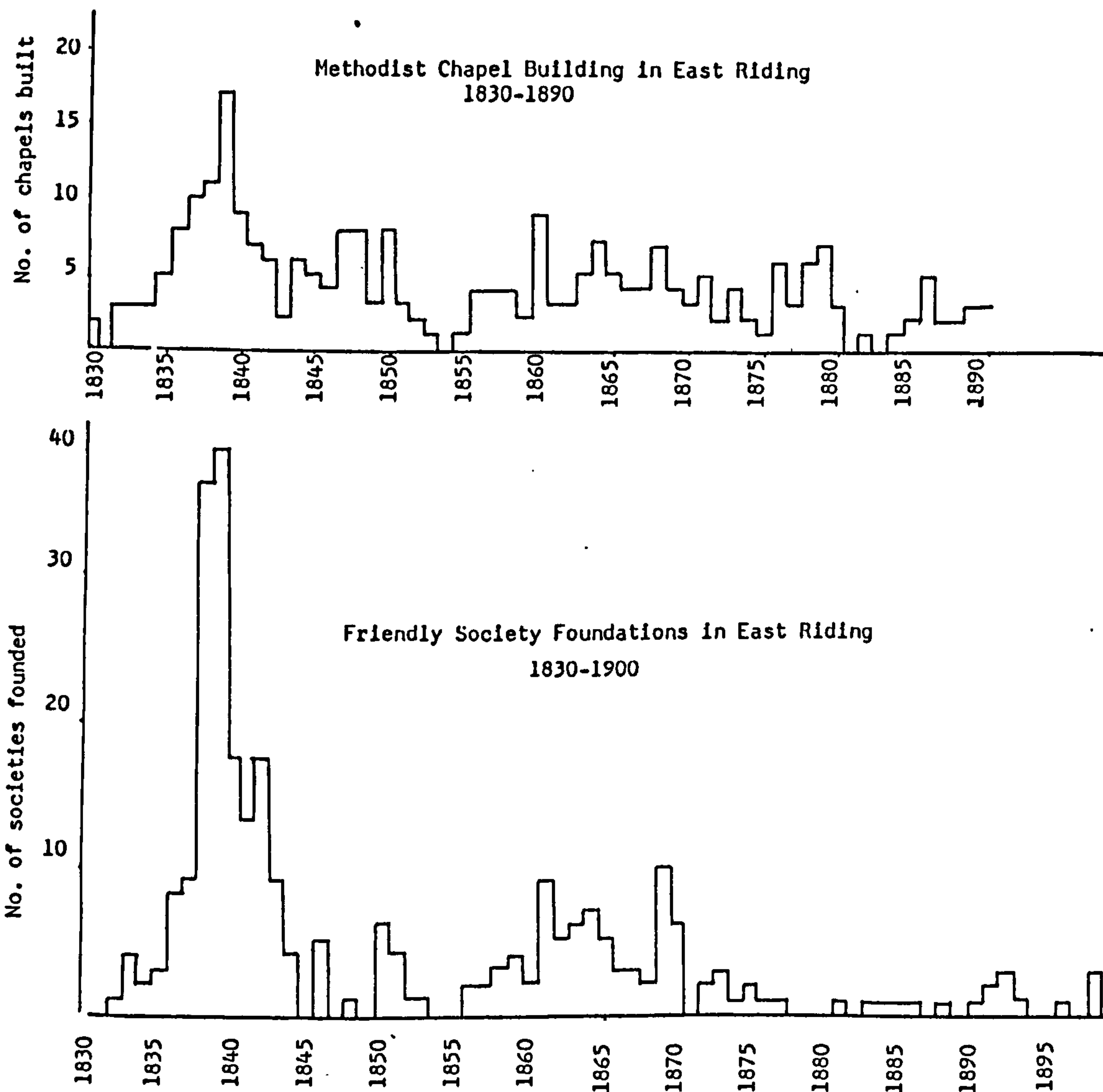


Fig.11 Friendly Society Founding and Methodist Chapel Building in East Riding

Sources: Friendly societies: see appendix 1.
 Methodist chapels: Sheahan and Whellan, 1856; Bulmer, 1892;
 Religious census returns 1851

branch of the affiliated orders seems to have become the aim of most publicans in the late 1830s. Their role as instigators of friendly societies is explored below.(52)

The boom period of the affiliated orders was halted by the distress of the winter of 1841-42 which saw the first substantial draw on the new societies' funds. In February 1842 the two lodges of the IOOF MU in Market Weighton held committee meetings

for the humane and benevolent purpose of relieving those of their fraternity whose circumstances have become distressed by the recent storm and want of employment. The wants of all applicants were very liberally responded to in donations of from £1 to £3 each according to the length of time they had been unemployed and the number of heads in each member's family.(53)

Earlier that same month the Hull Advertiser noted that:

Proof of the extensive distress which now exists among the most industrious of the working classes may be instanced by the large number of the Oddfellows and other benefit societies who are going from place to place in search of work. It is a fact that during the past three months as many as 20 in one day have applied to the Beverley district of Oddfellows M.U. for travelling allowances of 18d per day. This great demand is necessarily materially diminishing funds set apart for that purpose and if not speedily averted may be productive of serious consequences to the welfare of the societies.(54)

In fact at least 17 East Riding branches of the affiliated orders closed by 1845, or have left no record of their existence after this date, and some may have gone under as a direct consequence of the distress of 1841-2. The Barnard lodge, IOOF MU, at South Cave was broken-up early in 1842 and the members divided the funds.(55) The Foresters' court at Holme on Spalding Moor which had 32 members in 1840 had been reduced to just two when it closed in 1845. (56) In general the greater part of the 1840s was a period of contraction and consolidation;

some societies closed and others expanded but few were strong enough not to be adversely affected by the crisis which hit the friendly society movement at the end of the decade.

'A smash amongst the orders' 1848-52

For a number of reasons the affiliated orders, nationally and locally, lost ground in the late 1840s- early 1850s. Individual courts and lodges collapsed because of declining membership and lack of funds, and many branches were expelled, seceded or were voluntarily closed owing to the great internal disruptions that beset the chief orders in the period. Prosperous districts and branches began to question the authority and actions of the national committees and officers, and secessions occurred in the face of what the rebels considered an excessive centralisation of management.(57)

Table 16: National membership of Affiliated Orders 1846-60

Year	IOOF MU 1 Jan.	AOF 1 Jan.	LOAS April	IOR	Total
1846	259374	76990	14169	18268	368801
1847		83493	15135		
1848	249261	84472	15751	12500	361984
1849	234490	80490	13921		
1850	224878	80089	14636	9060	328663
1851	229975	84348	13810		
1852	225194	89875	14540	6733	336342
1853	224441	94323	15894		
1854	232228	100556	17277	6005	356066
1855	240499	105753	17690		
1856	251008	113752	18151	5940	388851
1857	262833	125423			
1858	276254	135001	18586	6009	435850
1859	287573	148562			
1860	305214	168576	23477	6115	503382

Sources: AOF/IOOF MU F.G.P.Nelson 'Some statistics of the affiliated orders of friendly societies', Journal of the Statistical Society March 1877, pp.42-81

LOAS Annual reports; D.H.Hague, LOAS Historical sketch, n.d.

IOR R.Highet, Rechabite history, Manchester, 1936, p.501

Each order experienced severe setbacks in the period and although the internal troubles did not coincide the effect was to cause a general decline in support and confidence in the orders.

The reversal of fortunes for the IOOF MU began in 1844 when the Annual Committee passed two resolutions which eroded the independence of the lodges. Delegates to the Annual Committee were to be from districts instead of, as formerly, from each lodge and the lodges were to be compelled to send in a statement of their financial positions to the Board of Directors. This last proposal was with a view to an investigation into the condition of the order, and the adoption of necessary reforms. Lodges hitherto had the right to fix their own rates of contributions and benefits and so the mere prospect of any interference with this right produced great agitation.(58) It was said many years later that there had been a fear in some quarters that the Directors wanted to get their hands on the money of the lodges or to secretly 'sell the information to the Government'.(59) Three districts, 123 lodges and 15,840 members were suspended for refusing to make returns. When at the 1845 Annual Committee further resolutions were passed that forced upon the lodges certain financial improvements there occurred the crisis which culminated in what is termed the 'national split' and saw the formation of the National Independent Order of Odd Fellows.(60)

Table 17 : Membership and lodges IOOF MU 1848-55

Year	Members		Lodges			Total
	Intiated	Left	Closed	Seceded	Expelled	
1848	10645	23036	138	31	6	175
1849	9732	16537	69	24	3	96
1850	10335		73	32	1	106
1851	10217	12875	40	23	4	67
1852	10613	8801	37	11	4	52
1853	16618	6103	41	11	2	54
1854	18836	7797	15		1	16
1855	21319	8086	22	7	2	31

Source: F.G.P.Nelson, op.cit., pp.46,57.

The AOF did not attempt to interfere with the independence of its courts at this period but certain actions of the High Court led to dissensions and secessions in 1848-49 and a reduction in membership.

Certain courts in London District questioned the authority of the High Court in 1848 to decide on where it should invest the surplus funds of the order and the rebel courts formed a 'Protective Committee' and managed to have the money of the order locked up for fifteen months. Forty-three courts were suspended and 30 of the leaders were expelled. In 1849 a financial crisis in Liverpool District added to the disturbances and resulted in pressure on the courts for financial reforms. (61)

Although East Riding Oddfellows' Lodges and Foresters' Courts were not directly involved in these disturbances they were no doubt in some way affected for as Stead in his Short history of the chief affiliated orders noted: 'During times of contention and trouble many nervous and peaceable members lose confidence and withdraw themselves from the society they belong to.' (62) A drop in membership of both these orders clearly occurred at this time in the East Riding as well as a marked drop in membership of the LOAS where there was a closer county link with the unrest in this order.

At the LOAS Annual Meeting in 1848 Wisbech District proposed that the law which fined any District for not sending its full representation to an Annual Meeting be rescinded. On this proposal being rejected the Wisbech and Cambridge Districts, which had 10% of the members of the order, seceded and founded the Wisbech Unity. The following year further proposals which challenged the supremacy of the Ashton District were also lost and so in 1850 a number of Yorkshire lodges and districts held a public meeting in York 'the object being to shake, if not to destroy, the Ashton Unity'. The order expelled the 34 ringleaders of the agitation, five of whom came from Hull District, the others from Leeds, Pontefract and Wakefield. As a result 39 west Yorkshire lodges with 1,579 members seceded. (63) In eastern Yorkshire in the years 1849-51 17

lodges left the order and 423 individual members were suspended or expelled.(64)

The collapse of the Independent Order of Rechabites occurred earlier than the reversals experienced by the other orders and its decline was the most prolonged. Membership had risen from 3200 in 1838 to a peak of 22684 in 1844. (65) At the Annual Moveable Conference in July 1842 new scales of contributions for sickness and funeral benefits were introduced which resulted in the order being immediately 'violently convulsed in almost every part; opposition of a most decided character was manifested by both Tents and Districts'.(66) Amendments were made to the new financial regulations the next year but there was general disapproval when this Moveable Committee abolished the password and substituted cards of admission instead. To this unrest was added the attempt on the part of the Order to obtain an Act of Enrolment, to protect its funds, in 1843 and the years following. This move was violently opposed by many Tents and Districts who saw the proposed Bill as a 'Bill of penalties, which would confine them to slavery; others thought that it would unalterably bind them to a certain line of conduct, destroying the then constitution of the Order.' (67) Few of the 76 Districts of the Order remained active after the enrolment crisis of the 1840s and the membership was reduced by 74% in the years 1844-56.(68)

It is impossible to state to what extent the upheavals nationally in the orders affected the branches in the East Riding. However table 18 below illustrates clearly that in East Yorkshire all the orders discussed above suffered a severe setback in the late 1840s - early 1850s. The 125 branches of the Foresters, Oddfellows, Shepherds and Rechabites recorded as existing in 1845 had been more than halved by 1860.

Table 18: Affiliated Orders in East Yorkshire 1845-60

Order	Branches	Number existing in			
		1845	1850	1852	1860
A.O.F.*	48 by 1844	37	34	27	26
I.O.O.F. MU*	55 by 1843	49	36		21
L.O.A.S.**	40 by 1843	33	30	20	14
I.O.R.*	7 by 1844	6	2		1
Total	150	125	102		62

* East Riding

** Malton District (3 sub-districts in East Riding, 3 in N.Riding)

Sources: AOF Directory 1845, 1850, 1852 + 1860

I.O.O.F. List of lodges 1845, 1850 + 1860

LOAS Annual reports 1843, 1845, 1850, 1852 + 1860

I.O.R. HMC reports 1840-41, 1844, 1851, 1861.

It is significant that the AOF which did little to threaten the independence of its courts in this period had a far less dramatic reduction in branches and membership both locally and nationally. More detailed statistics for the Foresters and Shepherds pinpoint the years of greatest decrease in branches and membership.

Table 19 : LOAS and AOF Branches and Membership in East Yorkshire 1845-52

Year	LOAS Malton District		AOF East Riding	
	Lodges	Members	Courts	Members
1845	33	1346	37	1886
1846	30	1266	36	1926
1847	32	1423	33	1838
1848	32		34	1854
1849	31	1249	33	1826
1850	30	1242	34	1869
1851	21	889	30	1630
1852	20	800	27	1451

Sources: LOAS Annual reports 1845-52

AOF Directory 1845-52

These statistics relate to 1 January in the case of the AOF and April for the LOAS and thus 1850-51 are the crisis years. Although a number of the branches broke away and became independent local societies in these years many more apparently closed. Definite information on the closure of friendly societies is difficult to find but at least 22 East Riding societies were closed in the years 1844-53 with 1848 and 1850 having six

and seven closures respectively. (69) On 23 June 1848 the Hull

Advertiser reported that:

The Hunmanby, Flamborough and Skipsea Oddfellows clubs have recently dissolved and last week the Bridlington Oddfellows club was also broken up and the funds divided among the members.(70)

and again a month later:

DISSOLUTION OF ANOTHER ODDFELLOWS CLUB - In consequence of losses occasioned by the refusal of members to repay loans advanced them, and from other causes, the funds of the 'Speed the Plough' Lodge of Oddfellows held at the Rose and Crown Inn, at Wetwang, near Driffield, having been found to be fast decreasing, the members have come to the resolution to break up the club, and to share the remaining funds amongst them.(71)

Hedon AOF court also closed in 1848 and in 1850 four branches of affiliated orders at Driffield closed, an AOF court and an IOOF lodge at Cottingham and a LOAS lodge at Yeddingham.(72)

Table 20 : Membership of Nine East Riding Affiliated Branches 1845-52

	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
AOF								
Cherry Burton	12	16	18	21	17	15	15	13
Lockington	61	58	63	52	40	40	38	36
Hutton Cranswick	85	101	93	91	85	77	68	62
Middleton	79	74	70	69	66	71	64	63
Driffield	103	93	82	74	76	64	63	62
Walkington	30	31	38	43	46	45	49	47
Druids								
Harpham		54	53	54	45	42	40	36
Driffield		13	13	11	12	13	13	9
IOOF MU								
Lund	71	77	75	73	67	62	58	51
Total		517	505	488	454	429	408	379

Sources: AOF Directory 1845-52; HCRO DDX 61/1 Harpham District Druids account and minute book; Lund Oddfellows contribution book.

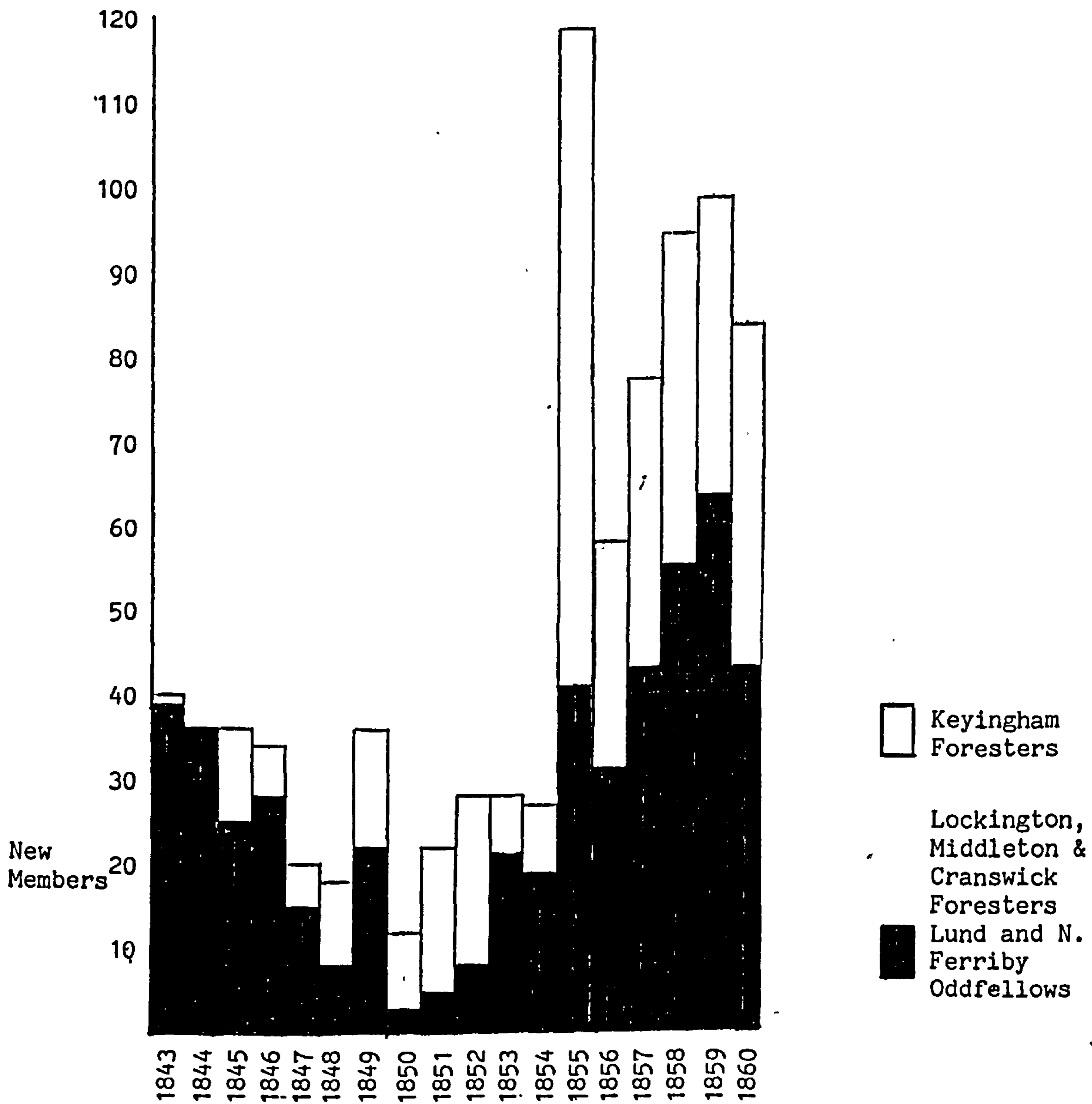


Figure 12 Recruitment to six affiliated societies in East Riding 1843 - 1860

Not only were the orders as an institution in decline but the membership and funds of individual friendly societies were falling. The table below illustrates the fortunes of nine affiliated branches in the East Riding, only two of which actually closed in the period, the rest surviving well into the twentieth century. (73)

Of the 25 East Riding AOF courts for which there are annual membership figures only one, Keyingham, had a rise in membership every year between 1845 and 1852. The total membership of the 25 courts fell by over 8% in the years 1848-52.

Table 21 : Membership of 25 East Riding
AOF Courts 1845-52

Year	Membership	% change
1845	1335	
1846	1429	+7
1847	1450	+1.5
1848	1471	+1.4
1849	1464	-0.5
1850	1422	-2.9
1851	1375	-3.3
1852	1351	-1.7

Source: AOF Directory 1845-52

Was it a lack of new recruits, resignations, deaths or exclusions for non-payment of arrears that led to the diminution of membership? Detailed statistics for Lund IOOF lodge show that in the years 1845-52 thirty members were excluded for arrears and a further 19 left by clearance, emigrated or died and only 27 new members were initiated. (74) Generally recruitment fell in the late 1840s and table 22 shows that such a fall was not confined to one order or branch and that hardly any new members joined in 1848 and 1850-51.

Table 22 : Recruitment to six affiliated branches in the East Riding
1843-58

Year	New Members						Total
	Middleton AOF	Cranswick AOF	Lockington AOF	Lund IOOF	Hunmanby LOAS	Ferriby IOOF	
1843	3	8	1	16	7	11	46
1844	4	13	9	3	0	7	36
1845	3	7	2	5	4	8	29
1846	3	6	11	7	7	1	35
1847	3	1	4	4	8	3	23
1848	3	2	0	0	4	3	12
1849	9	1	2	7	3	3	25
1850	1	0	0	1	1	1	4
1851	1	1	0	2	3	1	8
1852	1	1	3	1	15	2	23
1853	6	2	9	4	15	0	36
1854	8	1	2	5	18	3	37
1855	15	4	4	14	17	4	58
1856	8	7	3	10	2	3	33
1857	15	6	4	15	10	3	53
1858	16	4	5	26	17	4	72

Sources: Mss. Middleton AOF proposition and minute book; Cranswick AOF proposition and minute book; Lockington AOF proposition and minute book; Lund IOOF contribution books; Hunmanby LOAS membership book; Ferriby IOOF contribution book.

Comparative material from Lincolnshire shows that a similar drop in recruitment was being experienced there. Bardney IOOF lodge had no new recruits in the years 1849-54 and Brigg Oddfellows initiated only one new member each year in the years 1849-50, 1853-4, and none at all in 1851-52. (75)

Along with the friendly societies two other bodies which depended largely on the support of the 'respectable' working classes, savings banks and Methodism, were suffering reversals at this period. Savings banks were under threat following the panic fostered by the revelations of frauds by managers of banks in England and Ireland. In December 1849 it was discovered that the actuary of the Rochdale Savings Bank had swindled some £72,000. With no guarantee of the funds by the state and no liability on the trustees the plight of the depositors was desperate. Confidence in savings banks was temporarily shattered and throughout the country investigations were made and numerous other frauds were

revealed.(76) In East Yorkshire frauds were uncovered early in 1850 at Hull, Scarborough and Market Weighton, while Beverley, Bridlington and Driffield Savings Banks were declared sound.(77) The most serious case was at Market Weighton where a deficit of nearly £2000 was discovered. This bank, established in 1833, was a branch of Hull Savings Bank and had been managed for fourteen years by Jeremiah Roantree, a draper and influential Wesleyan Methodist class leader and trustee. As manager of the bank he had generally run it all by himself and of the £8000 that had passed through his hands some £1900 was found to be missing when the books were inspected.(78) The opinion which had long been held that savings banks 'can never involve those who there deposit their savings in any risk or expense' was found untrue and extensive withdrawals were made throughout the country.(79) Friendly societies, major depositors in savings banks, were understandably concerned and it is significant that in May 1850 Middleton Foresters decided to withdraw their funds out of Beverley Savings Bank and place them in Machell's Bank in the town.(80)

The decline of the affiliated orders in the years 1845-55 was characterised by two factors - the actual decline in membership because of the economic situation and the reduction in the number of societies brought about by a reaction against the authoritarian rule of national officers and executives. These two factors were also at work in Wesleyan and Primitive Methodism and a striking parallel can be seen between the fortunes of Methodism and friendly societies in the rural East Riding during these years.

Statistics from local circuit records indicate the problems being faced by Methodism. Wesleyan Methodism was severely hit both nationally and locally by the Reform crisis when many members were expelled and Reform chapels established. The reform movement was not particularly successful throughout the East Riding with only three chapels eventually being set up but it made inroads into society membership particularly in

the Beverley and Bridlington circuits.(81) In the latter circuit 60 or more local preachers were expelled and the Wesleyan superintendent, Rev.Alexander Hume, remarked that the agitation ended by 'some people going to the Baptists, some to the Independents, some to the Primitives, and some to the Devil'. (82)

Table 23 : Membership of Wesleyan Methodist Circuits in East Riding 1847-56

Year	Bridlington	Beverley	Pocklington	Total
March 1847	1490	821	940	3251
March 1848	1447	823	870	3140
March 1849	1494	777	872	3143
March 1850	1432	850	940	3222
March 1851	1245	725	883	2853
March 1852	1168	452	855	2475
March 1853	1066	497	931	2494
March 1854	1073	500	925	2498
March 1855	1208	500	888	2596
March 1856	1207	534	880	2621

Sources: HCRO MRP; MRB; MRQ. Circuit schedule books

A close look at the quarterly returns for Beverley and Pocklington Circuits indicates that decline in membership was most marked in the late summer and winter of 1851-52:

Table 24 : Wesleyan Circuit Membership March 1851-March 1852

Date	Pocklington	Beverley	Total
Mar 1851	883	725	1608
Jun 1851	875	679	1554
Sep 1851	867	531	1398
Dec 1851	865	483	1348
Mar 1852	855	452	1307

Source: HCRO MRB and MRP

It is unwise to read too much into fluctuations in membership of the Methodist bodies as local factors involving individuals are often more relevant than national movements or the economic situation; however the trend for the average annual growth rates nationally for membership of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodism was down during much of the period 1845-55. Currie records an average annual growth rate of -8.4 for Wesleyan Methodism for the triennial period 1851-53 and -0.9 for the next three years, the most severe set backs that beset the denomination

during the nineteenth century.(83) Primitive Methodism, except for the years 1849-50 when it no doubt benefited by the upheavals in Wesleyanism, also recorded a slowing down or reversal in growth in the period.

Table 25 : Primitive Methodist Membership
1836-57

Year	Members	% growth	Year	Members	% growth
1836	62,306	9.98	1847	86,795	-1.35
1837	65,277	4.75	1848	89,401	3.00
1838	67,666	3.65	1849	95,557	6.88
1839	70,396	4.03	1850	104,762	9.63
1840	73,990	5.10	1851	108,781	3.83
1841	75,976	2.67	1852	109,984	1.10
1842	79,515	4.67	1853	108,933	-0.95
1843	85,565	7.60	1854	107,913	-0.93
1844	88,405	3.31	1855	105,858	-1.90
1845	87,585	-0.92	1856	108,557	2.54
1846	87,987	0.45	1857	110,683	1.95

Source: Primitive Methodist, Minutes of Conference 1836-57

Limited information on Primitive Methodist membership in the East Riding at this period reveals certain fluctuations that suggests a drop in support in 1851-55 in common with the rest of the country. Bridlington Primitive Methodist Circuit after a marked rise in membership from 315 to 360 1849 saw the numbers stationary in 1850 before dropping in the second quarter of 1851 to 340 and they remained 340-349 until 1858-9 when they again rose to 360.(84) The quarterly membership totals for the Driffield, Bridlington and Hornsea Primitive Methodist Circuits for the period September 1849 - September 1851 show a marked fall in the summer quarter of 1851 at a time when recruitment to friendly societies in the area was particularly low.

Table 26 : Quarterly Membership Figures Driffield and Bridlington
Primitive Methodist Circuits 1849-51

Circuit	Sep.49	Dec.49	Mar.50	Jun.50	Sep.50	Dec.50	Mar.51	Jun.51	Sep.51
Driffield	817	819	833	812	812	801	840	820	790
Bridlintn	335	349	360	360	378	360	365	361	336
Total	1152	1168	1193	1172	1190	1161	1205	1181	1126

Source: HCRO MRQ and MRD

The plight of the affiliated orders and the drop in support, both financial and personal, for Methodism in the East Riding suggests that the rural artisan and labourer were facing a difficult time in the years 1848-52 and a variety of sources indicate that this was one of the most critical periods for rural society in the nineteenth century.

An excellent case study of the fortunes of the friendly societies of one important rural town during the crisis years 1848-52 is provided by the unusually full coverage on the societies of Great Driffield in the Hull Advertiser. Driffield's economy was based chiefly on the marketing and processing of corn and other agricultural produce and therefore its economy was severely hit during the years 1850-51 and as a result of reduced wages and unemployment the funds and membership of the friendly societies drastically declined.

Driffield friendly societies 1848-52

Great Driffield, a large village in the mid eighteenth century, had steadily developed into a thriving market town following the opening of the Driffield navigation in 1770 and the great increase in corn growing on the adjacent Wolds consequent upon their enclosure.(85) By 1793 over 20,000 quarters of corn were annually exported via the canal, and in 1840 it was said that the corn market was the largest in the East Riding and that there were 'upwards of 70,000 quarters of grain being annually sent from there by the navigation to Wakefield, and other West Riding markets, besides the large quantities of wheat converted into flour by the extensive millings in the town and neighbourhood'.(86) The expansion of the town was particularly marked in the first two decades of the nineteenth century and in the period 1831-51. It was stated in 1848 that in the preceding 15 years the town had improved immensely and that some

266 buildings had been erected including 180 cottages, 47 houses, 27 shops, three public houses, two steam flour mills, a brewery, a corn exchange, an iron manufactory and a bone mill.(87) The town was very much dependent on its role as an agricultural marketing, processing and supply centre. In a lecture delivered to the Yorkshire Architectural Society in 1862, John Browne summarised the trade of the town as follows:

It has excellent corn and cattle markets, flour, linseed-cake, and bone mills, artificial manure manufactories, and considerable traffic in other requirements of the agricultural world. It sends into the West Riding annually 100,000 quarters of grain. An extensive business is done in the wholesale provision trade. Large quantities of bacon, butter, cheese, lard and groceries are disposed of by a number of wholesale dealers who canvas the country for orders. It has good shops, and a fair dealing and honourable class of tradesmen.(88)

The population of Driffield in 1851 was 3963 having risen from 1329 in 1801.

A rapidly expanding population and the presence of some 20-25 public houses and half-a-dozen beerhouses provided fertile ground for the affiliated orders in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and at least eight branches of orders were established in Driffield and it is likely that a larger number of short lived societies, dividing and burial clubs, existed along side them.(89) There were two thriving local societies in the town in the 1830s, the Union Friendly Society, founded 1793, with 389 members in 1840, and the Driffield Provident Society founded in 1823 which had 81 members in 1844.(90) To these were added two lodges of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity in 1833 and 1838; three courts of the Ancient Order of Foresters, in 1838, 1840 and 1842; a tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites in 1839; a lodge of the

Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity in 1840 and a gorsedd of the Ancient Order of Druids in 1843.(91) Only one of these ten societies, the two local and the eight affiliated societies, was still in existence after 1870 most of the others having had a very short life. For one of them Court Diana AOF we only know that it opened in 1840 and had either closed or left the order by 1845. The great collapse of the affiliated orders in Driffield took place in 1850 and surprisingly it was the older established Oddfellows' lodges which broke up first.

The Hull Advertiser of 12 April 1850 announced the dissolution of the Rising Sun Lodge and on 24 May following reported that:

The whole of the regalia of the defunct 'Loyal Rising Sun' Lodge of Odd Fellows, in Driffield, was sold by auction on Tuesday last, the very day on which just seventeen years ago it was founded with great eclat and bright hopes of its future prospects.(92)

Less than a month later on 14 June the same paper reported under the heading - Driffield - Smash Amongst The Secret Orders - that:

These societies, of which so much was said of their boasted ability, are being fast scattered to the winds. The breaking up of the 'Rising Sun' Lodge of Odd Fellows and the sale of the regalia has been quickly followed by the dissolution of the 'Coronation' Lodge of the same order, and the 'Fold of Refuge' Lodge of the order of Ancient Shepherds; the Foresters being the only club on the secret order system now left in Driffield.(93)

The surviving club was Court Alfred the Great, for the third Foresters' court, Court Olive Branch, was closed in 1850.(94) Two other affiliated order branches lasted a little longer for the Rechabite tent was not closed until 1863-65, and the Druids gorsedd still existed in 1864.(95)

When reporting the anniversaries of the Union and Provident societies in July 1850 the newspaper commented on their funds and membership

figures that 'These statistics speak well for the old benefit societies, some of which are likely to long survive the secret orders'.(96) The following year they were said to be still 'weathering the storm', however along with the other Driffield societies they had undergone considerable reduction in membership in the period 1845-50.(97)

Table 27: Membership of Driffield friendly societies 1845-52

	1845	1850	1852
IOOF MU Rising Sun Lodge	155	121	-
IOOF MU Coronation Lodge	86	49	-
AOF Court Alfred the Great	103	64	62
AOF Court Olive Branch	9	6	-
Ancient Order of Druids	13(1846)	13	8
Union Friendly Society	297(1844)	177	141(1853)
Provident Society	81(1844)	69	67(1851)
Total	744	499	

Sources: see Appendix 1 under Driffield

The Provident Society continued to decline in the early 1850s and it too was dissolved in July 1854 when the remaining 61 members divided the funds of £1268 amongst themselves.(98) The old established Union Society which once had over 600 members suffered severely during the 1840s and 50s and it never recovered.(99)

Table 28: Union Friendly Society 1840-65:
Membership and funds(100)

Year	Members	Funds
1840	389	£2291
1844	297	£2097
1850	177	£1295
1851	163	£1241
1853	141	£1150
1858	119	£1057
1860	93	£1025
1861	89	£1010
1865	64	£715

At the anniversary in July 1845 it was reported that there had been a decrease in funds of £322 and it was noted that 'The society was at one

time one of the most extensive and wealthiest benefit clubs in the neighbourhood; but, like most other societies founded on similar principles, it has been considerably reduced of late years, especially since the various orders became so popular'.(101) Most of the members attending the anniversary in 1862 were said to be 'grey old men, many of them walking with the aid of a couple of sticks'.(102) The society was finally dissolved in 1870.(103)

Following the collapse of the affiliated orders attempts were made to fill their place with new ventures. The most successful was Drifffield Working Men's Friendly Society which was founded in 1850. It was still in existence in 1872 when it had 49 members and funds of £238.(104) From the ashes of the two defunct Oddfellows' lodges arose the Tradesman's Free Gift, a dividing club, for which 'subscriptions were raised for current expenses and at the end of the year the surplus funds were divided among the members with a small stock retained with which to commence another year with'.(105) A club which divided its funds was naturally attractive to those who had seen the breaking up of the friendly societies. The large national collecting and insurance societies also made overtures to Drifffield's working population.

In 1850 an organisation called the Equitable Provident Institution was being promoted in the East Riding by G.Greig from Leeds. In May he gave a lecture at the Mechanics' Institute at Beverley and in June he appeared at Drifffield, and his lecture was reported as follows:

The signal failure of the secret orders as benefit societies has induced various parties to attempt to form other societies on what they consider more stable and less extravagant principles, has already been instituted in Drifffield, and a branch of the Equitable Provident Institution is about being formed. In connection with this subject, Mr.Greig of Leeds, delivered an address in the Mechanics' Institute, on Saturday evening last ... Mr.Greig went into an exposition of the principles, objects,

and unsafe character of friendly societies, and secret orders as contrasted with the principles and provisions of the Equitable Provident Institution. (106)

Whether or not this body was successful is not known but it was some years before the affiliated orders began to make any headway in Driffield again. (107)

The economic crisis that was a major factor in the collapse of the Driffield friendly societies was nationwide and requires some closer attention as it occurred at a time which saw a crucial change of direction in the labour movement generally and marked the end of the first period of affiliated order development.

The crisis of 1848-52: the economic background

In June 1849 George England, clerk to Howden Poor Law Union, wrote a letter to the Poor Law Commissioners commenting as follows on the problems then facing the local farming community:

I beg to state that in my opinion the agriculturists in this district have cultivated their farms during the past year at considerable loss and that unless the next Harvest should be a favourable one many of the occupiers must be placed in circumstances of pecuniary difficulties. There is at present a great scarcity of money amongst the farmers and several I have no doubt will be obliged to raise money by loan to pay the expenses of reaping their corn during the present year. Should the price of grain continue low it is impossible to foretell what the consequences in this district may be.

The funds of the savings bank here have during the last six months been reducing but not to any great extent. I believe part of the deposits have been withdrawn for the purpose of emigration but I have no doubt some of the sums withdrawn have been to meet the wants of the parties owing to the small sums realised from the last years crop. The time has

not yet arrived to test the effect of the recent measures affecting the agricultural interest. It is not improbable but that next winter their operation in this district will be shewn by a scarcity of employment for the labouring poor and by an unwillingness on the part of the farmers to expend money except for work indispensable to carry on farming operations.(108)

The crisis for both the farmer and agricultural labourer was brought about by a combination of poor harvests and low prices. The price of corn was the determining factor for the level of agricultural wages and continuity of employment. When the price of corn fell the farmer made savings by cutting his labour bill. Wages were reduced and the labourers' employment became intermittent. The drop in the prices of foodstuffs rarely offset the marked decline in income. Higher prices for corn meant a higher income for the labourer but this benefit could be eroded if, as in 1847, prices for all foodstuffs rose catastrophically. There was much truth in what E.H.Reynard, of Sunderlandwick, told a protectionist meeting in December 1849:

He had inquired of his labourers whether they fared best when the price of corn was extremely low, or when it sold at a remunerative price to the grower, and they invariably answered that they found things were best with them when corn was at a fair price then they got most wages and could save most money.
(109)

The four years of high prices which had assisted the expansion of the affiliated orders in the East Riding came to an end in the summer of 1842 when the price of wheat fell from 64s in June to 47s per quarter in December 1842. Good harvests in 1843 and 1844 helped to keep prices down, but an inadequate harvest in 1845 followed by a poor wheat harvest in both Britain and on the continent in 1846 saw prices rise sharply in the autumn of 1846. Wheat prices reached a peak of 93s a quarter in June 1847. The following month a decline in prices began which continued with

some minor fluctuations throughout 1848-52.(110)

Table 29 : Corn prices 1840-55

	Wheat		Barley		Oats	
	s	d	s	d	s	d
1840	66	4	36	5	25	8
1841	64	4	32	10	22	5
1842	57	3	27	6	19	3
1843	50	1	29	6	18	4
1844	51	3	33	8	20	7
1845	50	10	31	8	22	6
1846	54	8	32	8	23	8
1847	69	9	44	2	28	8
1848	50	6	31	6	20	6
1849	44	3	27	9	17	6
1850	40	3	23	5	16	5
1851	38	6	24	9	18	7
1852	40	9	28	6	19	1
1853	53	3	33	2	21	0
1854	72	5	36	0	27	11
1855	74	8	34	9	27	5

Source: B.R.Mitchell + P.Deane, Abstract of British historical statistics, p.488

The repeal of the Corn Laws which came into force in June 1846 did not seriously affect the price of corn until after March 1848, for in January 1847 the new Corn Laws had been suspended during the scarcity and high prices. The rise in imports following their reintroduction saw a decline in the price of wheat from 53s 11d in January 1848 to 46s 10d in June, then there was a slight rise in September before returning to the June figure on 30 December 1848. There was a further relaxation on imports on 1 February 1849 which followed by a good harvest and an unprecedented quantity of supplies from abroad saw an uninterrupted decline in the price of wheat in the autumn to 38s 9d in December 1849. Low prices continued throughout the winter declining further in the spring to 36s 11d in May 1850, the lowest weekly average price since January 1836. This price was again reached in March 1851 after a temporary rise in prices in late summer 1850 had been followed by a rise in imports in autumn 1851 caused the price to fall to only 35s 6d a

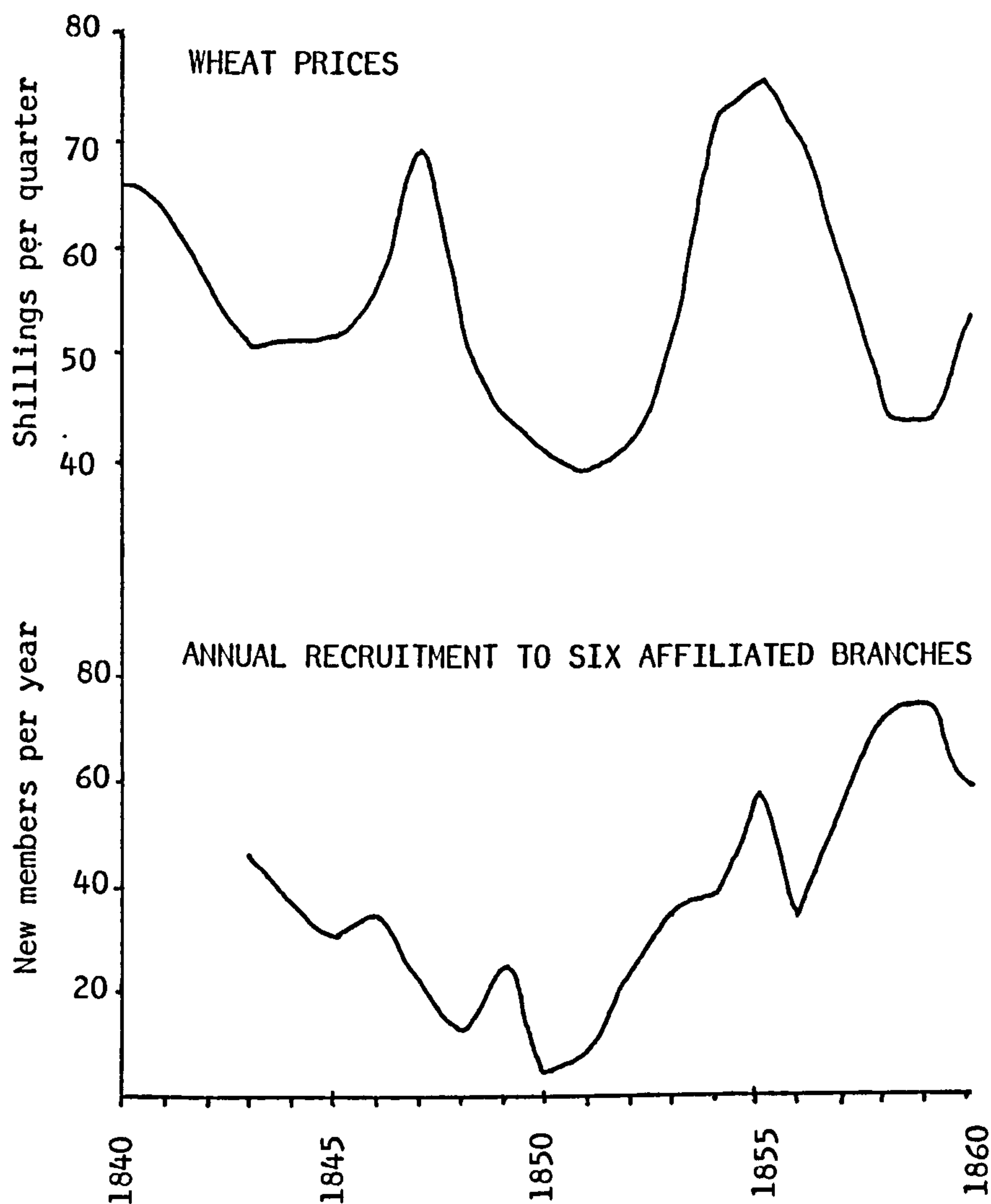


Fig.13 Wheat prices and East Riding affiliated branch recruitment 1840-60

Sources: Wheat prices: B.R.Mitchell and P.Deane, Abstract of British historical statistics, pp.488-489

Recruitment: Proposition books, Middleton AOF, Cranswick AOF Lockington AOF, Hunmanby LOAS; Contribution books, Lund IOOF, Ferriby IOOF.

quarter; the lowest price reached in this period. The change to higher prices began in 1852 particularly in the middle and latter parts of the year and they reached 46s 7d in January 1853. In this year the harvest was poor and consequently prices rose sharply from 47s 8d in July to 73s 7d in mid-November 1853. Then the high prices for wheat continued throughout the following three years. (111)

Figure 13 shows a clear correlation between wheat prices and friendly society recruitment at certain periods in the 1840s-50s. When prices were at their lowest in 1850-51 recruitment was negligible, and when the price of wheat reached a peak in 1855 new members poured into the societies. Information on agricultural wages and continuity of employment, more direct influences on the labourers' decision to join a friendly society, are unfortunately far more elusive than corn prices. A considerable amount has been written on the general pattern of agricultural wages in the 19th century but little attention has been paid to the seasonal changes in wages and employment which had a significant impact on the annual income of the labourer.(112)

Table 30: Agricultural earnings in England
and Wales 1840-59 (113)
1892 = 100

1840	80	1850	71
1841	80	1851	71
1842	80	1852	71
1843	80	1853	81
1844	75	1854	91
1845	70	1855	94
1846	75	1856	94
1847	75	1857	89
1848	71	1858	82
1849	71	1859	83

Bowley's figures shown in the table above were compiled in the 1890s and indicate the trends in wages but do not reflect seasonal or regional fluctuations.

No uninterrupted set of figures for agricultural labourers' wage rates

in the East Riding has been found for this period but what limited information is available indicates a drop in wages in the late 1840s-early 1850s followed by a marked rise in 1853-6. On the Brantinghamthorpe estate labourers who were receiving 3s a day in the first quarter of 1842; were only getting 2s a day in October 1842-January 1847; this rose to 2s 6d in the period January 1847-October 1848 when it again fell to 2s for the next year.(114) At Sewerby weekly cash wages rose from 12-13s in June-December 1850 to 13s in the period June 1851-December 1854, then 13-14s in 1855, and finally to 14s in 1856-62.(115)

Figures for weekly cash wages for labourers on farms at Thirsk in the North Riding and Sudbrooke in Lincolnshire are from areas comparable to the East Riding and they provide some useful indications of the annual fluctuations:

Table 31: Weekly Cash Wages 1844-59 (116)

Year	Thirsk	N.Riding	Sudbrooke Lincs.	
	June	December	June	December
1844-45	10s	10s	*	*
1846	12s	12s	*	*
1847	12s	12s	15s	13s 6d
1848	12s	11s	12s	12s
1849	12s	10s	12s	10s
1850	10s	10s	10s	10s
1851	10s	10s	10s	10s
1852	10s	10s	10s	10s
1853	11s	12s	13s	15s
1854	13s	13s	15s	15s
1855	13s	13s	15s	15s
1856	12s 6d	12s 6d	15s	15s
1857	12s 6d	12s	15s	12s
1858	12s 6d	12s	12s	12s
1859	12s 6d	12s	12s	12s

A high proportion of the East Riding's agricultural workforce and new recruits to the friendly societies were not labourers but hired farm servants and therefore the annual fluctuations of their wages and their ability to obtain employment are highly significant. Farm account books

provide some material but as the wages agreed varied with the skill, age and length of service of the hired man the individual wages do not always directly reflect the economic situation. The figures given below from the hirings book of Burn Butts Farm, Watton, East Riding show that although the amount paid to the foreman varied little during the period 1846-56, the amount expended on the combined wages of the first four hired men, in order of rank, varied more markedly. The year is from Martinmas, November 23rd.

Table 32: Farm Servants' Wages, Burn Butts, Watton 1840-59

Year	Foreman	4 Hired Men	Year	Foreman	4 Hired Men
1840-41	£25	£50.50	1850-51	£24	£37.50
1841-42	£25	£51.50	1851-52	£24	£31
1842-43	£22	£49	1852-53	£24	£33
1843-44	£22	£47.50	1853-54	£22	£39
1844-45	£22	£45	1854-55	£24	£37.50
1845-46	£23	£45.50	1855-56	£25	£49
1846-47	£25	£42.50	1856-57	£27	£49
1847-48	£25	£47	1857-58	£27	£37.50
1848-49	£24	£41	1858-59	£27	£35.50
1849-50	£24	£33	1859-60	£27	£52

Source: HCRO DDX 128/

Agricultural wages dropped in the second half of 1849 and newspaper reports in November record reductions in wages and many men left unhired. In early November a correspondent from Patrington commented that 'Our markets tend to have a downward tendency and in consequence wages are expected to range lower than for many years'.(117) There was a large influx of servants to Driffield first hirings as very few had been engaged at the earlier hirings at Beverley and Sherburn. However the situation was little better at Driffield:

From the present depressed state of the agricultural interest, and the greatest progress already made in field labour, owing to the favourable season, the farmers considered themselves in a position to expect a decrease of wages, and to dispense, for a time, with their usual number of hands. Owing to these

circumstances, a comparatively less number of servants found masters than was usual in former years on similar occasions.(118)

A diminution of wages was reported from Bridlington hirings and at Patrington a great number of servants remained unhired. The Martinmas week hirings at Beverley and Driffield were attended by large numbers of male and female servants but few were successful in obtaining employment although women received 'fests' at lower wages. From Driffield it was reported that 'Many of the middle class of agricultural servants remain unhired, and will probably continue so until after the depth of winter.'(119)

The weather in the early part of 1850 was particularly harsh and, with prices continuing low, unemployment was high. A speaker from Bishop Burton at a protectionist meeting at Beverley in February spoke of the hardships of the labourers. He claimed that they were not half-employed therefore half-price bread was of no benefit to them if no loaf could be purchased.(120) The local newspapers report the traditional signs of rural hardship and unrest; incendiarism, sheep stealing, poaching and above all emigration. (121)

Emigration fever hit the East Riding as elsewhere in the early 1850s. Nationally emigration rose sharply in 1847 and stayed high until 1855 with a peak in 1852.(122) Locally the greatest activity occurred in 1850-52: advertisements for emigrant ships and letters from local emigrants proliferated in the press; the latter usually echoing the sentiments expressed by a Driffield emigrant to Australia who wrote: 'A man has a chance to mend himself here, but he has none in England, - so farewell England'.(123) In one week in April 1850 four ships left Hull for America filled chiefly with agricultural labourers from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.(124) Two years later in May 1852 130 emigrants 'all of whom are agricultural labourers their wives and families' left East

Yorkshire for Canada.(125)

It was not only labourers who were leaving the area. Small farmers hit by low prices and higher rents were also emigrating. Henry Boast, a farmer and Wesleyan lay preacher, from North Dalton promoted the 'Natal scheme' which enabled a large number of farmers and their families to emigrate to South Africa in 1849-51. There were 216 emigrants from the Bridlington, Driffield, Beverley and Market Weighton areas on board the 'Haidee' when it sailed from Hull to Natal in July 1850.(126)

There was little improvement for the farmer or labourer during 1850-51 and some information on the situation of the latter can be gleaned from census enumerators' returns for March 1851 although references to unemployment are not common. At Hutton Cranswick the enumerator records eleven agricultural labourers, between the ages of 30-68, in receipt of poor relief, and one male and two female farm servants 'out of place'. A shoemaker was also away from home seeking work. (127)

In 1852 the farming community saw their fortunes begin to change. In the Driffield area Lord Londesborough considerably advanced the rents of his farms and all the tenants still continued their holdings although the year before the leading landlords Sykes and Langley had felt it necessary to return 10% of their rents to the tenants.(128) Agricultural wages remained low until 1853 but fuller employment and low prices assisted the labourer and in reporting the success of the Driffield Savings Bank in 1852-3 an editorial in the Driffield Observer noted that 'The cheapness of bread and clothing has enabled hundreds of agricultural labourers and mechanics to save the means with which to improve their conditions'.(129) The ability to join, and confidence in, friendly societies and savings banks returned in 1852-53 and funds and recruitment to' both rose markedly in the mid-1850s along with agricultural wages and wheat prices.

The farming boom 1853-76

The recovery of the farming community from the post-Repeal depression which began in the early months of 1853 was soon reflected in the figures for recruitment to the affiliated orders in the East Riding. The abundant harvest of 1854 and the good harvest of 1855 did not lead to low prices as was usual because the Crimean War greatly inflated the price of agricultural products. (130) During the war period March 1854 - April 1856 wheat prices rose to their highest point since 1818-19 reaching 78s a quarter in 1855 and 67s in 1856 on the Hull Corn Market and agricultural labourers wages also rose. (131) Recruitment to friendly societies was particularly high in 1855 and in that year Keyingham Foresters' court initiated 77 new members, the average for the previous 16 years being only 10. Membership was increased in that year by over 60% and during the following eight years the court had an average of 31 initiations a year. The court's prosperity at this time led to the decision to build the Foresters' Hall in 1857. (132)

This boom period for the friendly societies did not start to decline as soon as prices and wages began to drop in 1857. Recruitment to some societies increased in 1858-59 and new branches of the affiliated orders began to be opened. Almost half [121 49%] of the initiations to Lund Oddfellows in the years 1839-60 took place in the years 1855-60 and a quarter of the total [61] in the years 1858-59. It is significant though that the economic situation was taking its toll for ten members were excluded for being in arrears in 1859, the highest annual total during the period 1839-60. (133) It is possible that there was a reversal of the situation that obtained during 1848-52 and that the lower wages of 1857-60 were not accompanied by increased unemployment and that the

labourer was encouraged to look to self help when hardship was potential rather than real.

The late 1850s saw the second major period of friendly society establishment in the East Riding and between 1856 and 1870 at least 63 new societies were opened. Over half of these societies belonged to the four affiliated orders which really made their first impact in the county in these years. Six branches of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity were opened 1856-63, eight branches of the United Ancient Order of Druids were opened 1859-63, 11 branches of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows 1861-70, and eight branches of the National United Order of Free Gardeners 1868-70. The older established orders also opened some branches IOOF MU two in 1861, AOF three in 1858-65, and LOAS four in 1858-69.(134) This expansion of second generation affiliated branches owed much to a reluctance on the part of the labourer and artisan to join those societies founded 20 or 30 years before which now contained an increasing number of older members who were likely to draw heavily on the funds. The 'new' orders showed great missionary zeal and benefited from the renewed confidence in friendly societies and the increased ability on the part of prospective members to subscribe.

The chief periods of friendly society establishment were 1861-65, 30 new societies, and 1869-70, 16. The peak years were 1861 and 1869 with nine and ten foundations respectively. The period with least activity was 1866-68 with only seven new societies. These years saw a decline in recruitment, particularly in 1866, and a reduction in membership for some societies.

Table 33 : East Riding Affiliated Branches:
Membership and Recruitment 1860-80

Year	Membership of 5 Branches*	Recruitment to 6 Branches**
1860	N/A	77
1861	665	63
1862	709	55
1863	727	59
1864	735	56
1865	736	51
1866	738	22
1867	724	49
1868	732	56
1869	759	71
1870	N/A	59
1871	819	41
1872	821	46
1873	838	65
1874	877	49
1875	902	75
1876	925	50
1877	929	53
1878	940	50
1879	937	34
1880	923	45

*IOOF MU N.Ferriby, Cranswick & Lund; AOF
Keyingham & Middleton

** LOAS Hunmanby; IOOF MU N.Ferriby; AOF
Lockington, Keyingham, Middleton & Cranswick.

The total membership of Lund Oddfellows fell from 155 in December 1863 to 134 in December 1866. During this period 16 new members were initiated but 29 had been excluded for being in arrears.(135) The annual average intake of Keyingham Foresters in the years 1865-7 was only 11, half the annual average for the decade 1861-70.(136) Middleton Foresters had 129 members in February 1863 and 131 in August 1869 yet during this period 49 joined. The net loss is largely accounted for by exclusions for arrears in payments. This society also experienced a drop in its funds in 1866 and stagnation in 1868-69.(137)

This temporary reversal in the fortunes of friendly societies can be

attributed principally to the effects of the serious rinderpest outbreak of 1865-67 which caused the loss of about 10 per cent of the East Riding's cattle population.(138) This "the most serious interruption to agrarian prosperity in this 'Golden Age'" led farmers to cut back on their labour force and wages fell.(139) There was a widespread outbreak of incendiaryism on the Wolds and in Holderness with reports beginning in September 1865 and continuing through the winter.(140)

The distress was still evident in the winter of 1867-68 and a Malton correspondent to the Eastern Counties Herald reported as follows on the Wolds and the northern area of the county:

The present is a time of great trial for the labourers in the agricultural division of Yorkshire. The fine autumn enabled farmers to get very forward with work on the land, and gave them the whiphand at the statute hirings, where a decided and successful onslaught was made against high wages. This same reason has caused work to be very scarce, and it is pitiable to see in every town and village numbers of willing workers standing about without any hope of employment. Even the usual 'spell' of road clearing from snow and parish pay for it has failed this year. With no work, coals advancing, flour 3s per stone, and potatoes (as retailed to the poor customer in small quantities) from 5s to 6s per bushell, the miserable condition of the labourer with wife and family may be better imagined than described. There is a general impression that wages, with the present prices of food, are too low, but want of work is worse.(141)

The situation improved in 1869 but in 1871-2 greatly increased prices found 'family after family' falling by degrees into debt and difficulty.(142) Recruitment to friendly societies dropped in 1871-2 and membership levelled-off, no new societies were founded in 1871, [the first time since 1855], and there was a greater spate of friendly society closures in the first half of the 1870s than at any time since the early 1850s. (143) Only three new members joined Keyingham Foresters

in 1872, the lowest number since 1844 and a great contrast to the annual average of 17 for the period 1860-79.(144) Methodism, that other indicator of rural working class activity, also showed a decline. Few new Methodist Chapels were built in the early 1870s and there was an actual drop in membership in the Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit in 1871-72. (145)

The major economic upswing of the early 1870s and the consequent urban movements for higher wages and shorter hours encouraged the growth of unionism amongst farm workers in 1871-73. In 1872-73 there was considerable trade union activity in the East Riding, strikes and union meetings being held at many places on the Wolds and in Holderness. A branch of the Agricultural Labourers' Protection Society was founded at Kilham in February 1872; this later joined the Amalgamated Labour League which had an organising agent at Kilham by January 1873 and branches at Hull and Driffield.(146) Other labour clubs were founded at Bridlington and Hedon. Although there was plenty of agitation in the county and concern expressed in the press the agricultural workforce of the East Riding, having a large element of farm servants, could not be successfully unionised. However the demands for higher wages were generally met by the farmers and in each district wages generally rose in the first half of the 1870s. Wage rises were particularly noticeable on the Wolds where servants obtained an increase of from £1 to £2 a year at the 1872 hirings. Rural unemployment also rose during the winter of 1872-73 and was a continual problem in the north of the county, Vale of York, and Howdenshire throughout the 1870s but on the Wolds the demand for labour was said to be general and unabating.(147)

The higher wages obtained through the labourers' movement and the tightening of the labour market in some areas led to a temporary rise in recruitment and membership of friendly societies in 1875-77, just before

the onset of the first wave of the agricultural depression of the last quarter of the century.(148)

Agricultural depression, rural decline and National Insurance 1875-1912

The forty years before the First World War are portrayed as a time of increasing difficulties for friendly societies. Numerically there was a substantial increase in membership but the actual and the projected claims on the funds of the societies brought about by an ageing membership foretold widespread insolvency. Competition for subscribers from collecting societies, trade unions and commercial life assurance companies prevented any increase in contributions to alleviate the burden. The affiliated orders felt threatened also by the pressure for and introduction of contributory and non-contributory state schemes for old-age and sickness benefits.(149) In addition for rural societies there were the problems brought about by the long-lasting agricultural depression and rural depopulation.

In the East Riding one might have expected many friendly societies to have gone bankrupt under the strains of the last quarter of the century however a number emerged with increased membership and funds by 1900 and the affiliated branches appear to have been the most resilient. At least ten societies did close in the East Riding during the period 1875-1900 but this was not a particularly significant number. Six of those that closed were old established local societies that had been in decline for many years. The Etton Amicable and Friendly Society, founded in 1789, once the largest society in the county closed in 1876 its membership and funds having been in decline since the 1830s and the arrival of the affiliated orders. The others were Wansford Provident Society founded 1792, closed soon after 1875; Etton female society founded 1841,

dissolved 1880; Flamborough Fishermans' Fund founded 1809, broken up by 1887; Newport Benefit Society founded 1824, dissolved 1887; Hedon Union Society founded 1799, dissolved 1897.(150) The marked decline of membership and funds of the last two in the 1870s and 80s demonstrates the problems faced by such local societies. The Newport society had a membership of 200 and funds of £331 in 1880 but when it was dissolved seven years later these had been reduced to 47 and £80 respectively.(151) The Hedon society with 139 members and £1239 in 1872 had only 57 members and £271 twenty-five years later. The bulk of the membership of these societies was elderly, seventy per cent of the members at the dissolution of the Hedon society in 1897 had belonged for over 30 years and only seven per cent had joined in the last ten years.(152) In The evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain Gilbert provides an excellent account of the factors that were producing the severe financial difficulties which beset friendly societies nationally in the later nineteenth century.

The financial malaise that began to creep over the friendly societies in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and which had by the early twentieth infected even the largest and most stable societies, was the result of conditions inherent in the friendly society movement. They were bound by the principles of brotherhood and loyalty to their increasingly large numbers of ageing members. But these same members, whom every ethic of fraternity demanded that the organization support so long as there was a penny of income available to do so, had long since exhausted the funds accumulated to pay their sickness benefits.(153)

Increasing longevity which was greater among friendly society members than the population as whole and a dramatic rise in sickness claims by those over forty combined to erode the funds. A further factor cited by Gilbert was a declining national birth rate which reduced the number of possible future young recruits.(154) For the affiliated orders generally

however it was the prospect of increasing insolvency rather than the prospect of declining membership that was the problem before 1900. (155)

Membership of East Riding affiliated branches in the last quarter of the nineteenth century generally fluctuated in line with prices, agricultural wages and rural employment. The worst years of the agricultural depression saw a drop in recruitment and a subsequent fall in membership for those branches of the affiliated orders for which annual figures have been found.

Table 34 : Agricultural Earnings and Membership and Recruitment to East Riding Friendly Societies 1875-94

Year	Agricultural Earnings*	Membership of 4 Branches**	Recruitment to 7 Branches***
1875	115	756	89
1876	115	775	60
1877	115	776	61
1878	112	784	57
1879	105	779	34
1880	101	765	49
1881	98	763	34
1882	95	745	38
1883	94	742	61
1884	92	727	64
1885	90	729	68
1886	90	749	69
1887	95	745	46
1888	96	745	53
1889	97	759	69
1890	98	759	85
1891	100	774	64
1892	99	763	48
1893	99	752	50
1894	98	N/A	37

*Bowley, op.cit. p.564

** IOOF MU N.Ferriby & Cranswick. AOF Keyingham & Middleton

*** LOAS Hunmanby. IOOF MU N.Ferriby & Cranswick. AOF Lockington, Keyingham, Cranswick and Middleton.

Hunter Pringle, the Assistant Commissioner who reported on the East Riding in 1895 to the Royal Commission on Agriculture commented that the depression in arable farming in the county began in 1876 when a wet autumn in 1875 was followed by heavy rainfall in the winter of 1876-7

and then in the spring of 1878 began a period of two and a half years of exceptional cold and wet. The years 1876-8 Pringle termed the lean years and then came the 'disaster' of 1879 and the five years of exhaustion and recovery 1880-85.(156) More important to the larger scale East Riding farmer than the weather was the prolonged fall in prices of wool and cereals caused by a great increase in imports.(157) Agricultural wages which had still been increasing in 1875-6 came under attack from farmers in 1877-78 and many farm servants found themselves unemployed in the north of the county, the Vale of York and Howdenshire in the winter months 1876-7 and 1877-78. In 1878 farmers cut wages by the high figure of between £2 and £5 per annum, and the fall in wages continued in 1879-80 and remained at a lower level throughout the 1880s.(158)

Recruitment to the East Riding societies dropped in 1878, was low in 1879-82, and then began to rise in 1883. Membership figures took longer to recover after falling in the period 1878-84 they only rose slightly before stabilising in the years 1886-8. Middleton Foresters recruited only two new members in 1879, none in 1881 and only one in 1883 and membership dropped steadily from 183 in the years 1876-78 to 157 in 1885, a net loss of 69 members in the decade. Funds, which had risen every year from 1845, also declined from £1337 in 1876 to £1168 in 1887.(159) Cranswick Oddfellows who had no recruits in 1879, 1881-2, and only one in 1883 saw their membership drop from 108 in 1876 to 76 in 1885, a net loss of 68 in the decade.(160) Lockington Foresters' funds declined in 1879 and they had no new members in 1882.(161) Lund Oddfellows' membership dropped in 1880-81.(162) Cottingham United Society had its setback a little earlier having no new members in the three years 1876-78, although the annual average number of recruits for the years 1854-83 was over eight.(163) The slight fall in membership in 1886-7 and in recruitment in 1887 shown in table 3⁴ above, coincided with

a period of very low corn prices. Wheat at 31s per quarter in 1886 was at its lowest point so far in the 19th century, barley in 1887 was at its lowest price since 1851 and oats, in the same year, at its lowest price since 1797.(164) Similarly the peak in recruitment in 1890 coincided with a period of higher prices in 1890-91.

The numbers of village chapels built or rebuilt is a far less useful comparative indicator at the end of the century than in the 1830s and 40s but it is significant that the decade 1880-89 saw far fewer chapels built in the East Riding than in any other decade since 1820.(165) No chapels are recorded as being built in 1881 or 1883 and only one in 1882 and 1884. This decline in chapel building although no doubt reflecting the economic situation was probably more affected by rural depopulation. Almost all East Riding villages after 1861 were suffering a drop in population but it is difficult to judge its effect on individual societies as they drew members from more than one settlement.(166) The drop in population was partly counteracted by the higher wages and fuller employment which enabled a greater number of labourers to join. In general the new members in the years 1880-1910 were young labourers.(167) Village societies were also attracting the sons of urban migrants as members.(168)

Membership and recruitment figures survive for four East Riding village affiliated branches in the years 1891-1901 and in each case the base village had a significant drop in population.

Table 35 : Members and recruits to four affiliated branches and change in base village population 1891-1901

Year	Keyingham Foresters		Middleton Foresters		Cranswick Oddfellows		Lockington Foresters	
	mem.	rec.	mem.	rec.	mem.	rec.	mem.	rec.
1891	448	3	175	8	77	0	272	12
1892	431	7	179	3	76	6	281	33
1893	424	2	176	4	80	0	305	9
1894	417	6	159	8	78	6	302	16
1895	412	1	161	5	84	10	315	10
1896	396	2	165	6	92	6	319	9
1897	383	9	163	2	96	2	320	16
1898	382	3	161	1	92	5	332	12
1899	376	4	151	4	95	14	338	10
1900	363	2	150	1	105	18	338	6
1901	350		149		120		333	
1891-1901	-98	-22%	-26	-15%	+43	+56%	+61	+22%
New members		39		42		67		133
Village population								
1891	587		678		1170		488	
1901	549		634		1032		458	
change	-38	-7%	-44	-6%	-138	-12%	-30	-6%

Sources: AOF Keyingham, Middleton and Lockington and IOOF MU Cranswick contribution and proposition books. Population figures from VCH Yorkshire vol.2

There is no apparent correlation between population fall and change in membership of friendly societies before 1900. In addition to the four societies tabulated above Lund Oddfellows membership rose from 180 to 253 between 1891-1901, a rise of 41%, when the village population fell by 2%, and Hutton Cranswick Foresters recruited 117 new members which meant with the village Oddfellows that 184 members joined the two village societies in a base village which had a drop of population of 138.(169)

Of great importance to the continued survival of affiliated branches was the age of the new members. What they sought were as large a number as possible of young members who would pay into the funds without drawing any benefit for twenty or more years. In this a number of the

branches were highly successful and they were able to show a false picture of solvency up to, and in some cases after, the First World War.

Table 36 : Age at joining two Foresters' courts
1838-1920

Middleton Foresters - Age at joining 1838-1920

Age	1838-85		1886-1920	
	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	85	21	76	45
20-24	122	31	50	29
25-39	86	22	19	11
30+	105	26	25	15

Hutton Cranswick Foresters - Age at joining
1838-1904

Age	1838-65		1866-85		1886-1904	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	20	10	85	37	101	55
20-24	98	47	103	45	64	35
25-29	44	21	26	12	11	6
30+	45	22	14	6	7	4
Total	207		228		183	

Source: AOF Middleton and Hutton Cranswick proposition books with courts 1980.

But even those societies which had a sizeable influx of new members at the end of the nineteenth century still had a high proportion of older members by 1912. Lockington Foresters' which enrolled 276 new members in the years 1890-1912 had at the latter date 349 members of which a third were aged over 50 but only sixteen of them over 70.(170)

The increased recruitment of young agricultural workers in the last decade of the century was not peculiar to the East Riding as evidence presented to the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor in 1893 showed.(171) Two Norfolk witnesses, George Edwards and Zacharias Walker, leading agricultural trade unionists, stressed that at that time young labourers were joining the affiliated orders in large numbers and that most joined when aged 16-18. Walker on being questioned by J.J.Stockall on the

proportion of the labouring population in Norfolk which belonged to friendly societies answered that he found 'in the villages young men are most anxious to join some of the sick friendly societies such as Oddfellows and Foresters'. Then Stockall asked

And you think that the present generation, that is those who are capable of joining these societies, are really making provision so far as sickness benefit is concerned?

and Walker replied:

Certainly they are. They join the Oddfellows as soon as they are 16, and in my own lodge they join at 13, a juvenile lodge, and then as soon as they become 16 they turn to the full lodge, and they seem to be very anxious to become Oddfellows at 16.(172)

The development of juvenile branches provided an important source for the young members vital for the affiliated orders and they were strongly promoted. Juvenile societies had existed from the 1840s but they did not become common until the last quarter of the century. Most of the larger village and town courts and lodges in the East Riding established juvenile branches in the 1870s-80s.(173) Boys joined at from one to four years until sixteen when they could join parent branch. In the years 1887-99 thirty five 16 year-olds transferred from the juvenile to senior branches of Cranswick Foresters. This was a quarter of the total new members.(174)

The chief reason that Edwards and Walker gave for the increasing membership of the affiliated orders was the greater ability for the agricultural labourer to pay the contributions because of increased wages. Wages did increase in all regions of Britain in the second half of the century but in some areas proportionally more than others. In the East Riding weekly wages rose from about 12s in 1848-49 to around 18s 6d in 1898 and in Norfolk they rose from 8s to 14s 9d.(175) The rise was greatest up to the early 1870s but the fluctuations in wages from 1875 shown in table 34 although indicating in some years a fall were

accompanied by a drop in prices and by the 1890s the agricultural labourer was generally better off than he had been earlier in the century. But although better off he still had little to spare for club subscriptions as both Edwards and Walker noted.(176)

After 1900 a greater number of East Riding friendly societies experienced a decline in membership although overall membership was still increasing. Twenty-eight of the 59 societies for which there are figures had a drop in membership between 1900 and 1910 with their average membership falling from 145 to 131. The average membership of the 31 growing societies rose from 176 in 1900 to 210 in 1910.(177) The larger societies were expanding at the expense of the smaller village clubs. The latter because of their size were not attracting new members and they were more seriously affected by declining population and the competition of the collecting and deposit societies and life assurance companies. Industrial insurance emerged as a rival to friendly societies around 1850 and the system inaugurated in 1854 by the Prudential, which rapidly became the largest of the companies, provided an attractive alternative to the death benefit of the friendly societies.(178) In 1854 a penny a week from the age of 20 insured ~~18~~ 10s on death. In the whole of 1857 6,839 policies were issued but by 1871 they sometimes numbered 8,000 a week.(179) Each year saw a great increase in such policies and gradually industrial assurance spread to the rural areas. In 1892 Wilkinson the assistant commissioner reporting on the East Riding to the Royal Commission on Labour found that at a well attended meeting of labourers at Beeford two-thirds of those present were insured with the Prudential Life Assurance Company.(180)

Typical of the societies going under was the independent Pride of the Valley lodge at Helperthorpe. In June 1908 they held their 69th anniversary and the vicar commented in the parish magazine:

For some considerable time this old-established Benefit Society has languished through numerous withdrawals and lack of new members; and we regret to say that the end appears not far off...The question now pressing for consideration and settlement, is how to provide for the continuation of the Juvenile Branch. Why not affiliate it to one of the most flourishing of the Friendly Societies ? say the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows ? Under these auspices a prosperous future might be assured - at any rate the members would avoid the melancholy fate which is threatening to overtake the Senior Club in our district, and many another, in this County, managed in the same old-fashioned and precarious way. The history of these small village Societies is not a happy one ... How many of them have had at last to face what has really been always within measurable distance - compulsory dissolution, when the dwindling treasury could no longer meet the growing claims: income from a limited area steadily shrinking, unavoidable expenses, as steadily increasing - much sick pay - chronic old age cases - many death payments - it is really marvellous how this Club has long managed to survive the inevitable and common lot.(181)

The vicar of Helperthorpe did not help the fortunes of the village club by promoting the National Deposit Friendly Society in the same issue of the magazine.(182) The NDFS, which had strong Anglican connections and was a cross between a savings bank and a non-convivial benefit society, advanced rapidly at the end of the century with membership rising at 16,290 in 1895, 68,400 in 1901 and 169,100 in 1907.(183) On August 7 1908 a 'branch' of the NDFS was successfully established for the Helperthorpe area through the vicar's exertions.(184) Not surprisingly the Pride of the Valley lodge, with only 16 members and £50 funds, was formally dissolved at the Oddfellows' Arms, Helperthorpe on 20 July 1912.(185) It was no coincidence that five days before the dissolution collections had begun to be taken for National Health Insurance.

The significance to friendly societies of the passing of the National Insurance Act which became law on 16 December 1911, with collections being made from 15 July 1912 and benefits commencing on 15 January 1913

is shown by the following limited statistics for five affiliated branches.(186)

Table 37 : Membership of affiliated branches 1900-20

Year	Oddfellows			Foresters	
	Elloughton	Lund	Cranswick	Lockington	Keyingham
1900	184	248	120	338	363
1901	186	253	132	333	350
1902	184	264	138	339	347
1903	190	263	140	341	331
1904	198	267	143	339	323
1905	200	271	154	-	286
1906	197	277	154	-	285
1907	200	295	160	332	271
1908	200	310	158	330	261
1909	199	321	159	332	254
1910	199	327	156	339	248
1911	202	329	-	341	240
1912	-	392	-	342	224
1913	-	389	180	-	236
1914	246	-	-	-	231
1915	236	-	-	329	220
1916	226	-	139	-	211
1917	229	-	137	-	203
1918	223	-	127	-	196
1919	226	-	124	-	188
1920	224	283	127	291	181

Sources: IOOF MU: Elloughton and Lund minute books and annual returns; Cranswick contribution book and annual returns; AOF: Directory of courts, 1905, 1910, 1915 + 1920; Lockington proposition and minute book 1885-1912; Keyingham contribution books 1890-1901, 1902-20.

Very small independent societies like the Helperthorpe lodge which could not cope with administering the health insurance scheme were destroyed by the act but larger societies were given a new role and a boost, albeit temporary, in membership. Information on the state of society funds is far more fragmentary and less conclusive although the rise in funds experienced by some societies in the years 1909-11 may have been a result of the introduction of old age pensions and the reduction of the burden of supporting elderly members.(187) Friendly societies had long opposed the introduction of state pensions, non-contributory or contributory, but their increasing financial problems eventually won their support for the measure which was passed

in 1908 and implemented from 1 January 1909 which gave the bulk of the rural working class men and women aged over 70 up to 5s a week. Non-contributory old age pensions clearly helped rather than adversely affected friendly societies but the introduction of contributory health insurance three years later and the termination of the societies near monopoly in this field can be seen as marking the end of their principal function and the beginning of their demise.(188)

An increase in membership in the years 1910-13 was experienced by thirteen of the nineteen East Riding societies for which there is some information but all nineteen had a significant drop in membership by 1920. Combined membership of these societies rose from 4066 in 1910 to 4549 in 1913-15 and then fell by 20% to 3645 in 1920.(189) Keyingham Foresters was a society whose declining fortunes were helped initially by the health insurance scheme. After twenty years of declining membership the society suddenly expanded with 23 initiations in 1912, more than in the whole of the previous decade, but the extra benefits obtainable by friendly society membership were not attractive enough to bring in a single new member in the next eight years and membership fell a further 23% to 181 by 1920.(190) Lund Oddfellows which gained over 60 new members in 1912 saw its membership drop 27% from 389 to 283 in the years 1913-20.(191) Continued rural depopulation, state insurance and pensions, competition of insurance companies and finally the loss of many younger members through death and default during the war hastened the decline of many village societies but a surprising number have staggered on into the 1980s.(192)

- (1) HCRO QDC/2 and QQSV/1; P.Davis, The old friendly societies of Hull, Hull, 1926
- (2) See appendix 1; HUL DX 150/26/14 Brantlesburton notice
- (3) P.Davis, op.cit.; in 1797 Arthur Young recorded that of the 53 friendly societies in Hull only 20 had had their rules confirmed. A.Young, ed., Annals of agriculture vol.31 ; none of the 15, or more, friendly societies at Oldham were registered. J.Foster, Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution, p.217, p.325 n.36.
- (4) Calculated from information in appendix 1
- (5) HUL DX 150/26/14
- (6) HCRO DDBC 22/section B. p.633; Beverley Library, Beverley broadsides pamphlet 30.
- (7) Hull Rockingham 6/10/1832. reference from E.Gillett
- (8) HCRO QDC/2; M.Turner, The Beverley guide, Beverley, 1830.
- (9) HCRO DDMT/285
- (10) HCRO DDX/216 Robert Sharp's journal 12/7/1827, 8/7/1830, 7/7/1831, 12/7/1832, 8/2/1833, 11/7/1833, 10/7/1834, 9/7/1835. For Robert Sharp see D.Neave, ed., South Cave: A market village community in the 18th and 19th centuries, 2nd edition, Howden, 1984, pp.51-54
- (11) E.J.Hobsbawm and G.Rudé, Captain Swing, pp.49-63
- (12) HCRO DDX/216 Sharp's journal; Diaries of Richard Allen, in possession of Mr.Gamble, Scarborough, 1974.
- (13) W.W.Rostow, British economy of the nineteenth century, London, 1948, pp.111-112
- (14) Allen diaries, 4/12/1828, 14 + 28/1/1830, 22/4/1830, 7 + 15/5/1830; Sharp's journal 14, 19 + 23/1/1830; In the North Riding many men were said to have gone unhired at the hirings each year from 1826 to 1833. At Malton hirings, few farm servants were engaged in 1830 and in 1831-2 strong boys and young women at low wages were still preferred to men. R.P.Hastings, Essays in North Riding history, Northallerton, 1981, pp.62-63
- (15) Sharp's journal, 25/1/1830, 2/1830, 11/5/1830; Allen diaries 23/3/1830; P.Howorth, Driffield 1700-1860, 1980, p.56
- (16) Hobsbawm and Rudé, appendix 3 pp.17-19, 23; Sharp's journal 16/11/1830, 5, 14 + 12/12/1830; Yorkshire Gazette 11, 18 + 24/12/1830, 15, 22 + 29/1/1831; 26/2/1831
- (17) N.D.Hopkin, 'The Old and New Poor Law in East Yorkshire 1760-1850', Leeds M.Phil, pp.26-27
- (18) Sharp's journal 5/12/1830
- (19) C.D.Hebden, The Trustee Savings Banks of Yorkshire and Lincoln, 1981, p.350.
- (20) Oddfellows magazine March 1836; see appendix 1 Howden; It was also at Howden that the first Court of the Ancient Order of Foresters (AOF), outside Hull, was opened in April 1836 AOF Dispensation book 20 April 1836
- (21) see above p.130; Rising Star Lodge minute books, Oddfellows Hall, Beverley
- (22) For sources see appendix 1. The foundation dates are known for 307 societies.
- (23) E.Hobsbawm, 'Economic fluctuations and some social movements since 1800', Labouring men, pp.131
- (24) Yorkshire Gazette 6/9 + 4/10/1834 quoted in R.P.Hastings, Essays in North Riding history 1780-1850, p.118
- (25) C.Hardwick, A manual for friendly societies, 1859 p.32, quoted in Gosden, op.cit., p.198
- (26) First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1835, pp.55-56; Fourth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1838, p.247
- (27) Hull Advertiser 29/3/1839

- (28) Hopkin, op.cit.
- (29) HCRO PUA 1/1; PUB 1/1; PUD 1/1; PUH 1/1; PUP 1/1-2.
- (30) For a discussion of the continuance of outdoor relief in the northern and eastern counties see M.E.Rose 'The allowance system under the New Poor Law' Economic history review, XIX, 1966, pp.607-20 and A.Digby 'The labour market and the continuity of social policy after 1834: The case of the Eastern Counties', ibid. XXVIII, 1975, pp.69-83.
- (31) HCRO^{PUB 1/1} Beverley Union minute books November 1836-April 1837, November 1837-March 1839.
- (32) HCRO^{PUB 1/1} Howden Union minute book February 1837-June 1839.
- (33) HCRO^{PUB 1/1} Driffield Union minute book October 1836-March 1839
- (34) Eighth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1842, p.4; HCRO PUA 1/3 Howden Union minute book January 1842-February 1845 29/1/1842, 3/12/1842; ^{PUB 1/1} Driffield Union minute book December 1846-December 1851 19/5/1847
- (35) J.J.Sheahan and T.Whellan, History and Topography of the City of York and the East Riding of Yorkshire, vol.ii, 1856. pp. 340, 342, 452, 567, 604; HCRO PUB 1/1; PUA 1/1
- (36) N.D.Hopkin, op.cit., p.244
- (37) M.E.Rose, 'The Anti-Poor Law movement in the North of England', Northern history, I, 1966, p.78
- (38) Second annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, appendix B, p.337
- (39) Third annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, pp.90-91
- (40) Hull Advertiser, 17/7/1840, 7/7/1848; Oddfellows quarterly magazine, vol.viii, Jan 1844 - Oct 1845, pp.208-209
- (41) T.Clarke, History of Howden, 1850, p 61.
- (42) PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 16 Rules of Howden Friendly Society 1831; PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 24 Rules of Howden Union Society 1830; Oddfellows magazine March 1836; T.Guy, Sermon preached at the 1st anniversary of Wellington Lodge, IOOF MU, Howden, 1834.
- (43) Yorkshire Gazette 25/5/1839; Hull Advertiser 25/10 + 1/11/1839.
- (44) PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19 Rules of the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society 1837, 1840 + 1845; ibid 1/817 Yorks 328 Rules of the Etton Female Friendly Society 26 May 1841.
- (45) HCRO PUD^{1/1} Driffield Poor Law Union minute book October 1836; Alumni Cantabrigiensis; Borthwick Institute, Middleton-on-the-Wolds glebe terriers; Hull Rockingham, 3/8/1833
- (46) Beverley Guardian 22/6/1861; Driffield Times 22:6:1861; Middleton and Lockington Foresters' proposition and minute Books; Lund Oddfellows' minute book.
- (47) Foresters' miscellany, 1842, pp.131-132
- (48) ibid., 1841, p.184.
- (49) R.P.Hastings, op.cit., p.119
- (50) Wages were considered high at York and Malton ^hings in the years 1837-40 and in 1837 John Revans reported to the Poor Law Commissioners on the increase in employment throughout the East and North Ridings. ibid., p.63
- (51) HCRO MRD uncatalogued circuit schedule books. Similar figures for Primitive Methodist chapel building are to be found in Lincolnshire. In the ten years 1825-34 twenty-eight chapels were built while in the following decade 1835-44 the number was 83. Rex C. Russell 'Summary of dates of Primitive Methodist Chapel building (in Lincolnshire)' typescript, n.d.
- (52) see pp. 213-17
- (53) Hull Advertiser 25/2/1842; unemployment and a fall in wages for agricultural labourers occurred in the North Riding in 1841-45. R.P.Hastings, op.cit., pp.63-64
- (54) Hull Advertiser 18|2|1842 I owe these last two references to

E.Gillett and G.P.Brown

(55) IOOF MU Quarterly review 30/6/1842

(56) AOF Directory 1840 + 1845-6.

(57) A certain Christopher Thomson who kept a reading room and library next to the Peoples' College, Orchard Street, Sheffield produced at least two Tracts for Odd Fellows and Social Reformers in 1849 which were aimed at reforming and democratising the Nottingham Imperial Order of Oddfellows to which he belonged. He attacked its centralisation and the power of the Grand Lodge: 'Let us look at our own Society, the Nottingham Order of Odd Fellows, it has one of those paper Cpnstitutions which decrees that the Grand Lodge "shall always assemble in Nottingham". That the members possess the "sole right" of making and altering all laws by which the society is to be governed; it is likewise the high court of appeal in disputed cases - can make lodges of degrees, and confer rewards of crimson rosettes, and silver stars, and pocket salaries, and do many other things which all men, who are responsible to themselves alone can do'. Tracts for Odd Fellows and Social Reformers, no.2, May 1849, p.18.

(58) A short history of the chief affiliated friendly societies, pp.40-41; Insurance cyclopaedia pp.400-401

(59) ibid.; C.Hardwick, A manual for patrons and members of friendly societies, 1859, p.40.

(60) Insurance cyclopaedia p.401

(61) T.B.Stead, 'Historical sketch of the Order', Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters 1896, Dundee, 1896, pp.xxi-xxii

(62) A short history ..., p.41

(63) E.Crew, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Centenary Souvenir, pp.41-45

(64) LOAS Annual meeting reports 1849-56

(65) R.Highet, Rechabite history, p.501

(66) ibid., pp.62-63, 67-68

(67) ibid., pp.93-94

(68) ibid., pp.96-97, 501

(69) see appendix 1

(70) Hull Advertiser 23/6/1848

(71) ibid., 2/7/1848

(72) see appendix 1 under Hedon, Drifffield, Cottingham and Yeddingham

(73) Lockington, Hutton Cranswick and Middleton AOF and Lund IOOF MU still in existence 1983-4

(74) Oddfellows' Hall, Lund, Lund IOOF MU minute and contribution books.

(75) Lincolnshire Archives Office, Misc.Don. 502/1 Bardney Oddfellows' proposition book; Baysgarth Museum, Barton-on-Humber, Brigg Oddfellows' proposition book 1840-63

(76) H.O.Horne, A history of savings banks, London, 1947, pp.118-136; Gosden, Self-help, pp.221-224.

(77) C.D.Hebden, The Trustee Savings Bank of Yorkshire and Lincoln, Trustee Savings Bank, 1981, pp.128-130; Hull Advertiser, 7/12/1849, 1 + 8/2/1850.

(78) ibid., 24/5/1850

(79) Gosden, Self-help, p.222n

(80) Middleton AOF minute and proposition book 1, 24/5/1850. In 1853 5791 friendly societies had deposits in savings banks. Drifffield Observer, 21/12/1853; In 1850 ten societies had money in Bridlington Savings Bank. Hull Advertiser, 8/2/1850.

(81) Chapel information from Sheahan and Whellan, op.cit., T.Bulmer, op.cit., and Religious Census Returns 1851

(82) ex inf. E.Gillett

(83) R.Currie, Methodism divided, London, 1968, p.95; Few Methodist

chapels were built or rebuilt in the East Riding in the early 1850s. see fig.11

(84) HCRO MRD Circuit quarterly reports

(85) For the history of Drifffield see M.W.Barley, ed., History of Drifffield, Hull, 1938; F.Ross, Contributions towards a history of Drifffield, Drifffield, 1898; P.Howorth, Drifffield: A country town in its setting 1700-1860, privately printed, n.d.

(86) D.Neave, Drifffield: A town trail, Beverley, 1981, p.[2]

(87) HCRO DDX 17/15

(88) HCRO DDX 128/27

(89) Numbers of public houses calculated from trade directories 1830-1851

(90) see appendix 1. Evidence suggests that there might have been three early local societies. The parish note book of the Rev.Joseph Carter of Bainton, cl834, records parishioners being members of Drifffield Union Society and Drifffield Old Club. HCRO PR/898. The diaries of Rev.Richard Allen, vicar of Drifffield, 1828, 1830, and 1832 refer to the feast days of the Union Society and the New Club. Mss.diaries in possession of Mr.Gamble, Scarborough, 1976.

(91) For details and sources see Appendix 1.

(92) Hull Advertiser, 24 May 1850

(93) ibid., 14 June 1850

(94) Ancient Order of Foresters' court directories 1845-52. Court Olive Branch founded in 1842 had only six members when it was closed in 1850. During its eight year existence it never had more than nine members.

(95) HCRO DDX 61/1 Harpham District Druids account and minute book 1846-64

(96) Hull Advertiser 12/7/1850

(97) ibid., 18/7/1851

(98) ibid., 29/7/1854

(99) Drifffield Times 15/7/1865

(100) Hull Advertiser 17/7/1840, 12/7/1844, 12/7/1850, 18/7/1851, 15/7/1853; Drifffield Times 14/7/1860, 13/7/1861, 15/7/1865; F.Ross, Contributions towards a history of Drifffield, p.91

(101) Hull Advertiser 18/7/1845; Yorkshire Gazette 19/7/1845

(102) Hull Advertiser 19/7/1862

(103) F.Ross, Contributions,

p.91; P.Davis, The old friendly societies of Hull, p.8.

(104) Yorkshire Gazette 20/7/1872; Scarborough Mercury 20/7/1872.

(105) Hull Advertiser 18/7/1851

(106) ibid., 28/6/1850

(107) In May 1869 a lodge of the National United Order of Free Gardeners was opened at Drifffield. Eastern Counties Herald 6/5/1869

(108) HCRO PUH 3/1 Howden Union Letter Book

(109) Hull Advertiser 28/12/1849

(110) A.D.Gayer, W.W.Rostow, + A.J.Schwartz, The growth and fluctuation of the British Economy 1790-1850, vol.1, pp.276-7, 306-7.

(111) T.Tooke + W.Newmarch, A History of prices, vol.V., pp.8-9, 12-13, 16-17, 21, 27, + 34-35.

(112) A.L.Bowley, 'The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years: Pt.1. Agricultural wages', Royal Statistical Society Journal, vol.61, pp.702-22; ibid. vol.62, pp.565-70; A Wilson Fox, 'Agricultural wages in England and Wales during the last half century', ibid. vol.66, pp.273-348; 'Report by Mr.Wilson Fox on the wages and earnings of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom', House of Commons Reports and Papers, 1900 LXXXII, 557; 'Second report by Mr.Wilson Fox.....', ibid., 1905 XCVII 335; C.S.Orwin and B.I.Felton, 'A century of wages and earnings in agriculture', Royal Agricultural

- Society Journal,XCII, 1931, pp.231-57.
- (113) A.L.Bowley, op.cit., p.563
- (114) HCRO DDBD 87/126
- (115) 'Second report of Mr.Wilson Fox...' op.cit., p.175.
- (116) Thirsk ibid., p.177; Sudbrooke 'Report by Mr.Wilson Fox', op.cit., p.233.
- (117) Hull Advertiser 9/11/1849
- (118) ibid., 16/11/1849
- (119) ibid., 16, 23, 30/11 + 7/12/1849; Hull Packet 30/11/1849; In January 1850 there were reports from the area around York of a 'great scarcity of work' on the land and wage decreases of 25% and one-sixth. A.Armstrong, Stability and change in an English county town, p.106
- (120) Hull Advertiser 4/1 + 15/2/1850
- (121) ibid. 11/1 + 31/5/1850
- (122) 33rd general report of the Emigration Commissioners, House of Commons Reports and Papers 1873, XVIII, appendix 1.
- (123) Hull Advertiser, 9/11/1849, 12/4, 3,10,24/5, 21/6, 5,19/7, 2,9,16,23/8/1850, 2/5/1851
- (124) ibid., 12/4/1850
- (125) ibid., 14/5/1852
- (126) A.F.Hattersley, The British settlement of Natal , Cambridge, 1950, pp.149-161
- (127) 1851 Census enumerators' returns Hutton Cranswick, microfilm Beverley Library
- (128) P.Howorth, Driffield, op.cit., pp.86,88.
- (129) Driffield Observer, 21/12/1853
- (130) E.L.Jones,Seasons and prices, 1964, pp.169-75
- (131) M.Adams 'Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: An economic and social history', Hull Ph.D. thesis, 1977, pp.145, 353
- (132) HCRO Keyingham Forester's' contribution books etc. *uncatalogued*
- (133) Lund Oddfellows contribution and minute books. The second highest total of exclusions for being arrears, nine, occurred in 1849.
- (134) see appendix 1 for details.
- (135) IOOF MU Lund contribution books 1839-69 and minute books 1839-80.
- (136) Keyingham Foresters' contribution book
- (137) Middleton Foresters' minute and proposition book 1839-91 and contribution book 2.
- (138) A.B.Erickson, 'The cattle plague in England 1865-67',Agricultural History,35, 1961; M.Adams, op.cit.p.36
- (139) ibid.
- (140) Eastern Counties Herald, 13/8, 18/10, 4 + 18/11/1865; 13, 20 + 27/1/1866.
- (141) ibid., 30/1/1868
- (142) Driffield Times, 2/2/1872
- (143) see Fig 11 p.142
- (144) HCRO Keyingham contribution book *uncatalogued*
- (145) HCRO MRD *uncatalogued*
- (146) R.C.Russell, The 'Revolt of the Field' in Lincolnshire, 1956 , pp.39-40; M.Adams, pp.362-7; Eastern Counties Herald 27 + 29/2, 7/3, 11/4/1872 ; Beverley Guardian, 10/2/1872; Driffield Times 28/12/1872.
- (147) M.Adams, p. 361.
- (148) see table 33 above. There is nothing to indicate whether the campaign launched by the Local Government Board in the early 1870s against outdoor relief resulted in any increase in friendly society recruitment paralleling the situation in the late 1830s when the New Poor Law was first implemented, but this is possible. M.E.Rose, The

- relief of poverty 1834-1914, London, 1972, p.21
- (149) B.B.Gilbert, 'The decay of nineteenth-century provident institutions and the coming of old age pensions in Great Britain', Economic History Review 17, 1964, pp.552-563
- (150) see Appendix 1 for individual societies.
- (151) Report of Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, 1880,+ 1887.
- (152) PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 22.
- (153) Gilbert, The evolution, p.170
- (154) ibid., pp.171-77
- (155) After 1900 the AOF and IOOF MU did begin to experience net losses in membership in Britain, ibid., p.169 n.18
- (156) Royal Commission on agriculture'Report by Mr.R. Hunter Pringle on South Durham and selected districts of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire', PP 1895, XVII, pp.
- (157) Adams, 'Agricultural change' pp.37-38
- (158) ibid., p.362
- (159) AOF Middleton-on-Wolds, proposition and minute book 1839-91
- (160) IOOF MU Hutton Cranswick, contribution books 1861-82, 1883-1910
- (161) AOF Lockington, proposition and minute book 1840-85
- (162) IOOF MU Lund cash book 1861-90
- (163) HCRO DDX/254 Cottingham United Society proposition book 1875-1906
- (164) B.R.Mitchell and P.Deane, op.cit., pp.488-489.
- (165) see fig.11. The only other years when no chapels were built were 1831 and 1854.
- (166) for population returns 1801-1901 see W.Page, ed., Victoria County History Yorkshire vol.2, 1912, pp.487-499
- (167) 83% of the 148 recruits to Middleton Foresters 1880-1910 were agricultural labourers. AOF Middleton-on-Wolds proposition books 1839-91, 1885-1920.
- (168) see p.274 below
- (169) IOOF MU Lund cash book; AOF Hutton Cranswick proposition book 1868-1943
- (170) AOF Lockington proposition and minute book 1885-1912, register book 1912.
- (171) Royal Commission on the aged poor, PP 1895, pp.354, 368. For Walker and Edwards see A.Howkins, Poor labouring men, London, 1985.
- (172) Aged poor, p.368
- (173) There were juvenile Foresters branches opened at Beverley in 1877, Welton and Hessle 1886, Sutton-in-Hull 1887, and Bridlington 1888 and Oddfellows at Elloughton, 1888 and Beverley, Bishop Burton, Hutton Cranswick, Lund, and Long Riston by end of century. AOF Foresters Directory pp.449-451 IOOF MU Directory and list of lodges, 1940 pp.32, 165. The AOF took the lead in the establishment of juvenile branches. J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, p.181.
- (174) AOF Hutton Cranswick proposition book 1868-1943
- (175) E.H.Hunt, Regional wage variations in Britain 1850-1914, Oxford, 1973, pp.17, 36, 63
- (176) Royal Commission on aged poor, pp.361,370
- (177) based on figures from appendix 1
- (178) A.Wilson and H.Levy, Industrial assurance, London, 1937, pp.36-38
- (179) ibid.
- (180) Royal Commission on Labour 'Report of Edward Wilkinson upon the Poor Law Union of Driffield', p.62
- (181) Parish Magazine Union, July 1908 p.199
- (182) ibid., pp.200-201
- (183) Gosden, Self-help, pp.106-107; Parish Magazine Union July 1908, p.201. In 1905 the vicar of Bishop Burton published a report of the NDFS annual meeting in the magazine. The report refers to the opposition of

- the IOOF MU. *ibid.*, June 1905, pp.142-143
(184) *ibid.*, Sept. 1908, p.253
(185) *ibid.*, Sept. 1912, pp.210-212
(186) S.Yeo, 'Working-class association, private capital, welfare and the state in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries' in N.Parry, et.al., Social work, welfare and the state, London, 1979, p.61
(187) Lockington AOF funds rose from £1840 in 1908 to £2115 in 1911, Elloughton IOOF MU funds rose from £5010 in 1909 to £5269 in 1911 and Lund IOOF MU funds rose from £5352 in 1908 to £5568 in 1911. Lockington AOF proposition and minute book 1885-1912; Elloughton IOOF MU annual returns 1901-11; Lund IOOF MU annual returns 1901-11.
(188) see Chapter 10 below pp 400-403
(189) based on figures from appendix 1
(190) HCRO Keyingham AOF contribution book
(191) Lund IOOF MU minute and contribution books
(192) for list of surviving friendly societies see Chapter 3 footnote 89 above.

Plate 2 : Hutton Cranswick Club Feast Day c1905

top ; Oddfellows and Foresters processing at Cranswick Green

bottom : The procession entering the Vicarage grounds at Hutton



Chapter 5

MEMBERS, FOUNDERS AND LEADERS

The social composition of East Riding friendly societies

MEMBERS

The badge of the artisan ?

Although friendly societies were clearly the most prolific form of working class organisation in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain surprisingly little has been written on their social composition. The limited attention that has been given to this important aspect has led to many generalisations that have belittled the important role that friendly societies played in the lives of the lower sections of the working class, particularly the agricultural labourer. The affiliated orders themselves are partly to blame for this, for it was in their own interest to stress the respectability of their membership, and their official statistics and statements by their officers to Royal Commissions have provided a distorted picture. Too great a reliance on such contemporary printed sources has led many recent historians to echo Bentley Gilbert's view that 'Friendly society membership was traditionally the badge of the artisan. The grey, faceless, lower one-third of the British working population lay altogether outside their province.'(1) Other writers have emphasised the 'upper working and lower middle class' or 'small tradesmen and artisan' membership and control of affiliated friendly societies and their lack of appeal to the agricultural labourer.(2) This emphasis is partly due to the urban orientation of much of the utilised source material where the exact nature of certain accredited occupations is unclear and most are classed as skilled or semi-skilled, unlike the rural areas where the agricultural worker is generally classed as unskilled.(3) Two detailed

studies of the membership of friendly societies in London and Edinburgh indicate that in certain urban affiliated societies skilled workers were the dominant group. R.Q.Gray's analysis of the membership of an Edinburgh Lodge of the Scottish Order of Oddfellows in the 1850s-70s reveals 71% of members in the skilled and only 1.5% in semi- or unskilled categories. (4) Crossick in his study of Kentish London was able to analyse the occupations of members of 28 Foresters' courts in Woolwich in the period 1845-76. Here 53% of new members were skilled workers and 30% unskilled with the proportion of the latter rising during the period.(5) Both writers quote statements made to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies which emphasize the artisan orientation of the societies. The secretary of the Edinburgh Free Gardeners stated that his members were 'generally speaking artizans' and Sir George Young in his report on the southern and eastern counties concluded that craftsmen formed the majority of the membership of the affiliated orders.(6)

Young also stated that 'With few exceptions the lodges of a society like the Manchester Unity were practically closed against agricultural and other unskilled labourers by the high rate of contributions demanded.'(7) Although then as now one could dispute the description of unskilled in relation to the agricultural worker they were the most clearly identifiable group in the poorest paid section of society and were regarded as at the lower end of the working class.(8) In 1851 they formed 24.5% of the gainfully employed males in England and Wales.(9) Their wages were rarely above subsistence level and therefore they did not have, in the opinion of Peter Mathias, the surplus funds necessary for the support of self-help movements. 'The agricultural labourers had the poorest record of membership of friendly societies, and the highest record of receipts from poor relief funds'.(10)

The widely quoted views on the limited agricultural labourer membership of the affiliated orders can be generally traced back to Gosden's chapter on the 'Social composition of the membership and leadership' in The Friendly Societies in England. Here as well as quoting Sir George Young he uses statistics compiled on membership by the IOOF MU which show that in 1846-8 craftsmen far exceeded rural and town labourers as members of the order. The figures given by Gosden claim that blacksmiths, carpenters/joiners, shoemakers, tailors, and wheelwrights provided about 44,600 members (17.84 % of the Order) while there were only about 21,800 rural labourers in the Order(8.7%).(11)

Gosden concludes that agricultural workers remained largely outside the affiliated orders for the following reasons. Firstly the agricultural labourer was static - 'It was improbable that a man working on a farm had been a migrant to the village himself or that his father had been.' - therefore he would gain no advantage in belonging to an affiliated order which provided for transference of membership from one society to another. Secondly that the recruitment of farm labourers was delayed by the influence of the country gentry in the 'county' type of friendly society in the south and east. Thirdly other regional factors such as the continuance of the hirings system in the north may have also deterred membership. But finally and of greatest importance was the low money income of the farm labourer which made him more likely to join a local village society which charged less.(12)

The sources used by Gosden relate to the rural counties in the south and east and he draws his general conclusions from the 'Quinquennial Returns of Sickness and Mortality' for friendly societies in Dorset, Huntingdonshire, Suffolk and Sussex which were made to the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies in the 1860s and 70s. In these returns membership was divided into four main categories - light labour with

exposure, light labour without exposure, heavy labour with exposure, and heavy labour without exposure. The third category can be taken to include mainly agricultural workers in rural areas. The following table extracts the Dorset and Suffolk information from Gosden's Table 14 and contrasts it with the more limited information available on the East Riding. (13)

Table 38: Types of occupations followed by members of friendly societies in three agricultural counties

	Light Labour		Heavy Labour		No. of members
	exposd	not exp	exposd	not exp	
DORSET					
IOOF MU	12.4%	41.1%	29.5%	10.9%	5090
AOF	12.6%	39.8%	31.7%	11.1%	2882
Local club	6.0%	24.1%	63.2%	6.6%	1193
SUFFOLK					
IOOF MU	11.2%	47.7%	20.2%	17.4%	6490
AOF	8.8%	32.4%	35.3%	16.2%	3828
Local club	2.5%	16.9%	75.2%	4.5%	4573
EAST RIDING					
IOOF MU	7%	25%	64%	4%	452
AOF	2%	12%	78%	8%	599
Local club	9.5%	36%	49%	5.5%	219

Source: Gosden, Friendly societies, p.83

The statistics from Dorset and Suffolk are not directly comparable with those from the East Riding villages because the former no doubt include many urban friendly societies which have a far different occupational profile than rural societies. But nevertheless the great contrast in the percentage of Oddfellows and Foresters who were engaged in heavy labour in exposed conditions in the East Riding to the other counties is clearly evident and the figures do suggest that agricultural worker membership was extensive in the county thus bringing into question many of the generalisations quoted above. The statistics of the individual East Riding societies contained in Table 38 are given below:

Table 39: Types of occupations followed by members of individual village friendly societies in the East Riding 1865-75

Society	5 years ending	Light exposd	Labour not exp	Heavy exposd	Labour not exp	No. of membrs
Elloughton IOOF MU	1865	18 10%	45 25%	113 61%	8 4%	184
Long Riston IOOF MU	1870	3 2%	37 20%	135 74%	7 4%	182
Keyingham IOOF MU	1875	8 12%	26 39%	30 45%	2 3%	66
Keyingham AOF	1875	5 1%	50 11%	354 79%	40 9%	449
Leven AOF	1870	7 5%	20 13%	116 77%	7 5%	150
Ouse and Derwent F.S.	1870	20 9%	67 31%	119 55%	10 5%	216

Source: Abstracts of quinquennial returns of sickness and mortality of friendly societies, PP, 1880, LXVIII

Affiliated order membership in rural East Riding

The general information obtainable from the limited East Riding returns of membership categories given in table 39 can be confirmed and enlarged upon by the fortunate survival of a number of membership lists and proposition books for individual affiliated societies. These show conclusively that agricultural workers, both labourers and hired farm servants, formed the majority of the membership of affiliated societies in the rural East Riding from their establishment. Full details exist of the occupations of all new recruits to three Ancient Order of Foresters' Courts in the mid-Wolds area of the East Riding for the 60 or so years of their existence in the 19th century. Agricultural worker membership of these societies at Middleton, Hutton Cranswick and Lockington ranges from 71 to 76.5% with a marked increase as the century progresses.

Table 40: Occupations of New Members of Three East Riding AOF Courts
1838-99

	Hutton Cranswick 1838-99		Middleton on Wolds 1839-99		Lockington 1840-99	
Agricultural						
Workers	431	72%	322	71%	450	76.5%
Craftsmen	116	19.5%	76	17%	85	14.5%
Tradesmen	15	2.5%	21	4.5%	25	4.0%
Farmers	20	3.5%	15	3.5%	9	1.5%
Professionals	4	0.5%	11	2.0%	0	0
Others	14	2.0%	8	1.5%	18	3.0%
Total	600		453		587	

Sources: AOF court proposition books

The above figures can be broken down into three periods which clearly show the increasing proportion of agricultural labourers joining the societies.

Table 41: Occupations of new members at three periods.

	Hutton Cranswick		Middleton on Wolds		Lockington	
Early period 1838-59						
Agricultural						
Workers	102	56.5%	142	66%	94	69%
Craftsmen	49	27%	40	19%	24	18%
Tradesmen	7	4%	15	7%	11	8%
Farmers	19	10.5%	9	4%	6	4%
Professionals	2	1%	6	3%	0	0
Others	2	1%	2	1%	1	1%
	181		214		136	
Middle period 1860-79						
Agricultural						
Workers	128	73%	101	72%	139	77%
Craftsmen	40	23%	25	18%	32	18%
Tradesmen	4	2.5%	3	3%	6	3%
Farmers	0	0	3	2%	0	0
Professionals	2	1%	5	4%	0	0
Others	1	0.5%	3	2%	4	2%
	175		140		181	
Later period 1880-99						
Agricultural						
Workers	201	82.5%	79	80%	217	80%
Craftsmen	27	13.5%	11	11%	29	11%
Tradesmen	4	1.5%	3	3%	8	3%
Farmers	1	0.5%	3	3%	3	1%
Professionals	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	11	4.5%	3	3%	13	5%
	244		99		270	

Sources: AOF court proposition books

This upward trend in recruitment of agricultural workers continues in the early 20th century. In the period 1900-19 Middleton Foresters had 73 agricultural workers join (90% of new members) and only six craftsmen (7.5%) and two tradesmen (2.5%).

The above statistics are all for Foresters' courts and both contemporary and more recent writers have expressed the view that Foresters were more likely to have labourer membership than the Oddfellows. Although Table 38 also suggests that this was the case in the East Riding it is not borne out by figures from proposition books and membership lists. A comparison of figures for a variety of lodges and courts in the middle period shows a similar pattern of membership in each.

Table 42: New members of affiliated orders

	Cranswick IOOF MU 1861-80		Lund IOOF MU 1868-79		Hunmanby LOAS 1860-68		Keyingham AOF 1861-69	
Agricultural								
Workers	124	74%	34	75.5%	56	73%	371	77%
Craftsmen	25	15%	9	20%	17	22%	85	18%
Tradesmen	5	3%	2	4.5%	1	1%	23	5%
Professionals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	10	6%	0	0	1	1%	2	

Sources: Branch proposition and minute books

There is a surprising similarity in the figures and this is particularly marked in Hutton Cranswick where there are the parallel figures for the Foresters and Oddfellows which had 128 (73%) and 124 (74%) new agricultural worker members respectively in the middle period. Statistics from Oddfellows lodges are more limited but there is an indication that in the later period there is little change.

Table 43 : Membership of Oddfellows' lodges

	Long Riston IOOF MU		Lund IOOF MU			
	Members		Members		New Members	
	1886		1903-04		1908-12	
Agricultural Workers	59	72%	213	74%	72	76.5%
Craftsmen	20	24.5%	35	12%	12	13%
Tradesmen	1	1%	13	4.5%	6	6%
Farmers	0	0	4	1.5%	1	1%
Professional	0	0	1	0.5%	1	1%
Others	2	2.5%	21	7.5%	2	2%

Sources: Membership lists and proposition book.

Using figures given for membership of the IOOF MU in 1846-8 and the census of 1851 Gosden produces a table showing that rural labourers while only accounting for 8.7% of the membership of the IOOF MU constituted 24.5% 'of gainfully occupied males'. As the term 'rural labourer' included many others besides farm labourers Gosden states that 'the lack of proportion between the number of agricultural labourers in the Oddfellows with the number in the country generally was far more marked than even this table seems to indicate'.(14) In the East Riding however agricultural labour membership of rural affiliated branches was in greater proportion than their number in the working male village population as a whole.

Table 44 : Male Occupations: Mid-Wolds Villages 1851

Place	Occupied males	Agricultural labs/ farm servants		Crafts		Trades	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hutton Cranswick	379	203	51	87	22	29	7
North Dalton	188	112	60	37	20	11	6
Beswick	94	51	54	19	20	4	4
Middleton	225	127	56	42	19	12	5
Cherry Burton	164	78	54	31	19	8	5
Bainton	164	95	58	29	18	10	6
Lund	172	99	58	30	17	9	5
Lockington	218	128	59	34	16	12	5
Etton	164	94	57	27	16	8	5
South Dalton	105	55	52	17	16	4	4
Kilwick	103	62	60	13	13	0	0
Holme-on-Wolds	54	38	70	6	11	1	2
Leconfield	145	95	65	16	11	2	1
Watton	135	90	67	7	5	2	1.5
Scorborough	45	17	38	0	0	3	7
TOTAL	2355	1344	57	395	17	115	5

Source: Census Enumerators' Returns

The membership figures for individual East Riding branches of the affiliated orders show that 70-80% of the members were agricultural labourers or farm servants, and the census enumerators' returns for individual villages give between 50-60% of the employed males in these categories.

How typical nationally was the rural membership of the affiliated societies in the East Riding ? This could only be determined by locating and examining membership lists of individual societies in other rural counties rather than using the printed returns. Gosden's evidence suggests that the picture would be different in counties such as Dorset and Suffolk. The statistics quoted above cannot all be misleading yet if an affiliated society was established in an agricultural village, as they were throughout England by the 1870s, it would seem implicit that the majority of its membership would be agricultural labourers. Were there factors peculiar to the agricultural workers of the East Riding that made them found and join affiliated societies in large numbers ? To what extent did the reasons given by Gosden for the limited agricultural membership - low income, irregular employment, survival of hirings, lack of mobility, and the influence of the gentry and clergy promoted societies - apply to the East Riding ?

Farm servant membership

As has been outlined above a distinctive feature of the East Riding was the extensive nature of the annual hirings and living-in of farm servants. This did not militate against a high agricultural worker membership as suggested by Gosden but conversely hired farm servants were amongst the most active group in joining the affiliated orders.

Proposition books and membership lists unfortunately do not always distinguish between agricultural labourers and farm servants, however, they are so distinguished in the following records

Table 45: Agricultural labourer/farm servant membership of three AOF courts

	Agricultural Labourers		Farm Servants		Others		Total
Keyingham AOF 1861-69	163	34%	202	43%	107	22%	472
Hutton Cranswick AOF 1869-89	80	31%	116	45%	60	24%	256
Lockington AOF 1880-99	105	39%	95	35%	70	26%	270

Sources: Court proposition books

In the five years 1878-82 62 men joined Hutton Cranswick Foresters; of these 49 (79%) were farm servants with an average age of 20. All but two were single.(15) Most of the large numbers of those aged 20 and under who are classed as labourers in the records of other courts and lodges must also have been hired farm servants. Thirty-seven per cent of the 270 labourers who joined Middleton Foresters 1838-90 were 20 or under and half of these were 18 and under.(16) A random sample of 200 agricultural labourers in the Mid-Wolds area in 1851 reveals only 8 (4%) aged 20 and under while a similar sample of farm servants gives 126 (63%) aged 20 and under.(17)

Within the base villages the proportion of farm servants to farm labourers was less than their proportion of the membership of the branches. This anomaly is partly explained by the wider catchment area of the societies drawing from closed villages where farm servants formed a higher proportion of the workforce. In the Mid-Wolds sample area agricultural labourers predominated in the larger more 'open' parishes such as Hutton Cranswick, Lockington and Lund while in the

'closed' parishes of Scarborough, Watton and Leconfield there were few resident labourers. Overall, within the sample area, the proportion of labourers to servants was 1 : 1.

Table 46 : East Riding: Mid-Wolds area - Agricultural workforce 1851

Parish	Agricultural Labourers		Farm Servants	
	No.	%	No.	%
Hutton Cranswick	142	70	61	30
Lockington	76	63	51	37
Kilnwick	36	58	26	42
Lund	55	56	44	44
Cherry Burton	43	55	35	45
Beswick	28	55	23	45
Middleton	65	51	62	49
Etton	44	47	50	53
Bainton	45	47	50	53
North Dalton	48	43	64	57
Holme-on-Wolds	16	42	22	58
South Dalton	23	41	33	59
Leconfield	29	31	66	69
Watton	21	23	69	77
Scarborough	3	18	14	82
TOTAL	674	50	670	50

Source: Census Enumerators' Returns

The farm servant might not seem the most likely candidate for friendly society membership for he was considered to be protected, during his service, from financial worries brought on by illness, bad weather, agricultural depression, and a large family. G.Culley, an Assistant Commissioner for the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies in 1872, and Henley, an Assistant Commissioner for the Royal Commission on Labour in 1894, both reporting on Northumberland, stated that there were few friendly societies in the rural areas 'probably on account of the farm servants being hired by the year, and their wages being thus secured during sickness'. (18) There are indications that the security of the farm servant was not universal nor unchanging for Ann Kussmaul has discovered that that annual contracts drawn up at the Spalding hirings fairs from the 1830s included provisions for servants paying for their

own 'medical attention' and for the termination of the contract with 'a month's wages or a month's warning'.(19)

In the numerous pamphlets condemning the hirings system which were produced in the East Riding in the mid-19th century the unmarried farm servant is portrayed as an intemperate, disrespectful, latently immoral and improvident character.(20) The rural labourer was considered by farmer and clergyman alike as "thoughtless and extravagant, generally acting under the impression that 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof'".(21) The 'reckless and indifferent doings' so often complained of would seem hardly compatible with friendly society membership.(22)

Two other important factors could be considered as militating against farm servant recruitment to friendly societies. Firstly the method of payment of the hired man which begs the question of his ability to pay weekly or monthly into the club fund. On hiring the farm servant was paid a fest or fastening-penny, varying from 6d. to 10/- depending on age and status of servant, but otherwise he was not entitled to any further payment until the period of his hiring was completed at the following Martinmas.(23) Then the agreed wage was paid over and much of it spent at the hirings fairs or with traders who had provided clothing and goods during the year on the understanding that the accounts would be settled at Martinmas. Clearly however the farm servant was not totally without ready cash during the year for how else could he nightly frequent the village alehouse, as hostile commentators claim, or regularly pay his friendly society subscription as club accounts books show. In 1861 irrespective of occupation all but a few of the 330 members of Keyingham Foresters paid their subscriptions regularly most of them at quarterly intervals.(24) Either the farm servant drew on his savings to make the payments or he received a 'sub' from a sympathetic farmer who would deduct it from his wages at the end of the year. (25)

The custom whereby the great majority of farm servants changed their workplace each year could be seen as a further hindrance to membership of a specific village branch or society. However this great mobility did not limit long term membership of the affiliated orders. Of the 202 farm servants who were members or joined Keyingham Foresters 1858-69 only 38 (19%) were members for less than 5 years, and 100 (49%) were members for 30 years or more. The great majority (87%) moved at least once during their period of membership.(26) Notwithstanding these possible obstacles hired farm servants appear to have been more likely to join a friendly society than any other section of the rural community.

Income of the
agricultural labourer

Gosden's point about the low income of the agricultural labourer preventing him paying a regular club subscription is possibly true in relation to labourers in Suffolk, Oxfordshire or Dorset. The East Riding agricultural labourer was better paid and more regularly employed than his Southern counterpart and this may be a reason why he would be more likely to join a branch of an affiliated order.

Table 47: Weekly wages of agricultural labourers in certain English counties(27)

	1833	1850	1867-70	1898	1907
East Riding	11s	12s	17s 6d	18s 6d	19s 3d
West Riding	11s 5d	14s	17s 6d	18s 7d	20s
North Riding	11s 4d	11s	17s 6d	18s 8d	19s 7d
Cumberland	10s 8d	13s	18s 6d	18s 9d	19s 3d
Northumberland	11s 5d	11s	17s 6d	20s 2d	21s 2d
Suffolk	9s 11d	7s	-	14s 5d	15s 9d
Norfolk	10s 9d	8s 6d	14s 9d	14s 9d	15s 4d
Oxfordshire	10s 1d	9s	13s 6d	14s 8d	14s 11d
Somerset	8s 6d	8s 7d	12s 3d	15s 10d	17s 3d
Dorset	8s 2d	7s 6d	11s 6d	14s 9d	16s 1d

Sources: 1833 and 1850 A.L.Bowley, 'The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years.(part I) Agricultural wages', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society vol.61, 1898 pp.706-7; 1867-70, 1898, 1907 E.H.Hunt, Regional wage variations in Britain 1850-1914, Oxford, 1973, pp.62-63

The difference was not as marked in the 1830s but by the mid-Victorian period the agricultural labourer in the East Riding and other northern counties was receiving a significantly higher wage than labourers in the south, south-east and south-west. The highest wages were to be found in Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland.(28)

During most of the years from 1850 to 1880 there was continuous employment for the vast majority of the East Riding's agricultural workforce. The above average sized farms of the county on which employment was usually more stable than on small farms, the mixed farming system which provided a variety of employment throughout the year and the tighter labour market all contributed to ensuring that there was not the large pool of unemployed labour that characterised the southern counties.(29) There were of course winters when unemployment reached significant proportions such as 1849-50, 1850-51, 1867-68 and 1872-73.(30) The agricultural depression saw farmers in the 1880s reducing the numbers of labourers employed and although this at times caused a rise in unemployment the contemporary reduction in the total number of labourers in the countryside meant that the overall situation saw little change in the county. (30)

Edward Wilkinson who reported on Driffield Poor Law Union to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1892 found that:

The demand for labour is fairly continuous, so much so that most men who wish to keep steadily to work can do so, except a few, not the most able-bodied, who are apt to be out of work in the winter and spring. ... A great many of the best farmers set so much store on having men steadily working for them, from year's end to year's end, and year after year, that they try their utmost to find constant employment for them in all seasons.(31)

E.H.Hunt has demonstrated that the regional wage variations were not offset by any marked variation in the cost of living in various parts of the country and that in high wage areas such as the East Riding the standard of living was indeed higher than in the rural Southern

counties. In 1913 an Oxfordshire labourer earning 14s 11d a week would have had to pay 3s 2d for a pound of butter, a pound of margarine, a pound of sugar, four ounces of tea and seven pound of flour while these items would have cost the same to an East Riding labourer earning 19s 3d.(32) Thus the 3d or 4d a week club subscription would have been quite manageable for the East Riding labourer.

Mobility and membership

The other reasons why, in Gosden's opinion, the agricultural labourer did not join the affiliated orders, that is his immobility and the pressure for him to join a gentry provided 'county' friendly society, also did not apply to the East Riding; firstly because there was no 'county' type society such as was found in the south and east of England and secondly because the agricultural labourer was far from being entrenched in the village of his forefathers.(33)

The 1851 census returns and the membership records of Keyingham Foresters provide ample evidence concerning the mobility of various sections of the rural community. In the Mid-Wolds sample area little over a quarter of the agricultural labourers and farm servants were resident in the parish of their birth in 1851 and they were more mobile than the village craftsmen.

Table 48 : Mobility of Agricultural Workers and Craftsmen - Mid-Wolds villages 1851

Occupation	No.	Living in parish of birth	Living within 5 miles of birthplace	Average Age
Agricultural workers	400	27%	52%	31
Tailor	82	41%	78%	32
Shoemaker	78	53%	68%	43
Wheelwright	94	49%	68%	32
Blacksmith	62	35%	45%	36

Source: Census Enumerators' Returns 1851

Surprisingly similar figures are provided by the detailed membership lists of the Keyingham Foresters which show that during the period 1858-82 342 (72.5%) of the 472 men who were already members, or joined,

the society in 1858-69 moved their place of residence. Only just over a quarter of the members remained where they had been resident either in 1858 or when they subsequently joined, and a fair proportion of these also moved after 1882.(34) The most mobile group were, understandably, the farm servants, 85% of them moving during the period. The following table shows that in general the agricultural workers were more likely to move their place of residence than the craftsmen or tradesmen members.

Table 49 : Keyingham Foresters :

Mobility of membership 1858-8

	Movers		Non-movers	
Agricultural workers	279	75%	92	25%
Craftsmen and tradesmen	63	62%	38	38%
Total	342	72.5%	130	27.5%

Source: Membership and contribution books

The ability to transfer membership of an affiliated order from one branch to another was not an aspect that seemingly attracted the rural member. Village friendly society records although recording a great deal of movement of members show only a small proportion of migrants took the opportunity to transfer their membership to a nearer branch. Mobility of membership is discussed further in chapter 6.

Tables 48 and 49 show that the craftsmen, particularly the tailor, shoemaker and wheelwright, were a far more stable element in village society than the labourer. This was one of the reasons why it was craftsmen who became the leaders of the affiliated branches in the countryside and therefore discussion of their membership has been left to that section of this chapter.

FOUNDERS

On whose initiative was a branch of an affiliated order established in a village ? Who decided whether it would be a Foresters' court, an Oddfellows' lodge or a Druids' gorsedd ? There are indications that the initiative often came from existing branches who wished to promote their particular order in the neighbourhood. 'Missionaries', official and unofficial, also travelled the country advocating the cause.(35) However there did need to be someone in the village to accept the overtures and to gather together others so that application could be made for a dispensation or surance from the order headquarters. Where lists exist of the original members it is possible to determine the local founders and to speculate on the reasons for their action.

The Star of Bethlehem lodge of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity was established at the Buck Inn, Hunmanby on 22 July 1839. The five founder members who gathered for their first meeting were all agricultural labourers with an average age of 42.(36) No doubt concern about increasing age and ill health with possibly the threat of the new workhouses turned their attention to joining a friendly society. Their age or the prohibitive enrolment fees required because of their age prevented them from joining an old established local society.(37) As founder members of an affiliated order branch they were not so restricted. The names of the founder members of 40 AOF courts and one IOOF MU lodge are also available and using the 1841 census enumerators' returns details of the age, occupation and family size of 102 of them have been ascertained.

Table 50: Occupations of the founder members of 42
East Riding affiliated order branches 1837-43

	No
AGRICULTURE	37
Agricultural labourer	24
Farm servant	1
Gardener	2
Hind	1
Farmer	7
Farmers' son	2
CRAFTS	39
Shoemaker	12
Wheelwright/joiner	8
Blacksmith	6
Tailor	4
Machine maker(agric.)	1
Whitesmith	1
Bricklayer	5
Plumber/glazier	1
Stone mason	1
TRADES	24
Innkeeper	10
Innkeepers' son	3
Miller	3
Butcher	2
Grocer/draper	2
Shopkeeper	1
Fruiterer	1
Jobber	1
Coal dealer	1
CLERICAL/PROFESSIONAL	2
Clerk	1
Schoolmaster	1
TOTAL	102

Sources: AOF Dispensation Book 1, AOF Headquarters, Southampton; HCRO DDX/242 Hunmanby Shepherds; Lund IOOF Minute book, Oddfellows Hall, Lund.

Not surprisingly, taking into account overall membership,

agricultural labourers constituted the largest single occupational group amongst the founders but only in the case of Hunmanby Shepherds were they particularly prominent.(38) Agricultural labourers rarely head the list of members which was a position more likely to be held by a craftsman or tradesman. Shoemakers head the list on seven occasions and six of the ten innkeepers are similarly placed. Sometimes there are family and occupational links between founders. Brothers occur in the lists and on three occasions there are two shoemakers as founders of the same court. There are three joiners as founders of Court Langley at Sherburn and they are headed by an innkeeper who was the brother of a joiner. The innkeeper was aged 53 when the court opened and he is the oldest of the 89 founders for whom a definite age has been discovered; the youngest was 16. The mean average age was 34 years and the median 37. The evidence from the census returns suggests that the typical founder member was in his mid-thirties, married with three or more children at home.

Innkeepers understandably figure prominently amongst the founders of branches of the affiliated orders and in many cases where they do not appear amongst the early members they are also likely to have been the prime mover. The role of the publican in founding village branches is well illustrated in the following account by H.Woolley of the introduction of the Ancient Order of Foresters to Moulton in Lincolnshire:

... opposite my own dwelling stands the 'White Swan', a goodly English road side inn ... As this is the place where Court 'Village Foresters' is held, and as it appears to afford comfortable quarters, we will tarry here awhile, and relate how Forestry was first introduced amongst us. I well remember the day. The worthy landlord invited me to become a Forester; I could not then conceive what he meant, and the party who had come from Spalding to introduce the Order here, could give me but little information on the subject. Ever and anon, by way of

temptation, they gave vent to the expressions 'Secret Society' - 'grand institution' - '12s a-week in sickness' - '£12 if you die'. At length I consented to be proposed as one ... time sped on and brought the day when Court 'Village Foresters' was to be opened. By this time we had mustered a goodly fifty ready to join our ranks ... Long will the day be remembered in Moulton, when the flag of Forestry first waved from the sign-post of the Swan Inn.(39)

Twenty years later the same writer praised 'our friends the publicans ... We transact our business mainly under their roofs. Forestry owes much to them.' (40)

The situation at Moulton with the publican actively promoting the friendly society was repeated again and again throughout the country. Of the 44 courts opened by the Ancient Order of Foresters in the three months August-October 1839, half had as one of the three or four founders the publican of the inn where the court met. Court St.Mary, Binbrook, Lincolnshire held its meetings at The Plough Inn and the publican John Marshall heads the list of founders, similarly George Reed of the Red Lion, Seaton, Durham and William Ingham of the Fleece Inn, Horncastle are the first members of the courts meeting on their premises.(41) Numerous East Riding examples can be given; George Carter, innkeeper of the Merry Legs Inn, Pocklington was a founder of Court True Freedom, Stephen Wardell of the Bay Horse, Kilham, a founder of Court Kilham and Wilson Peacock of the Cross Keys Inn, Muston of Court Lumley. During the years 1837-43 forty AOF courts were opened in the East Riding and in 12 cases the innkeeper or his son was one of the founders.(42)

There was some disquiet expressed by the Chief Shepherd of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds at the annual meeting in 1836 for he thought the order was 'growing too fast' and a major reason for this was 'That many Lodges were opened more for the gratification of the host than upon those genuine principles which they ought to be'.(43) Similar concern was shown by Thomas Wells, shoemaker, the secretary of Court Heathcote

AOF, at Folkingham, Lincolnshire in two letters written to the executive council of the order. In February 1841 the Folkingham court was applied to to open a new court at the neighbouring village of Billingborough. However when the founders came before them they were discovered to be all aged from 45 to 60 years old and not wishing 'to bring disgrace on the order but to be intiarly strict to all laws' they refused to propose them without consulting the Executive Committee. As a result 'Mr. Smith, the innkeeper at Billingborough informed us that if we do not take them as founders the Sleaford court will'. The following month, on 9 March, the Folkingham court initiated Christopher Welbourn, innkeeper of the 'Fox's Brush', a miller and two shoemakers as the founders for Court Rutland at Ropsley five miles away. They had been proposed on 4 March but 'the host of another House in Ropsley Mr Robinson as soon as he knew of this gets founders made at another court at Corby on Monday the 8th which you will perceive was four days after the founders was proposed at our court, and we are informed they have made application for a despensation we therefore beg on the above grounds you will not grant them one'.(44)

The interest of publicans in the establishment of friendly society meetings on their premises was undoubtedly motivated in nearly all cases by the hope of personal gain. This was fully acknowledged by Charles Hardwick, a leading propagandist for the affiliated orders, who was of the opinion that many lodges and courts had been opened 'chiefly through the instrumentality of publicans with a view to the improvement of their business'.(45) The great boom in affiliated order expansion in the 1830s and 1840s coincided with a period of greatly increased competition between drinking places consequent upon the passing of the Beer Act in 1830. This act had broken the monopoly of the licensed victuallers and created the beerhouse. From 1830 any householder paying poor rate could

obtain a licence to sell beer on payment of two guineas without the necessity of applying to receive a magistrates licence. The act, which was partly aimed at reducing the quantity of spirits drunk, led to a great proliferation of drinking places. By 1836 44,134 beerhouses had been added to existing premises for the sale and consumption of drink. In the north of England the effect was particularly marked. By 1837 there were in Leeds 275 beerhouses compared with 270 inns; in Bradford 83 beerhouses and 64 inns; and in Sheffield 313 beerhouses and 306 inns.(46)

The East Riding saw a far more modest expansion of drinking places if the information in trade directories is reliable. In Hull in 1846 there were 294 inns and 64 beerhouses and in Beverley in 1840 37 inns and 12 beerhouses. In the rural areas beerhouses constituted a similar proportion of the drinking places in 1840; in the Bainton Beacon division there were 23 inns and eight beerhouses and in the Hunsley Beacon division 38 inns and seven beerhouses.(47) The 15 rural beerhouses were situated in only ten of the 36 villages in these divisions, and almost half were to be found in two of them, Hutton Cranswick with four and South Cave with three. In both these settlements at least two affiliated order branches were established in 1838-42. In the case of South Cave the actions of the proprietors of the newly opened beerhouses in their attempts to attract trade are chronicled by the village schoolmaster Robert Sharp. In the 1830s there were already six licenced inns in the village, five in the Market Place and the other over half-a-mile away near the church at West End. It was at this latter place that two beerhouses opened in Martinmas Week 1833, one displaying the sign of the Carpenters' Arms and the other The Gate. A third beerhouse was opened in Market Place by 'Tailor' Waudby in September 1834 with the sign of the Half Moon. The beerhouse keepers eager to

attract custom made special efforts to entice patrons away from the existing inns and their rivals:

1834 Thursday 29 May. There are two rival beer shops at the West End one of them Charley Smith's ... got some ribbons to run for; which when his adversary discovered, he immediately got some tobacco to smoke for, which drew away Charley's company, but he no ways daunted brought out a bowl of treacle and some rolls, for the lads to eat, they who eat the most in the least time to bear away the prize, this turned the scale again in his favour.

Wednesday 26 November. There was shooting at the beer shops this afternoon for a cheese and tea kettles and other articles.(48)

Such rivalry and provision of attractions was repeated in towns and villages throughout the country, and the enthusiasm of publicans for friendly societies can be seen as part of their attempt to counter the impact of the beerhouses.(49) At Bolton, in addition to friendly societies, publicans promoted trades' unions, sweepstake clubs, flower shows, vegetable shows, amateur and professional dramatics, bowling, quoiting, glee clubs and free and easies.(50) Hosting a friendly society could bring a number of benefits to the publican not least the annual feast and the sales of drink before and after the fortnightly or monthly meeting as well as securing the regular custom of members.

The importance of the innkeeper as founder of friendly societies must not be overstated at the expense of the village craftsman. Shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and wheelwrights all figure prominently as founder members and their workshops vied with the inn as the focal point of the village. The blacksmith's shop although noisy and active was attractive in winter because of its warmth. Lord Snell, the son of an agricultural labourer, was born in 1865 at Sutton-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire and he recalled that

The village blacksmith's shop was the most popular resort for those who lived to gossip, but who did

not go to the public-houses, and there, especially in the evening, men would meet and talk to the accompanying music of the anvil, the roar of the bellows, and the magic of the upward-flying sparks ... I have the happiest memories of the many informing conversations that I listened to in that village forum. Among those present there was usually someone with a gift for imparting useful information. Such general news as reached the village would be discussed; but the conversation for the most part had reference to the prices of cattle, pigs, poultry, and dairy produce at the weekly market ... The blacksmith's shop was, in fact the brightest, warmest, and most attractive place in the village. The talk was neighbourly and informative, social and practical, rather than remote or speculative ... I spent many profitable hours listening to the wisdom of those village Hampdens, and I did not count one of them wasted. ... Among politicians 'Dizzy' was criticized, and 'owd Gladstone' was exalted.(51)

At Lund the smithy, sited near the village well on the green in front of the church and next to the inn, was the settlements' social centre.(52)

Lawson's wheelwright's shop at Walkington contained a row of chairs ready to accommodate the frequent casual visitors who came to gossip with the workmen or amongst themselves.(53)

The customers of the blacksmith and wheelwright came from farther afield than those of the tailor and shoemaker but these latter craftsmen were not without contact with the wider world. They went to the nearest large town for their materials and entertained commercial travellers.(54) Many were Methodist local preachers and their shop was often the first port of call of the circuit ministers.(55) Their workshops were much quieter and their interests often more intellectual. Information on the expanding affiliated orders was equally likely to enter the village via the shoemaker's shop as by way of the inn. Hobsbawm emphasises that 'the shoemaker was strategically well-placed to pass on city ideas and mobilize action':

His village shop provided an ideal setting for the purpose, and articulate men who worked alone most of

the time might grow loquacious in company, and could do so while they worked. The rural shoemaker was always present, his eyes on the street, and he knew what went on in the community, even when he did not happen to double as parish clerk or in some other municipal or communal capacity. Moreover their quiet workshops in villages and small towns were social centres second only to the inn, open and ready for conversation all day.(56)

It was this position as village intellectual and village elder that made the craftsmen the ideal candidate for office in the friendly society a role in which they were pre-eminent.

LEADERS

The majority of the lodges and courts of the affiliated orders had procedures for half-yearly elections for all their officers and in the early years it was customary for each position to change hands at this time. In theory no one person or group of people could gain control of the society's affairs. However this system broke down as the natural leaders emerged and certain members became semi-permanent office holders though continuing to be re-elected each half-year. The posts of secretary and treasurer were the first to become permanent positions and it was these two officers along with the trustees and or a committee that ran the societies rather than those who filled the positions with the more exalted titles of Chief Ranger, Noble Grand, Arch Druid and Worshipful Master. The records of Lund Oddfellows clearly demonstrate the growing control of the key offices by individuals. Between 1839 and 1860 eleven men held the position of secretary with half-yearly 'elections'; however during the period August 1853 - August 1858 one man William Petch was chosen five times. In 1860 Petch became the permanent secretary, a position he retained until 1893. His domination of the society was aided by his father-in-law, Richard Vary, who served as

treasurer from 1854 to 1880.(57)

Petch and Vary were both wheelwrights and as village craftsmen were typical of those who filled these influential positions in rural friendly societies.

Table 51: Occupations of secretaries of Oddfellows' lodges and Foresters' courts in the East Riding 1868-96

Shoemaker	11		
Joiner/wheelwright	9		
Schoolmaster	7		
Builder/bricklayer	4		
Blacksmith	3		
Gardener	2		
Tailor	1		
Malster	1		
Lodging house keeper	1		
Parish clerk	1		
Chemist	1		
Farmer	1		
Agricultural labourer	1	Total	43

Sources: IOOF Lodge and AOF Court directories; Trade directories; Census returns.

Table 51 above analyses the occupations of 43 secretaries of 26 Oddfellows' lodges and Foresters' courts and 23 of them were shoemakers, wheelwright/joiners and blacksmiths. A similar picture emerges of the dominance of the village craftsman as club secretary when a detailed examination is made of the records of individual societies. Thirty five men filled the office of secretary in the adjoining village clubs at Middleton, Lund and Lockington, nineteen were village craftsmen and they served for 61 of the 101 'electoral' periods.

Table 52: Occupations of 'elected' secretaries of three East Riding village clubs

	Middleton AOF 1839-52		Lund IOOF 1839-60		Lockington AOF 1840-90		Total	
	No.*	Times.**	No.	Times	No.	Times	No.	Times
Blacksmith	2	10	2	3	3	16	7	29
Shoemaker			2	3	2	11	4	14
Miller	1	6			1	6	2	12
Schoolmaster	1	1	1	4	2	5	4	10
Wheelwright			3	8			3	8
Tailor					3	8	3	8
Agric. Lab.			2	2	3	4	5	6
Farmer	2	3	1	1			3	4
Gardener					1	4	1	4
Jobber					1	4	1	4
Saddler	1	1					1	1
Tinner	1	1					1	1
Total	8	22	11	21	16	58	35	101

Sources: Middleton and Lockington AOF and Lund IOOF minute books

* No. number of individuals

** Times. number of times served

The pattern changed little when the posts became more permanent. In the years 1884-1924 the secretaries of Middleton Foresters were a joiner, for two years, a groom, five years, a wheelwright, thirteen years, and a shoemaker for seventeen years. The secretary of Hunmanby Shepherds 1879-88 was a wheelwright, William Clark. There were few secretaries who were agricultural labourers but Hutton Cranswick Foresters had two, Robert Sissons 1847-62 and Robert Moody 1875-90, the latter was followed by a hairdresser James Robson 1891-1915.(58) One of the most obvious choices for secretary, particularly in the earlier period, was the village schoolmaster who would have been long considered the village scribe and accounts keeper. Frequently the schoolmaster was also the parish clerk as was John Robinson the first secretary of Lund Oddfellows. At least ten East Riding village schoolmasters served for a period as the secretary of a village affiliated order branch; some like Robinson and William Woodmansey, secretary of Harpham Druids were 'untrained' but others like George Rayner secretary of Hutton Cranswick

Oddfellows 1877-87 and Thomas Amos, secretary of Holme on Spalding Moor Foresters, had been to a training college and held a certificate.(59) However it was the craftsmen who had a virtual monopoly of the club secretaryship in many villages, and in particular the shoemaker. Moses Pearson, shoemaker, was the secretary of Harpham Druids for at least four years and Israel Jefferson, shoemaker, was for much longer the secretary of Nafferton Shepherds. Keyingham Foresters had two shoemaker secretaries in the years 1880-1912 and in the same period Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows was served by two, William Duke, 1890-1901, and Richard Milner, 1902-12.(60)

The importance of the shoemaker in particular and the craftsman in general to the affiliated orders is shown from details of the occupations of those who were the 'Examining Officers of Travellers' for the IOOF MU. These men were given the responsible position of interviewing members with travelling cards and deciding whether or not they should receive relief and if so how much. The national directories list the officers and frequently give their occupation:

Table 53 : IOOF MU examining officers of travellers 1845, 1850 and 1869

Occupation	1845		1850		1869	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Shoemaker	26	20	37	26	42	27
Tailor	9	7	25	18	25	16
Hairdresser	7	5	5	3	9	6
Saddler	6	5	3	2	6	4
Grocer	5	4	7	5	6	4
Plumber	4		2		1	
Hatter	4		1		3	
Currier	4		3		0	
Baker	4		1		5	
Painter	3		3		0	
Joiner	3		2		5	
Nailer	3		0		0	
Blacksmith	2		2		1	
Wheelwright	2		3		3	
Watchmaker	2		3		5	
Printer	2		1		4	
Ropemaker	2		2		3	
Schoolmaster	0		1		2	
others	42		40		34	
Total	130		141		154	

Source: IOOF MU, Directory and list of lodges, 1845, 1850, + 1869

Shoemaking was much the largest single artisan occupation in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century and the shoemakers' reputation as a radical leader and working-class intellectual has recently received close attention from Eric Hobsbawm and Joan Scott.(61) The ubiquity of the shoemaker and his undeniable articulateness and intellectual bent gave him the role of local spokesman and leader in villages in many countries and centuries and this position is one that he clearly held in the East Riding village in the 19th century. The leadership of the shoemaker was however challenged in many villages by the other craftsmen, particularly the tailor, wheelwright, blacksmith and joiner who also rivalled him numerically:

Table 54: East Riding village craftsmen in mid-19th century

Place	Wheelwright Joiner/Carpenter	Tailor	Shoemaker	Blacksmith	Saddler
Mid-Wolds villages					
1851					
H. Cranswick	20	14	19	13	0
N. Dalton	10	12	6	3	1
Beswick	6	1	3	3	0
Middleton	5	10	5	7	3
C. Burton	5	7	10	3	0
Bainton	8	9	5	3	0
Lund	8	7	6	5	0
Lockington	12	4	7	5	0
Etton	3	7	6	6	1
S. Dalton	6	5	2	4	0
Kilnwick	6	4	1	3	0
Holme	1	0	1	4	0
Leconfield	4	2	4	3	0
Watton	0	0	3	0	0
Scarborough	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	94	82	78	62	5
12 sample villages					
1851-71					
	90	54	63	51	11
East Riding					
1851					
	1640	1159	1948	950	132

Sources: Census Enumerators' Returns

In Hobsbawm's opinion the work and way of life of the shoemaker had particular characteristics that made him more independent than his fellow craftsmen:

The village shoemaker was self-employed. His business required little capital. Equipment was cheap, light and portable, and he only required a modest roof over his head to work and live, in the worst case in the same room. While this made him unusually mobile, it did not distinguish him from a number of other crafts. What did distinguish him was his contact with large numbers of humble people and his independence from patrons, wealthy clients and employers. Farmers depended on landlords; wheelwrights and builders relied on orders from farmers and persons of substance; tailors served the wealthy since the poor made their own clothes. The shoemaker also served the wealthy, since they needed him; but his main clientele must, in most cases, have been among the poor, since they could not do without him either ... He could thus express his opinions without the risk of losing his job or his customers ... (62)

The East Riding village tailor, who appears to have been exceptionally numerous in the sample area, had the same clientele as the shoemaker and held the same social position and was as independent minded. Contemporaries classed the shoemakers and tailors together as the following passage from Charles Kingsley's Alton Locke demonstrates:

For what could he make me but a tailor - or a shoemaker? A pale consumptive, rickety, weakly boy, all forehead and no muscle - have not clothes and shoes been from time immemorial the appointed work of such? The fact that the weakly frame is generally compensated by a proportionally increased activity of brain, is too unimportant to enter into the calculations of the great King Laissez-faire. Well, my dear Society, it is you that suffer for the mistake, after all more than we. If you do tether your cleverest artisans on tailors' shop boards and cobblers' benches, and they - as sedentary folk will - fall a-thinking, and come to strange conclusions thereby, they really ought to be much more thankful to you than you are to them. If Thomas Cooper had passed his first five-and-twenty years at the plough tail instead of the shoemaker's awl, many words would have been left unsaid which, once spoken, working men are not likely to forget. (63)

The village tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths and wheelwrights showed their independency in both politics and religion in the mid-nineteenth century. In the East Riding election of 1868 the two Conservative candidates were returned with large majorities and in the mid-Wolds sample area of the 223 men who voted only 29 voted Liberal, of these eleven (38%) were craftsmen, four tradesmen, four agricultural labourers and seven farmers. The craftsmen were four tailors, three shoemakers, three wheelwrights and a blacksmith.(64) At the same date these four occupations were followed by 37% of the local preachers in Driffield Primitive Methodist circuit.(65)

Table 55 : Occupations of village Primitive Methodist Local Preachers - Driffield Circuit

	1848		1859		1868	
CRAFTSMEN	10	33%	17	37%	16	39%
Tailor	5		7		5	
Blacksmith	2		3		3	
Shoemaker	1		3		5	
Wheelwright						
/Joiner	1		2		2	
Others	1		2		1	
TRADESMEN	4	13%	5	11%	8	20%
AGRICULTURAL						
LABOURERS	15	50%	19	41%	11	27%
FARMERS AND						
SMALLHOLDERS	1	3%	3	7%	4	10%
OTHERS	0		2	4%	2	5%
TOTAL	30		46		41	

Sources: HCRO Acc 1036 Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit Plans 1848, 1859, and 1868; Census enumerators' returns and trade directories.

At one time there were 21 shoemakers serving as Primitive Methodist local preachers in the Driffield and Bridlington circuit.(66) One of these was Jonathan Goforth of Burton Fleming whose attainments as a great reader, astronomer, entomologist, zoologist, herbalist, inventor,

village doctor and philosopher were commemorated in a sixteen verse poem published in 1867.(67)

The rural artisan whom in Hardy's words formed 'the backbone of the village life' has received scant attention from both contemporaries and recent rural historians.(68) Nineteenth century Royal Commissions and agricultural reports rarely speak of him and what few accounts there are of his life and work say little about his position and activities in the local community.(69) Agricultural labourers are far better served.

The social and economic position of the rural artisan has been described as 'obscure', and it is likely to remain so, but something can be gleaned from census returns, parish records and account books.(70) Information on the parentage of 85 craftsmen in the mid-Wolds villages in 1851 shows that all the crafts recruited from the ranks of the agricultural labourers but that this was a more likely origin for tailors and shoemakers than joiners, wheelwrights and blacksmiths. Sixty-six per cent of the craftsmen were the sons of craftsmen and 20 per cent the sons of agricultural labourers.

Table 56 : Occupational origin of craftsmen in mid-Wolds villages 1851

Occupation	Occupation of father					
	Joiner/ Wheelwrt	Tailor	Shoemkr.	Blcksmth.	Ag.Lab.	Other
Joiner/ Wheelwright	21	0	0	0	6	2
Tailor	0	12	2	0	7	4
Shoemaker	0	1	6	0	5	3
Blacksmith	0	0	1	13	2	0

Source: 1851 Census enumerators' returns

The social links of the craftsmen in the local community can be further demonstrated from marriage registers which again show close ties between the labourer and craftsman.

Table 57 : Occupations of fathers of marriage partners in mid-Wolds parishes 1837-70

Children of	Married children of				Tradesman		Farmer	
	Labourer		Craftsman					
Shoemaker	18	56%	10	31%	4	13%	0	
Tailor	11	52%	8	38%	2	10%	0	
Blacksmith	13	56%	2	9%	5	22%	3	13%
Joiner/ Wheelwright	10	33%	10	33%	1	3%	9	30%
Innkeeper	3	21%	4	29%	1	7%	6	43%

Sources: Marriage registers Middleton, Lund, Lockington and Hutton Cranswick

The blacksmith and wheelwright had closer links with the higher status tradesmen and farmers than did the shoemaker and tailor and the nature of their work dictated that they required more capital. Their tools, materials and premises were more costly and they were more likely to be employers. In the mid-Wolds villages in 1851 76% of the master blacksmiths were employers and 62% of the wheelwrights and joiners but only 48% of the tailors and 30% of the shoemakers. No shoemaker employed more than two men but in the case of the wheelwrights/joiners there were eight masters with three or more employees. David Weatherill, master carpenter at Lockington employed seven men, and Richard Vary, wheelwright, of Lund employed five.(71)

The change of occupation from agricultural labourer to shoemaker or tailor would not necessarily be seen as a step upwards financially. Sometimes it was a move out of necessity. A labourer's son too sickly to work on the land or a labourer injured in his work were often recruits to these sedentary crafts.(72) In contrast the blacksmith or wheelwright would clearly need to be able-bodied. The wages of shoemakers and tailors in Malton in 1843-4 were eight shillings and meat a week, which was counted as fifteen shillings and agricultural labourers were paid at the same rate. Blacksmiths however received nine shillings a week plus meat or without meat eighteen shillings, the same as the weekly wage of

wheelwrights, carpenters and joiners.(73)

Craftsmen's account books of the mid-nineteenth century reveal something of their turnover and the number and standing of their customers but reveal little on which to calculate their income. Robert Lamb a self-employed tailor at Rillington received an average of £128 per year from 66 customers in 1861-62. The customers who were largely farmworkers from the village and adjoining area spent on average just under £2 each at the tailors each year. A large number of the accounts were settled in Martinmas week. In 1868 twenty-six customers were owing £55 at Martinmas and a further fifteen owed £17 12s at Christmas. There is no full record of the tailors expenditure on materials but with money always being owed to him and a limited turnover he cannot have lived much better than a farm labourer. Similarly the accounts kept by his brother William Lamb, a shoemaker, in 1850-51 show that he had an average of 60 customers who spent just under £1 on shoes and repairs each year. His average turnover was just over £58 which cannot have allowed for a lavish lifestyle.(74) The more extensive business of a wheelwright is illustrated by the accounts of Henry Lawson of Walkington for 1861. His turnover was £318 and his fifty customers who were chiefly farmers spent an average of a little over £6 each.(75)

Although the rural artisan may not have had financial superiority to the agricultural labourer he did rank above him in village society.(76) A position which, as Hardy indicates in the following passage from Tess of the Durbervilles, was partially due to his being one of the more stable elements in rural society:

The village had formerly contained, side by side with the agricultural labourers, an interesting and better informed class, ranking distinctly above the former ... , including the carpenter, the smith, the shoemaker, the huckster, together with nondescript workers other than farm-labourers; a set of people who owed a certain stability of aim and conduct to

the fact of their being life-holders like Tess's father, or copyholders, or occasionally, small freeholders.(77)

A craft passed down from father to son along with a workshop and possibly freehold or copyhold land would encourage the artisan to remain in the village of his birth while the son of an agricultural labourer would leave for farm service when he was twelve or thirteen and possibly never return to his home village. The more limited mobility of the village craftsman is illustrated from the information on their birthplace in the census enumerators' returns for mid-Wold villages in 1851.

Table 58 : Mobility of craftsmen and agricultural workers mid-Wolds 1851

Occupation	No.	Average age	% living in village of birth	% living within 5 miles of birth
Tailor	82	32	41	78
Shoemaker	78	43	53	68
Wheelwright	94	32	49	68
Blacksmith	62	36	35	45
Agricultural worker	400	31	27	52

Source: 1851 Census enumerators' returns

The comparative stability of the craftsman, even in a period of declining rural population, is borne out by the membership lists of Keyingham Foresters 1858-82 which record the year by year movement of members. Over 75% of the agricultural workers moved in the 25 year period compared with 62% of the craftsmen and tradesmen.(78)

Friendly societies became increasingly dependent on more permanent officials in the second half of the nineteenth century and thus the established craftsman with his knowledge of the village and area and his necessary writing and accounting skills was the obvious candidate for

the position of secretary or treasurer. Although these posts were usually closed to him the agricultural labourer could still aspire to the more honorary positions of the chief officers of the branch or district which generally continued to be chosen half-yearly or annually and in this role he is more fairly represented. In the years 1859-78 ten labourers served as Noble Grand of the Farmer's Refuge Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows at Long Riston, three of them serving three times and two twice. It was usual for a member to fill a number of minor offices in succession before becoming Noble Grand and the list of the offices held by Joseph Adkin, an agricultural labourer, of Long Riston illustrate this well. He joined the Oddfellows on 22 February 1851 when he was aged 20 and he held his first post, as Outside Tyler, in 1860. Then he took the following positions:

Guardian 1861
 Left supporter of Noble Grand 1866 early
 Outside Tyler 1866 late
 Right supporter of Vice Grand 1867 early
 Assistant secretary 1867 late
 Vice Grand 1868 early
 Noble Grand 1868 late
 Grand Master 1869 early
 Outside Tyler 1869 late
 Tyler 1870 late
 Noble Grand 1872 late
 Grand Master 1873 early
 Tyler 1874 late and 1875
 Noble Grand 1877 late
 Grand Master 1878 early(79)

Table 59 : Occupations of those holding chief and vice-office in four East Riding affiliated branches 1839-90

Occupation	Lockington Foresters 1840-90		Long Riston Oddfellows 1859-78		Hunmanby Shepherds 1879-88		Lund Oddfellows 1839-80		Total	
	*No.	Times	No.	Times	No.	Times	No.	Times	No.	Times
CHIEF OFFICE										
Labourer	1	3	10	18	2	2	9	20	22	43
Tailor	1	4	2	6	1	2	3	3	7	15
Blacksmith	2	27	0	0	0	0	4	8	6	35
Shoemaker	1	2	0	0	1	4	3	6	5	12
Wheelwright /Joiner**	1	1	1	2	0	0	7	11	9	14
Bricklayer	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	5	4	7
Farmer	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	5
Others	4	12	2	2	5	5	3	6	14	25
VICE-OFFICE										
Labourer	5	25	11	20	2	2	17	24	35	71
Tailor	3	9	2	4	3	3	3	3	11	19
Blacksmith	0	0	1	1	0	0	5	9	6	10
Shoemaker	5	17	0	0	1	1	3	5	9	23
Wheelwright /Joiner**	1	1	1	1	0	0	8	8	10	10
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	3
Farmer	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	5
Others	2	2	1	1	3	3	3	4	9	10

*No. stands for no. of individuals/ Times for no. of times served

** carpenters also included in this category

The offices are Chief and Sub-Chief Ranger (Foresters), Noble and Vice-Grand (Oddfellows) and Worshipful and Deputy Master (Shepherds)

Sources: Minute books of branches

A considerable number of agricultural labourers did hold high office in the various branches but it is noticeable that the more lowly the office the greater the likelihood of their appointment. In the case of Lockington Foresters in the years 1840-90 only one labourer was appointed Chief Ranger and he served three times, five labourers were appointed Sub-Chief Ranger and served a total of 25 times, five were also appointed Senior Woodward for a total of 42 times and seven were appointed Junior Woodward for a total of 31 times. Labourers occupied

the position of Senior Woodward for 75% of the time and Junior Woodward for 57% of the time.(80) Labourers did sometimes go on to hold office in the districts, Edward Bowser of Lund was Provincial Deputy Grand Master in 1862, and Thomas Botham from Watton, a member of Cranswick Oddfellows, had been Provincial Deputy Grand Master by 1878 in which year he was a District Trustee.(81)

As was shown in the preceding chapter, numerically agricultural labourers dominated the rural affiliated society branch; however this dominance is not proportionately reflected when one considers the occupations of the founders and leaders of the lodges and courts. Here as within labour movements generally the artisan predominated but the labourer did still play a significant role and minute books demonstrate that the democratic procedure followed in most societies allowed for his views to be expressed and for him to be elected to executive and ceremonial office.

The information on the reasons for the founding of individual branches does not exist but the occupations, ages and social standing of founding members indicate two chief motives. The marked activity of publicans in the promotion and founding of societies meeting on their premises does not suggest an altruistic motive. It is possible that the idea for a society was first mooted at the inn by an order activist from a nearby town and that this was taken up by the publican with his customers and therefore it was natural for him to be one of the founders. However innkeepers, except as host and perhaps as treasurer in the early days, play little part in the affiliated orders after the foundation and their early interest would seem to be financial. Their position in village society is obscure and their location within the rural working-class ambiguous. The twenty four innkeepers, publicans and beerhouse keepers recorded in the mid-Wolds sample area in 1851 would have had a wide

range of backgrounds; they were older than the craftsmen having an average age of 47 and only seven (29%) of them were born in their village of residence. Seventy-five per cent of them had another occupation ten of them being classed as farmers.(82) Table 57 above also suggests a strong link with the farming community and there appears to be some justification in James Hawker's statement that 'Farmers and Publicans are almost Brothers'.(83)

The bulk of the founders, agricultural labourers and village craftsmen, had closer links and in the late 1830s they had a common motivation. The labourer and craftsmen unlike the innkeeper and larger farmer depended on their physical ability to work for their livelihood, and illness and old age threatened them and their families with the spectre of the workhouse and so naturally they were attracted to joining a friendly society. The administration of a friendly society required a number of skills and characteristics that were common to craftsmen and it is they who soon emerge in positions of authority and leadership. The executive officers needed to be long term residents with a wide knowledge of the community and an ability to read, write and keep accounts. The centrally placed workshop long a focus of village life, and the opportunity a craftsman had to be available for friendly society work during the working day gave him great advantages, as club secretary or treasurer, over the more mobile agricultural labourer out on a distant farm from dawn to dusk.

Appended to this chapter are brief biographical notes on some of the leaders of East Riding village and small town affiliated branches which emphasise the dominance of craftsmen and their involvement with the wider village and town community. As their numbers in the community decreased the number of formal leadership positions which they were called upon to fill increased. The activities of the typical friendly

society secretary, treasurer or trustee with a prominent position in the Primitive or Wesleyan chapel who became a member of the school board after 1870 and the parish council in 1894 can be seen as echoing in a modest way the better known advancement of urban labour activists to positions of municipal prominence.(84) In the towns this social advancement was usually accompanied, or preceded, by upward occupational mobility. This would be a rare event for the rural friendly society leader because he was of necessity a resident of the base village or lived nearby. There was little opportunity for upward mobility for the labourer or artisan who chose to remain in a village, the labourer might become a smallholder and eventually a tenant farmer and the artisan might become a master craftsmen employing one or two others but financial and social advancement was limited. Therefore unlike the urban societies the rural affiliated branch remained solely working-class in both leadership and membership although the key posts were largely held by the upper ranks.

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

RICHARD VARY (c1806-1888) of Lund, wheelwright. Born at South Dalton. Apprenticed at Beswick where in 1827 he married Ann Hurst of Lund. Resident in Lund by 1829 when a daughter was baptised at church. He had five children by 1841 when the census enumerators' returns record him as a wheelwright with three apprentices. He joined the Oddfellows lodge on their first public feast day in May 1841. In August 1841 he was nominated for the secretaryship of the lodge but lost to John Robinson on a ballot. He was however appointed left supporter to the Noble Grand, and the following year Vice Grand. In February 1843 he was made Noble Grand and by 1848 he had served as Deputy Grand Master to Beverley

District of the order. He was Noble Grand again in February 1851 and secretary for six months in 1852. By 1853 he was the lodge treasurer a post he retained until 1880. He was also a lodge trustee 1859-60. Vary was rewarded for his service to the lodge in July 1877 when he was presented with a timepiece costing £6 13s and a purse containing £7 5s 2d. He employed five men in his wheelwrights' business in 1851 and two of his ex-apprentices, Thomas Cass and William Petch, both of whom married daughters of Vary, played an important part in lodge affairs. Cass and Petch were both active Primitive Methodists but Vary seems to have been a stalwart of the Anglican church. He was one of the few villagers who continued to contribute to the church rate after its compulsory collection was abolished in 1868. In 1870 he was one of 55 still contributing and in the year of his death, 1888, he was one of only ten.(85)

WILLIAM PETCH (c1826-1919) of Lund and Middleton-on-the-Wolds, wheelwright and builder. Born at Goodmanham the son of a shopkeeper/smallholder. Apprenticed to Richard Vary of Lund, wheelwright, by 1841. In 1847 he married 18 year-old Lois Vary who was pregnant.(86) By 1851 he was a journeyman and in July 1853 he joined Lund Oddfellows' lodge and was immediately appointed secretary. He was re-elected to this position five times before being made permanent secretary in 1860 a post he retained until 1893. He filled the office of Noble Grand in 1854 and 1858, was a lodge trustee from February 1860 and had been Provincial Deputy Grand Master by August 1858. He exercised a considerable influence over the society for some fifty years and is commemorated by a coloured portrait photograph which still hangs in the Oddfellows' Hall at Lund.(87)

Petch had moved to Middleton-on-the-Wolds in 1857 and there he became the leading figure in the Primitive Methodist chapel. He was chapel steward, trustee, class leader and a local preacher from c1859. Woodcock pays the following tribute to him in Piety amongst the peasantry:

Mr Wm.Petch, who, as builder and architect, has done much to improve our Wolds chapels, is a man of good abilities and sterling character; ... even, steady, consistent, thorough; and who has represented the circuit at District Meetings and Conference, has been our leading official here [Middleton] for many years. He and his wife entertain one of the preachers, and for years their daughter played the harmonium at our chapel.(88)

The same work also includes the following comments of Mr.Collier a Primitive Methodist farmer at Lund:

How did you leave Billy Petch, who has a clear a head and as sound a heart as any hereabouts ? Why, he's been preaching noo more than twenty years, and ah liked him better last Sunday neet than ivver ah did afore. He allus knocks off his sarmon in about holf an hour. He's allus sommat gude to saay short and to the point like, and when he's said it he gies to saay short and to the point like, and when he's said it he gies ower and sits doon. Billy is a sticker 'tid cause, and ah'll be bun for't you'll be as happy at his house as in a palace. And what a wife he has, as industrious a body as ah wish te see, but varry delicate. She's not won o' your shilly-shally women, but a worker at home an'id cause. She can driss like a lady and work like a kitchen-maid.(89)

In 1894 Petch was elected a member of the first parish council at Middleton. He died in 1919.(90)

WILLIAM DUKE (c1843-c1910) of Lund and Hutton Cranswick, shoemaker. Born at Seaton near Hornsea. He was married and living at Lund by 1868. He joined Lund Oddfellows lodge in May 1875 in which year he was elected a lodge trustee. He was chairman of the trustees in 1876, Vice-Grand 1877 and Noble Grand in 1878. Duke moved to Hutton Cranswick in 1883 and

transferred to Cranswick Oddfellows' lodge. In 1888 he was nominated as a trustee of the lodge but was not elected. He was secretary of the lodge 1889-1901.

Duke was a leading figure at Cranswick Primitive Methodist chapel and he had been a local preacher since 1868. In 1893 he entertained the President of the Primitive Methodist Conference at his home. As well as being a shoemaker Duke kept four cows which provided milk that was sold at the door and butter which was sold at the village shop. A Liberal he was actively involved in village politics. He failed on his first attempt to get elected to the Cranswick School Board in 1887 when he received 71 votes and came tenth out of fourteen candidates for the seven places. Three years later he was elected coming fifth in the poll with 114 votes. A member of the parish meeting he became the first chairman of Hutton Cranswick Parish Council in 1894 and worked hard to acquire allotments in the village. His sons John and Walter served as treasurer, assistant secretary and trustee of the Oddfellows' lodge in the early twentieth century.(91)

RICHARD WESTMORLAND (c1847-1936) of Keyingham, shoemaker. Born at Marshchapel, Lincolnshire. At Keyingham by 1869 when he joined the Foresters. Held office on a number of occasions and was a trustee of the society 1900-36. An active member of the Primitive Methodist Connexion; he was a local preacher for 59 years, a class leader and chapel steward for 48 years, and a Sunday School worker for 52 years. In 1884-86 he was chosen as parish constable by the parish vestry but his post lapsed on the appointment of a full-time policeman. He was appointed a member of the Keyingham School Board in an uncontested election in 1888. He served until the dissolution of the board in 1903, being chairman 1897-1900. Westmorland was an active member of the board but his propositions were

rarely supported by other members. He introduced motions to cut the schoolmasters salary, to reduce school fees, and to dispense with the services of the attendance officer but none were carried. He was seemingly popular in the community and in the only three contested elections for the board he came second in 1891, fifth in 1897 and fourth in 1900. In 1903 Westmorland along with other local Primitive Methodists refused to pay the Education rate and became a 'passive-resister'. In 1904 however he was one of the County Council appointments as a manager of the school. He died 28 August 1936 and was buried in Hull General Cemetery. There is an inscription to him in Keyingham Methodist Church.
(92)

HENRY CLARK (c1832-1902) of Keyingham, shoemaker and grocer. Born at Keyingham. Joined the Foresters in 1855 and held a number of offices before becoming a trustee in 1876. He was a Wesleyan local preacher by 1871 and a leading figure in the Wesleyan chapel. In 1873 he was elected to the newly formed Keyingham school board and, except for the years 1897-99, he served until his death in 1902. He was chairman of the board 1881-82, and 1891-97, and vice-chairman 1888-91 and 1900-02. There were only three contested elections for the board and in 1891 and 1897 he came top of the poll and in 1900 third.(93)

ROBERT PAPE (1826-1904) of Leconfield, tailor and draper. Born at Leconfield. A founder member in 1859 of Lord Leconfield Lodge of Oddfellows. He served as lodge secretary for 33 years. A prominent Wesleyan he was assistant overseer of poor for 26 years and clerk of the parish council. Retired in 1899. He was succeeded as lodge secretary by his son William Pape, tailor.(94)

JOHN SPENCER (1836-1907) of Walkington, shopkeeper, parish clerk and assistant overseer. For many years 'Chief Ranger' of the Free and Independent Foresters' Court. He 'filled many other posts of responsibility in the parish'.(95)

CHARLES EDWIN FOSTER (1875-1906) of Sigglesthorpe, shopkeeper and sub-postmaster. Brought up at Seaton. Member of Seaton Friendly Society [Oddfellows] holding the office of Vice-Grand at death. An active Wesleyan being teacher, superintendent and secretary of Sunday School. Secretary of Sigglesthorpe Cricket Club. (96)

SINGLETON BOWES (1850-1909) of Hutton Cranswick, blacksmith. Born at Cranswick, son of William Bowes, blacksmith and Primitive Methodist lay preacher. Singleton Bowes joined Cranswick Foresters in 1872. He was appointed Junior Woodward in 1878 and Chief Ranger in 1880 and he held this latter post for twenty-five years. A leading Primitive Methodist. Member of Cranswick School Board and at the first parish council election in 1894 he came top of the poll. He also sat on the Driffield District Council and was a Poor Law Guardian. He died in July 1909.(97)

WILLIAM IRELAND (1824-1904) of Lockington, blacksmith and sub-postmaster. Born at Lockington the son of a blacksmith. He was a member of the Foresters' Court for 62 years and was long considered its "leader". He joined the society in October 1842 and was quickly appointed to office being treasurer 1844-47, secretary 1852-56, 1858, and Chief Ranger on 22 occasions 1849-50, 1857, 1859-66, and 1870-80. He was a trustee from 1851 to 1901. On his death in January 1904 his obituary described him as a staunch Churchman and a Conservative. His son JOHN IRELAND, blacksmith, was treasurer of the Foresters' court

1881-84 and Chief Ranger 1885-89. In 1894 he was elected to Lockington parish council.(98)

JAMES MYERS (b.1835) of Hornsea, gardener. Born at Atwick son of a labourer. Moved to Hornsea in 1861 becoming gardener to J.A.Wade and C.Pickering. Joined Victoria Perseverance lodge of the United Ancient Order of Druids in May 1863. An enthusiastic worker for the Druids, held the position of Arch Druid on several occasions and was for some years assistant secretary to the lodge. He had a long white beard as befitted his membership of the order. He joined the Primitive Methodist church in 1869 and was a Sunday school superintendent, class leader and local preacher.(99)

JOHN ROBINSON (1789-1871) of Lund, schoolmaster and parish clerk. Born at Barmby Moor. He was in 1839 a founder member of St. Peter's Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Lund and was the first elected Noble Grand. He served as elected lodge secretary 1839-42, and 1859, and treasurer until 1853. Although sometimes not holding an elected post he appears as the chief correspondent of the society and in February 1854 he is said to have in his possession all the papers and deeds belonging to the lodge. He was Noble Grand on three occasions and by 1854 he had been Deputy Grand Master of Beverley District Oddfellows. In 1851 he was living next door to the Wellington Inn the headquarters of the lodge. As he continued to contribute voluntarily to church funds after the ending of compulsory church rate in 1868 he was presumably an active Anglican. He died aged 81 in April 1871. His gravestone in Lund churchyard records that he was 'an honest man ... for upwards of 40 years schoolmaster and parish clerk in this village'.(100)

GEORGE KENDALL (1821-1900) of Keyingham, schoolmaster. A leading figure in Aeneas Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows, M.U., Keyingham, holding various offices and serving as Provincial Grand Master of Keyingham District in 1891-92. He was master of the National School until the establishment of a school board in 1873 when he became clerk of the board and school attendance officer. He was also assistant overseer of the poor for Keyingham and first clerk to the parish council. An active Anglican, he served as churchwarden and was a sidesman for 26 years.(101)

Beverley Oddfellows

GEORGE WELBURN (1836-1911) of Beverley, engineer and millwright. Born at Beverley 22 November 1836. Engineer at Tigar's manure works at Grovehill, Beverley and then a foreman at Crosskill's agricultural implement works. Joined Rising Star Lodge IOOF MU in 1861. Held all the lodge offices. In 1872 was Provincial Grand Master and in 1874 was a delegate to the Annual Moveable Committee of IOOF MU. On death of James G.Crosskill he was elected a trustee of the district funeral fund and for over 40 years up to his death he was chairman. Welburn was a member of the town council in 1886, a Pasture Master and a member of Beverley Board of Guardians. Politically he was a Liberal/Liberal Unionist. Founder of Beverley Permanent Building Society in 1866 and treasurer for many years. Although bought up a Baptist he became an Anglican and attended St.Nicholas Church where he was a churchwarden. Manager of St. Mary's and St.Nicholas' Schools. 'On his retirement a few years ago he devoted his time to looking after his household property of which he had a considerable amount in Beverley and Hull'. Died 24 October 1911.(102)

FRANCIS HALL (1839-1916) of Beverley, journalist and newspaper editor. Born Beverley in 1839 son of John Hall, painter. Apprenticed to John Green, printer, stationer, bookseller and proprietor of Beverley Guardian. In 1861 went to work on Hull Times and in 1865 became the chief reporter for Beverley Guardian. He established the Beverley Independent newspaper in April 1888 and edited for 23 years. Active promoter of friendly societies. Member of Rising Star lodge Independent Order of Oddfellows MU. Provincial Grand Master 1875. District treasurer 1876-1916. In 1904 he was elected President of the Yorkshire County Conference of Oddfellows, M.U. Founder of Beverley Permanent Building Society 1866. Involved with Beverley Musical Society. Member of Beverley Board of Guardians and a director of Beverley Cottage Hospital. Hall was an Anglican, and was churchwarden of St.Nicholas' church and manager of St.Mary's and St.Nicholas' schools. (103)

W.H.ELWELL (1849-1910) of Beverley, cabinet maker, accountant and estate agent. Grand Master of IOOF MU and trustee. Baptist and Liberal. Town councillor, alderman and pasture master. He was mayor of Beverley when he died in April 1910. (104)

(1) B.B.Gilbert, 'The Decay of Nineteenth-Century Provident Institutions and the Coming of Old Age Pensions in Great Britain', Economic History Review 17, 1964-65, p.552

(2) G.Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75, 1971, p.269; A.Howkins, Whitsun in 19th century Oxfordshire, 1973, p.66; E.Hobsbawm, 'Friendly societies', Amateur Historian, Vol. 1957, p.99; E.Hobsbawm and G.Rude, Captain Swing, Harmondsworth, 1973, p.255; Tholfsen states that they 'catered to the upper strata of the working-class', T.R. Tholfsen, Working-class radicalism in mid-Victorian England, London, 1976, p.288. The otherwise excellent booklet The Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society 150 Years 1834-1984 contains the following statement: 'The membership of the Order was in the main confined to the better paid manual workers in the community. Many low paid workers could not join a Friendly Society because they could not afford the contributions. For this reason agricultural labourers were among the last to join a Court So a large proportion of the membership were craftsmen who had completed an apprenticeship and qualified as journeymen, being 'hired by the day'. W.G.Cooper, The Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society 150 Years 1834-1984 Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society, Southampton, 1984, p.14

(3) Neville Kirk states that the membership of Stockport Oddfellows were mainly of craft, skilled and lower-middle class occupations but he rightly comments that it would be wrong to conclude that the affiliated orders were essentially 'aristocratic' in composition. 'Rather their appeal was to the broad mass of regularly employed and relatively well-paid operatives'. N.Kirk, The growth of working-class reformism in mid-Victorian England, London, 1985, pp.198-99

(4) R.Q.Gray, The labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, Oxford, 1976, p.122

(5) G.Crossick, An artisan elite in Victorian society, London, 1978, pp.181-83, pp.189-191

(6) R.Q.Gray, op.cit., p.121; G.Crossick, op.cit., p.181.

(7) ibid., quoting Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, Parliamentary Papers 1874, XXIII 2 p.442.

(8) In his autobiography Lord Snell, a former agricultural worker, commented that 'the work of the agricultural labourer is a highly skilled occupation, and few men in any calling are called upon to perform so many essential and widely divergent tasks. The art of swinging and whetting a scythe, cutting a hedge, thatching a stack of corn, the sowing of seed from a hopper, the training and management of horses, the drilling of peas, turnips, and corn, and the use of tools generally, require a range of accomplishments and an experience of animals and seasons far beyond anything that the 'skilled artisan' is expected to possess'. H.Snell, Men, movements and myself, London, 1936, p.8.

(9) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.75.

(10) P.Mathias, The first industrial nation, p.191. The low and irregular nature of the income of agricultural labourers is the oft quoted reason why they were unlikely to become members of the affiliated orders.e.g. E.Hobsbawm, 'Friendly societies', p.99; N.Kirk, p. 198.

(11) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.75. However there must be some doubt about the reliability of this information because only percentages and not actual numbers were quoted in the original report and there is no indication of the total number of members recorded in the returns made in 1846-48 nor how many lodges made returns with relevant information. Rural lodges may have been negligent in making returns.

(12) Gosden, Friendly societies., pp.75, 79-82

(13) ibid., p.83; Report of Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies 1878 -

Abstract of Qinquennial Returns of Sickness and Mortality, Sessional Papers Vol. LXVIII 1880

- (14) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.79
- (15) Hutton Cranswick Foresters' proposition book 1868-1943
- (16) Middleon Foresters' proposition book.
- (17) Microfilm of census enumerators' returns, Beverley Library.
- (18) see Gosden, p.80; Royal Commission on Labour: The agricultural labourer, 1st report p.34.
- (19) A.Kussmaul Servants in husbandry in early modern England, Cambridge, 1981, p.129
- (20) F.O.Morris The present system of hiring farm servants in the East Riding of Yorkshire with suggestions for its improvement, Drifffield, 1854; J.Eddowes The agricultural labourer as he really is; or, Village morals in 1854, Drifffield, 1854; ibid., Martinmas musings; or, thoughts about the hiring-day, Drifffield, 1854; W.Barugh Master and man, Drifffield, 1854; J.Skinner Facts and opinions concerning statute hirings, London, 1861.
- (21) Barugh, op.cit., pp.8-9
- (22) Eddowes Martinmas musings, pp.6-7
- (23) S.Caunce 'East Riding hiring fairs', Oral History, Vol.3, no.2, Autumn 1975, p.48
- (24) Keyingham AOF subscription book
- (25) M.Hartley and J.Ingilby, Life in the Moorlands of North East Yorkshire, London, 1972, p.19
- (26) Keyingham AOF subscription book
- (27) This table has been compiled for the comparison of county wage rates at certain dates and not to indicate any wage rises - the different sources for the information between the first two columns and the rest makes this inapplicable. Wage rises in the East Riding are discussed above pp.174-175
- (28) J.Caird, English farming in 1850-51, London, 1852
- (29) E.H.Hunt, Regional wage variations in Britain 1850-1914, Oxford, 1973 pp.85,105
- (30) Adams, thesis, pp. 369-375; Hunt, pp.137-149.
- (31) 'Report by Mr.E.Wilkinson upon the Poor Law Union of Drifffield' Royal Commission on Labour: The Agricultural Labourer p.53-5
- (32) B.S.Rowntree and M.Kendall, How the labourer lives, 1913, pp. 53-55, 217-225
- (33) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.79-80
- (34) For a fuller discussion of the mobility of the membership of Keyingham Foresters see below p.277-79
- (35) A report of the opening of a lodge at Barton-on-Humber by the Hull and Beverley district of the LOAS contains the following account of such unofficial missionary work: 'The above lodge had previously been opened with the title of 'United Shepherd' by a party of men who have for some time been going round the country, stating themselves to be Shepherds, but in fact, do not belong to the order. The members of the above named lodge not being satisfied with the proceedings of these men, applied to the Hull and Beverley district. An application was made to the head of the order and a surance granted. Officers were immediately appointed to open the lodge, which took place as before stated, at the same time the surance from the pretended shepherds was requested by the newly intiated brothers to be brought forward and burnt in the presence of the district officers and brethren of the Faithful Abraham lodge, which request was immediately complied with, to the satisfaction of the parties present. Two other applications have likewise been made from lodges deluded by the same party.' Hull Advertiser 27/12/1839.
- (36) HCRO DDX/242 Hunmanby lodge of Free and Independent Shepherds

Minute Book

- (37) Hunmanby Amicable Society which had a standard entrance fee of 10s 6d required an additional 10s per year for each year that the new member was aged over 35. PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 17.
- (38) Only two other societies have more than one agricultural labourer founder. Middleton and Easington Foresters each with two.
- (39) H.Woolley, 'Moulton village, and the rise and progress of Court Village Foresters', Foresters' Miscellany, 1842, p.55
- (40) Foresters' Miscellany, vol.3, new series, 1862-63, p.181
- (41) AOF, 2nd address of the 6th Executive Council, November 1839.
- (42) AOF Dispensation book and 1841 census enumerators' returns.
- (43) E.Crew, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Friendly Society A.U.: Centenary Souvenir 1826-1926, Manchester, 1926, p.31
- (44) LAO Misc.Don.459 Court Heathcote AOF Folkingham, minute book 1841-68.
- (45) C.Hardwick, The history, present position, and social influence of friendly societies, 3rd ed., 1893, p.150
- (46) E.M.Sigsworth, The brewing trade during the Industrial Revolution: the case of Yorkshire, York, 1967, pp.19,24; B.Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, London, 1971, pp.77-82
- (47) HCRO DDX/216/4 Diary of Robert Sharp of South Cave
- (48) B.Harrison, pp.46-55
- (49) P.Bailey, Leisure and class in Victorian England, London, 1978, p.9
- (50) The blacksmith at Sutton was secretary of the village court of the Ancient Order of Foresters. H.Snell, Men, movements and myself, London, 1936, pp.17-18
- (51) The blacksmith James Teal was a leading figure in the Oddfellows serving as treasurer for 18 years, he also became Provincial Grand Master. Mrs.E.Simpson (nee Teal), Hull recorded by D.Neave, 1980; Beverley Independent 16/5/1905; Lund IOOF MU Minute Book. Richard Cobbold writing of Wortham in Suffolk in 1860 commented 'A blacksmith's forge is often a place of gossip in a village, and - the nearer to a public house - so much the more is it a place of resort for idlers. It was with an eye to business that the landlady of the Queen's Head built a blacksmith's shop upon her premises'. quoted in J.A.Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', in G.Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, p.307
- (52) Walter Lawson, Walkington recorded by D.Neave, 1980.
- (53) The shoemaker at Warter walked to York to buy his leather. George Noble, Pocklington, recorded by D.Neave, November 1979; Robert Lamb, tailor, of Rillington bought his material from Leeds as well as the nearby Malton. Account book in possession of William Lamb, Lund, 1980.
- (54) H.Woodcock, Piety amongst the Peasantry, pp.71-72.
- (55) E.J.Hobsbawm and J.W.Scott, 'Political shoemakers', Past and Present, 89, 1980, p.104
- (56) IOOF MU Lund minute book, Oddfellows Hall, Lund.
- (57) Minute books of Middleton Foresters, Hunmanby Shepherds, and Hutton Cranswick Foresters.
- (58) see below
- (59) School Log Books Hutton Cranswick and Holme on Spalding Moor at respective schools.
- (60) Minute books of Harpham Druids, Keyingham Foresters and Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows.
- (61) Hobsbawm and Scott, pp.86-114
- (62) Hobsbawm and Scott, p.103
- (63) C.Kingsley, Alton Locke, London, 1890 edn., pp.7-8
- (64) East Riding Poll Book 1868, Beverley, 1868; 1871 Census enumerators' returns; trade directories.
- (65) In South Lindsey craftsmen and shopkeepers provided 49% of Wesleyan

- local preachers in 1861 and 32% of Primitive Methodist local preachers. Of the Wesleyan local preachers thirteen were grocers and ten shoemakers, the latter were also active as stewards and class leaders. Obelkevich, pp.195-6, 239.
- (66) H.Woodcock, Piety amongst the peasantry, London, 1889, p.71.
- (67) Woodcock, pp.74-78.
- (68) T.Hardy, Tess of the d'Urbervilles, London, 1967, p.395 ; something is said of them in G.E.Mingay, Rural life in Victorian England, London, 1979, pp.194-211, and G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, 2 vols., London, 1981.
- (69) e.g. G.Bourne, The Wheelwright's Shop, Cambridge, 1923; W.Rose, The Village Carpenter, Cambridge, 1937; R.Jefferies, Hodge and his masters, London, 1880.
- (70) Obelkevich, p.317
- (71) 1851 census enumerators returns - mid-Wolds sample.
- (72) see Hobsbawm and Scott; Kingsley, Alton Locke pp.7-8 quoted above. My great-grandfather, Gabriel Neave of Tattershall, Lincolnshire, the son of a shepherd, was injured in a threshing machine in the 1830s and subsequently became a tailor.
- (73) D.J.Salmon, (ed.), Malton in the early nineteenth century, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications, no.26, 1981, pp.41,58-9
- (74) Account books of William Lamb (born 1820), shoemaker, and Robert Lamb, (born 1824), tailor, of Rillington, East Riding, in the possession of William Lamb, Lund, 1980.
- (75) Account book of Henry Lawson, wheelwright, Walkington, 1861-87 in possession of Walter Lawson, Walkington, 1981.
- (76) Within wider society the rural artisans position was however considered little, if at all, better than that of the labourer. In 1829 the non-resident vicar of South Cave considered that one of the churchwardens 'was a very improper person, I mean for his station, being a shoemaker' and that he should be removed in favour of one of the principal farmers. Borthwick Institute, SC/4 S.Creyke to Askwith 29/11/1829
- (77) T.Hardy, Tess of the D'Urbervilles, London, 1967, p. 395.
- (78) Keyingham Foresters' membership book 1858-82
- (79) Minute book 1859-78 and membership book of Long Riston Oddfellows in possession of secretary George Copeland, March 1978.
- (80) Lockington Foresters' minute book
- (81) Lund and Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows' minute books.
- (82) Census enumerators' returns for mid-Wolds sample area 1851.
- (83) G.Christian (ed.), A Victorian poacher: James Hawker's journal, Oxford, 1978, p.79
- (84) N.Kirk, The growth of working class reformism in mid-Victorian England, London, 1985, p.135
- (85) Census enumerators' returns 1841 and 1851; HCRO PR Lund parish registers and churchwarden's accounts; Lund IOOF MU Minute book, Lund Oddfellows Hall; Thomas Cass joined Oddfellows in June 1855, elected Vice-Grand 1857, Noble Grand 1857-58 and 1861, *ibid.*.
- (86) Census enumerators' returns; Trade directories; HCRO PR Lund parish registers. William Petch and Lois Vary were married December 1847 and their daughter was baptised May 1848.
- (87) Lund IOOF Minute book ; The lodge made a presentation to him for his 40 years service in March 1894, Green's Beverley Almanack 1895.
- (88) H.Woodcock, Piety amongst the peasantry, p.121
- (89) H.Woodcock, p.115
- (90) Beverley Guardian 22/12/1894 - Petch came fifth in the poll out of eleven elected.; M.I. Middleton cemetery.
- (91) Census enumerators' returns, Lund, 1871; Lund Oddfellows minute

book; Cranswick Oddfellows minute book; HCRO Acc 1036 Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit Plan 1868; HCRO SBM Hutton Cranswick School Board Minute Book; South Humberside Area Record Office, Oral History recordings 292/55 George and Ethel Dawson (Ethel Duke) recorded by W.D.Rawson 1973; At the first parish council election for Hutton Cranswick Duke headed the poll by a large margin, Beverley Guardian, 22/12/94.

(92) Census enumerators' returns 1871; Keyingham Foresters' membership book; M.I. Keyingham Methodist Church; HCRO SBM Keyingham School Board minutes 1873-1903; HCRO DDPK/18/5; HCRO PR/3287 Vestry minute book; Local newspaper reports, ex. inf. M.H.Smith, Keyingham.

(93) Census enumerators' returns 1871; Keyingham Foresters' membership book; HCRO SBM Keyingham School Board minutes; HCRO DDPK/18/5; Trade directories 1858, 1879, 1892 and 1901.

(94) Beverley Guardian 6/2/1904; Minute book of Lord Leconfield Lodge GU00F 1903-13 in possession of R.W.Arnott, Beverley, 1980

(95) Parish Magazine 1907 pp.175-176

(96) Beverley Guardian 28/7/1906

(97) Hull News 17/7/1909; HCRO Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit records; Hutton Cranswick Foresters' minute and proposition book.

(98) Beverley Guardian 6/2/1904; Lockington Foresters' minute and proposition book.

(99) Beverley Guardian 19/11/1910

(100) Lund Oddfellows' minute book; Census enumerators' returns 1851; HCRO PR Lund churchwardens' accounts; MI Lund churchyard.

(101) Directory and List of Lodges IOOF MU 1891-2; HCRO Keyingham School Board minutes; His obituary records that 'he had lived in the house in which he died for nearly half a century and a noteworthy feature of his life was that he kept a daily memorandum of every passing event in the parish', Hull Daily News 7/3/1900;

(102) Beverley Recorder 24/10/1911; There were strong links between Crosskills and the Oddfellows, the founder of the firm William Crosskill was a leading Oddfellow being the examining officer in Beverley.

Directory and List of Lodges IOOF MU 1850, 1868; John Dennis an employee of Crosskills held all the offices possible in the Rising Star lodge and Beverley district. He was a member for 50 years, trustee and lodge treasurer for 17 years. Provincial Grand Master in 1879. Beverley Recorder 2/9/1911.

(103) Beverley Guardian 16/9/1916; Beverley Independent 17/9/1904; Ward's Almanack 20/10/1908; John Ward, printer and founder of Beverley Recorder was a Grand Master of the Rising Star Lodge and his son Harry William Ward, editor and proprietor of the newspaper was Provincial Grand Master of Beverley District in 1902. Minute book of Rising Star Lodge, Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley 6/1/1859, 10/1/1903.

(104) Beverley Guardian 30/4/1910 The first subscribing member of Rising Star Lodge, IOOF MU to be chosen mayor of Beverley was Harry Wray, Conservative solicitor, in 1902 and 1905. Minute book of Rising Star Lodge, Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley; Beverley Independent 16/5/1905

Plate 3 : Nafferton Shepherds' Club Feast Day

top : Senior and juvenile members with band and banner c1905

bottom : Band playing at club feast 1905



NAFFERTON Club Feast Procession 1905.

Chapter 6

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AND MEMBERS

The location of affiliated branches - where and why ?

SETTLEMENT TYPE

Affiliated order friendly society branches although numerous in the East Riding were by no means present in all settlements, nor were they evenly spread throughout the county. Information has been discovered on affiliated branches founded in 90 (28%) of the 326 rural townships during the years 1835-1900 and in only 70 places were the branches seemingly in existence long enough to be of assistance to the majority of members. (1) Why were the orders successful in some villages and not in others? What criteria were required for the introduction and expansion of the orders in individual villages and areas?

Writers on rural nonconformity and rural unrest have posed similar questions in order to explain the incidence of dissent and 'riots' in the nineteenth century countryside. Alan Everitt wanted to know:

'in what types of rural community did Dissent tend to find a foothold and flourish? Was there any relationship between the differing species of local society and the proliferation of Dissent in certain well-defined areas, or its relative absence in others?'.(2)

He provided an answer in his study The Pattern of Rural Dissent where he concludes 'that rural Dissent in the mid-nineteenth century was associated with a wide spectrum of settlement types'. He found, however, that the settlements were:

'almost all marked by an unusual degree of freedom; freedom either in the sense of comprising many small freeholders, self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen, or some similarly independent group of inhabitants;

or else in the sense of being situated well away from the nearest parish church and in many cases far from any manor-house. Amongst the former places were the freeholders' parishes, the decayed markets, the industrial villages, and many 'open' villages with a large labour force in areas of intensive farming . . . '(3)

Similarly in answer to their question 'Why did one village riot whereas its neighbour did not?' Hobsbawm and Rude provided in Captain Swing a 'profile' of the village disposed to riot:

It would tend to be above average in size, to contain a higher ratio of labourers to employing farmers than the average, and distinctly higher number of local artisans; perhaps also of such members of rural society as were economically, socially and ideologically independent of squire, parson and large farmer: small family cultivators, shopkeepers and the like. Certainly the potentially riotous village also contained groups with a greater than average disposition to religious independence. So far as landownership is concerned, it was more likely to be 'open' or mixed than the rest. Local centres of communication such as markets and fairs were more likely to riot than others ... We need hardly add that it was more likely to be engaged in tillage and especially grain farming, or in the production of specialized crops with a highly fluctuating demand for labour, and less likely to be engaged in pastoral farming.(4)

Although the affiliated orders were to be found in all settlement types it was in just such 'open' villages as these, portrayed as hosts for dissent and unrest, that the affiliated orders made their greatest impact in the East Riding in the years 1834-50. Nafferton, a large village two miles north-east of Driffield, with lodges of the IOOF MU and the LOAS, founded in 1838 and 1841 respectively, as well as a lodge of the Ancient Order of Shepherdeses established in 1846, provides an excellent example. All three lodges were still in existence in 1862 when it was remarked in the local newspaper that 'Nafferton can boast of possessing numerous clubs, most of them being in a healthy and prosperous condition'.(5) By this date there was also another Oddfellows

lodge as well as an independent Mutual Friendly Society.(6) The township of Nafferton which contained 1,260 inhabitants in 1851 covered some 4,300 acres of land stretching six miles from the Wolds in the north to the Plain of Holderness in the south. In the mid 19th century much of this area was arable and in a 'high state of cultivation'. (7) The census enumerators' returns for 1861 record 30 farmers with from 10 to 760 acres, ten farmers farmed over 100 acres and six over 250 acres; the rest were virtually smallholders. (8) The agricultural workforce, in addition to a number of family farmworkers on the smallholdings, consisted of 109 agricultural labourers living in the village, or in a handful of cottages near the isolated farms, and 55 farm servants 'living-in' on the larger farms. The largest-scale farmer employed 28 men and boys on his 760 acres and 14 of them lived in. (9) In 1850 the vicar remarked that the village had been 'long considered as one of the strongholds of Dissent' and it had three chapels, Wesleyan, Primitive and a union of Baptists and Independents. It was estimated in 1868 that there were about 700 dissenters in the parish; 50% of the population.(10) The incumbent in 1850 complained that he had 'no Squire to lend me his help, but the disadvantage of a great number of small independent freeholders'.(11) It was these independent freeholders that gave the village its 'open' character. In the 1868 election 21 of the 62 resident voters showed an independence uncommon in the area by voting for the Liberal candidate, Haworth; 14 'plumping' for him.(12) Amongst those who plumped for Haworth was Thomas Ward, secretary of the Ancient Order of Shepherdeses, and as a grocer and draper he was a representative of that section of the community who more often than not ran the friendly societies. Ward had replaced William Laybourn, tailor and draper, as secretary of the Shepherdeses and for many years the secretary of the Shepherds' lodge was a shoemaker and Wesleyan, Israel

Jefferson.(13) In 1861 a third of the occupied males in Nafferton were tradesmen or craftsmen, including 17 shoemakers, 16 joiners and wheelwrights, 14 tailors, 11 blacksmiths, 11 bricklayers, eight grocers and drapers, and five saddlers.(14) Accommodation for the numerous friendly societies was initially provided by the four inns and two beerhouses which existed in the village in 1840 but in 1861 the Shepherds built their own hall.(15) The Nafferton Shepherds' lodge still survived in 1981 but it no longer met in the village.(16)

The number and flourishing nature of the affiliated orders in Nafferton owed much to the size as well as independency of the settlement and these two characteristics were present to some degree in the great majority of the villages where affiliated order branches were opened in the East Riding in the years 1834-1900.

Table 60 : Township population size and founding of affiliated orders in East Riding

Population range 1851	No. of townships	No. and % with order branches		Total no.of order branches
700 +	19	19	100%	52
501-700	35	29	83%	47
351-500	45	28	62%	33
251-350	50	10	20%	11
150-250	67	2	3%	3
- 150	110	2	2%	2

If an affiliated order friendly society was going to be successfully established in a village then the settlement would generally need a higher than average population. All the 19 rural settlements in the East Riding with a population of over 700 in 1851 had affiliated order branches opened in the period 1835-1900 but only 14 (6%) of the 227 townships with populations of less than 350 had branches. Seventy-eight per cent of the 98 townships with a population over 350 had a branch and 89% of all rural affiliated branches were found in such townships. A number of the exceptions are readily explained for demographic size was

not the only important factor.

The most populous township without any record of the establishment of an affiliated branch was Escrick with a population of 700. Escrick was a 'closed' estate village entirely owned by Lord Wenlock, except 90 acres of glebe which in 1851 were in the hands of his brother the rector. The Wenlocks strictly controlled the village and prevented the opening of any nonconformist meeting place. They were however amongst the first East Riding landlords to provide allotments and in 1872 they were instrumental in establishing a co-operative store at Escrick.(17) This paternalism had led them also to found, in 1851, the Ouse and Derwent Friendly Society at the adjoining village of Riccall. The society which was transferred to 'Lord Wenlock's schoolroom' at Escrick in 1856 had 216 members by 1870. The extent of the involvement of the Wenlocks in running this society is unclear but a member of the family was usually one of the trustees.(18) It is noticeable that following its initial success the society stagnated and no new members were admitted after 1880. Steady decline in membership and funds led to its closure in 1909 when it had only 25 members and funds of just under £21.(19)

The contrast between the variety and vigour of the affiliated orders in a classic 'open' village like Nafferton and the control and paternalism exhibited in the equally classic 'closed' estate village of Escrick is not surprising and the simple model of 'open' and 'closed' settlements in 19th century rural England which has been used effectively to demonstrate the incidence of dissent, radicalism and unrest can equally be applied to explain the occurrence and strength of the affiliated order friendly societies in the East Riding.(20) Although aware of the shortcomings of the simple distinction between 'open' and 'closed' in an area like the East Riding where large landed estates predominated, no attempt has been made in this study to explore

further the intricacies of devising satisfactory criteria or sub-divisions for the general concept of open and closed settlements. The definitions followed here owe more to Victorian commentators than to modern geographers and social and economic historians. Holderness summarises the criteria applied by nineteenth-century investigators as follows:

... the 'close' parish was simply one in which ownership of land and house accommodation was in the hands of one, or at the most, three proprietors who shared similar interests. The owners had the power, whether or not they possessed the inclination, to exclude potentially chargeable families from settlement. By contrast, 'open' parishes were those in which no such limitations upon settlement could be applied, because ownership was diffuse, the proprietors of lands and cottages serving rather different interests. Cottage owners were often petty tradesmen or speculative builders who profited greatly from the heavy demand for accommodation in their parishes. (21)

Holderness's own 'meaningful definition' which relates solely to the surplus or insufficiency of the supply of labour for the cultivation of the area of a parish appears to have far less relevance as an indicator of social character than a broader definition based on landownership. Similarly because of the complexities of assigning individual parishes to particular categories there seems to be little gained in using a 'fourfold classification'.(22) It is however relevant, with regard to closed parishes, to know whether or not the chief landowner was resident. Therefore Thomas Hardy's 'three classes of village, the village cared for by its lord, the village cared for by itself, and the village uncared for either by itself or by its lord' provides a sufficient refinement to the model.(23)

An excellent contemporary East Riding description of the principal differences between open and closed settlements is provided by the Rev. George Wray, rector of Leven in remarks made in 1868 to the Royal

Commission on the employment of women, young persons and children in agriculture:

House accommodation [in Leven] is good, and would be amply sufficient for the wants of the parish if a considerable number of men who dwell in the village did not take employment in the adjoining parishes. The township of Leven contains much copyhold property, which facilitates speculation in building cottages, and these are chiefly held by retired petty tradesmen and others who have saved a little money. There is a much larger population than the township requires, and yet labourers are scarce, because so many are employed in neighbouring parishes. The adjoining parish of Routh, which contains, I believe, 2,300 acres, has very little cottage accommodation, but is supplied with labourers chiefly from Leven, a distance between two and three miles. That whole parish is the property of one nobleman.(24)

In 1892 there were two inns at Leven, a Wesleyan and a Primitive Methodist chapel, a temperance hall, a court of the Ancient Order of Foresters and a lodge of the United Ancient Order of Druids. The directory of that year lists a wide range of tradesmen and craftsmen including four bootmakers, two tailors, two saddlers, two wheelwrights, two blacksmiths, a cooper, a basket maker and a tallow chandler. At Routh there was one inn, no chapel, no friendly society and the only tradesmen/craftsmen were a blacksmith and a wheelwright.(25) Eight of Leven's 48 voters in 1868 voted Liberal while all of Routh's seven voters supported the two Conservative candidates. Leven was also one of the few known centres of agricultural trades' unionism in the East Riding in the early 1870s.(26)

Of the 49 rural townships where affiliated societies were successfully established in the years 1834-50 eight (16%) can be broadly described as closed and 41 (84%) as open.(27) Of the closed settlements five, Bishop Burton, Warter, Ganton, Harpham and Langton were estate villages. Not one of the 90 settlements where affiliated branches were opened in 1834-1900 was without an inn in 1840 and only the closed villages of

Ganton, Leconfield, Harpham and Wawne had no Methodist chapel in the mid-19th century. Similarly the majority of these villages were well supplied with craftsmen. In the settlements where the orders were successful in the early period there were an average of ten craftsmen in 1840 comprising three to four shoemakers, two to three tailors, two blacksmiths and two wheelwrights. Only a quarter of the townships fell below these averages and it was in four of the smaller closed settlements that there were five or less craftsmen in this important group.(28)

The availability of independent housing and workshops determined the proliferation of craftsmen, tradesmen and their customers in rural areas and their presence was a vital factor in the extent and success of nonconformity and, as has been demonstrated, the affiliated orders. In common with Hobsbawm and Rudé's riotous villages, the East Riding village where an affiliated branch was likely to be established would be more open than closed, was larger than the average, had a higher than average proportion of craftsmen and shopkeepers, had one or more alehouses and one or more Methodist chapels. The following case studies look more closely at three typical friendly society villages, Keyingham, Lund and Hutton Cranswick.

CASE STUDIES

Keyingham

In 1839 both the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity and the Ancient Order of Foresters opened branches in the large Holderness village of Keyingham. Keyingham, a parish of 3,210 acres, lies some 9 miles east of Hull. Its population of 746 in 1851 made it the second most populous township in South Holderness.(29) In 1832 there were 28 landowners, three of whom, Sir Thomas Constable, the Corporation of the

Sons of the Clergy and the archbishop of York paid 86% of the land tax, 11% of tax was paid by 14 owner occupiers.(30) The estates of the two chief landowners were almost solely confined to the marshland area to the south and housing in the village was largely in the hands of the smaller proprietors which gave the settlement the character of an open village.(31) Half the employed males in 1851 were agricultural workers, and almost a third were craftsmen or tradesmen. There were fifteen shoemakers, seven tailors, six joiners, six blacksmiths and three wheelwrights.(32) In 1840 there was one inn and three beerhouses in the village and chapels belonging to the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists had been built in 1848 and 1846 respectively replacing ones of 1807 and 1823.(33)

The Aeneas lodge of Oddfellows opened in January 1839 had 60 members by 1845 but it barely exceeded this figure in the next forty years when its membership began to decline. It is last recorded in 1900 when it had a membership of 33 and £985 in funds.(34) The lodge originally met at the Blue Bell but in 1876 it purchased the former National School for an Oddfellows' Hall.(35) Over half its membership in 1875 was occupied in light labour, the great majority not exposed to the elements.(36) The leading figure in the lodge was George Kendall (1822-1900), National schoolmaster c1850-76, clerk of the school board, clerk of parish council, churchwarden and sidesman.(37)

Court Friendship of the Ancient Order of Foresters differed markedly in size, membership and apparently religious orientation. The court was opened at the Ship Inn on 29 June 1839 by nine officers of Court Angel from Hull.(38) At first it recruited more slowly than the Oddfellows having only 45 members in 1845, but in the mid-1850s it rapidly expanded and had 280 members by 1860, 400 by 1870, and a peak of 433 in 1879.(39) It recruited widely in South Holderness and only a small proportion of

the membership were eventually Keyingham residents.(40) In 1898 the court left the Ancient Order and became an independent society but rejoined in 1912 following the passing of the National Insurance Act.(41) The court still existed in 1984. Soon after 1840 the court moved from the Ship Inn to the Blue Bell and then in 1857 it built the extensive Foresters' Hall.(42) A high proportion (78.5%) of the membership in the period 1861-69 were agricultural workers and a further 18% were village craftsmen. It is the latter group which consisted of 26 shoemakers, 16 blacksmiths, 14 wheelwrights and nine tailors that provided the leadership for the court.(43) In 1868 the secretary was Samuel Pearson, bootmaker and in 1896 it was F.Ford, shoemaker and the treasurer was F.Calvert, blacksmith.(44) The trustees of the court in 1876 were Robert Wreathall, druggist, George Willingham and Richard Andrew, both blacksmiths.(45) The last named who joined the court in 1841 was also the trustee and steward of Burstwick Primitive Methodist Chapel.(46) There was a close association between the Foresters' and Methodism, particularly Primitive Methodism. The third anniversary service of the court, and the first where a venue is recorded, was conducted at the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Keyingham in June 1843.(47) At least 25 members who joined before 1875 have been identified as Primitive Methodists including 17 agricultural labourers.(48)

The religious census of 1851 shows that nonconformity was strong at Keyingham. On Sunday 30 March there were 159 combined attendances at morning and evening services at the Primitive Methodist chapel, 78 at an evening service at the Wesleyan chapel and 190 adults and 59 Sunday scholars at the afternoon service at the Anglican parish church.(49) Many who attended the church in the afternoon probably attended chapel in the evening for this was a practice at Keyingham even amongst the

seemingly most committed churchmen. In 1894 the then vicar Rev. J. S. Thomlinson noted, in reply to a question from the archbishop of York asking 'Is there anything which specially hinders your parochial work?':

The prevalence of dissent which has long existed and which my predecessor, who was Vicar for over 50 years, helped to foster by himself attending the Wesleyan services. Local preachers and agitators poison the minds of the labouring classes by false statements and exciting their hopes in the shares of the spoil, should the church be disestablished and disendowed. (50)

Illustrative of the independency of the villagers and the opposition to the established church are the elections to the school board set up in 1873. At the election in 1891 a Wesleyan local preacher, Henry Clark, shoemaker, grocer and draper, came top of the poll with 161 votes, Richard Westmorland, shoemaker, Primitive Methodist local preacher, class leader and chapel steward, came second with 127 votes and the vicar, Rev. J. S. Thomlinson, came seventh with 40 votes and lost his place on the board to which he had been co-opted in 1881. (51)

Clark and Westmorland were both trustees of Court Friendship of the Ancient Order of Foresters. (52)

Hutton Cranswick

Hutton Cranswick is a township, three miles south of Driffield, consisting of two distinct settlements the smaller of which, Hutton, lies to the north clustered around the parish church. Cranswick, half a mile to the south, is much more extensive and has at its centre a large green. The township contains 4,710 acres and in 1851 its population was 1,189. (53) In 1830 the land was held by 59 proprietors with four paying 79% of the land tax. (54) In the mid-19th century the three principal owners were Lord Hotham, Lord Londesborough and the Reynards of nearby

Sunderlandwick Hall.(55) The last attempted, unsuccessfully, to act as squires of Cranswick.(56) There were 23 owner-occupiers who chiefly had smallholdings or houses and cottages in Cranswick.(57) In 1851 there were 15 freeholders and proprietors of houses or land resident in Hutton Cranswick. Some of their property no doubt provided accommodation for the 142 agricultural labourers which constituted 36% of the occupied males in the village, far exceeding the 61 farm servants who were less than a third of the agricultural workforce of the parish. Craftsmen were numerous with 19 shoemakers, 14 blacksmiths, 14 tailors, 13 wheelwrights and eight joiners.(58) In 1840 there was one inn and two beerhouses at Hutton and three inns and two beerhouses at Cranswick.(59) Hutton had a Primitive Methodist chapel and at Cranswick there were Wesleyan, Primitive and Baptist chapels. On Sunday 30 March 1851 the two Primitive chapels recorded the impressive total of 410 attendances - 65% of the total attendances at places of worship in the township, while the Anglican church and Wesleyan chapel had 100 attendances each (16%) and the Baptists only 20 (3%).(60) In 1865 the vicar, Joseph Rigby, in answer to a question from the archbishop on the number of dissenting chapels wrote:

Alas! There are three. The Independents, The Methodist and The Ranters places - The Masses being steeped in Poverty and Ignorance frequenting these Schismatic Displays as they would theatres.

The average number of the Anglican church congregation was only 'forty or fifty' but the vicar claimed 'they are people of some standing and education and are steady attenders'.(61)

A school board was established in 1872 as school provision in the village was inadequate. The first school board consisted of E.H.Reynard, who was appointed chairman, two farmers, a grocer and John Hobson Wardell, mole killer. At the first meeting Reynard suggested that the

curate Rev.C.D.Pudsey be appointed secretary but this proposal received no support from the other members. The following year a proposal by Reynard that the girls' school, hitherto provided by his wife, should be taken over by the Board was also rejected by the rest of the members and from that date 'Squire' Reynard took no part in the running of the school. Nonconformists particularly Primitive Methodists played an important role in the early management of the school board. At the first election for which voting figures are given, in April 1878, the retiring chairman Robert Dosser, tailor, grocer, and Primitive Methodist local preacher easily topped the poll. In 1887 and 1890 Dosser stood again and was re-elected but on the last occasion only just as he came seventh out of seven. Above him in the poll were three other Primitive Methodists including Singleton Bowes, blacksmith, Chief Ranger of Court Hotham, Ancient Order of Foresters and William Duke, bootmaker, secretary of St.Paul's Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows.(62)

These two affiliated friendly societies along with the two Methodist chapels dominated the life of Cranswick. Court Hotham, AOF, was opened at the Pack Horse in February 1839 and by 1846 it had a membership of 101. Numbers however dropped to 62 in 1852 before rising again in the 1860s. There were 125 members by 1870, 216 in 1880, 259 in 1890 with a peak of 341 in 1910.(63) This last figure was over twice the membership of St.Paul's Lodge, IOOF MU in that year which numbered 157. The lodge had been opened in 1861, largely it seems at the behest of Watton and Cranswick members of St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU, Lund. The lodge, which is still in existence, had 76 members in 1871, 92 in 1881, 105 in 1900 and a peak of 180 in 1913.(64) The third affiliated society to appear at Cranswick does not appear to have been successful. A surance was issued by the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds in June 1842 for the opening of the Shepherd's Refuge Lodge of the order at the Cross Keys Inn but no

further mention of it has been found.(65) Although, as usual, the Oddfellows seem to have attracted a more professional and upper artisan element than the Foresters there was little difference in the occupational and social structure of their overall membership. Seventy-two per cent of the 600 men who joined the AOF court in 1838-99 were agricultural workers and 22% were craftsmen and tradesmen, and 75% of the 165 who joined the IOOF lodge in 1861-80 were agricultural workers and 18% craftsmen and tradesmen.(66) There were four schoolmasters who joined the Oddfellows in this period including George Rayner, (1844-1927), the master of the board school, who was secretary to the lodge 1877-87 and then trustee from 1888.(67) In contrast secretaries of the Foresters court included two labourers, Robert Sissons 1847-62, and Robert Moody 1888-89, and a hairdresser, James Robson 1891-98.(68) Although founded in public houses both societies eventually acquired their own halls overlooking Cranswick Green. In 1863 the Oddfellows bought the former Wesleyan Chapel and converted it to their hall and in 1901 the Foresters built their large hall further along the street.(69) These halls were the centres of the celebrations of the annual feasts which disrupted village life and closed the board school for a week each June. (70) On occasions the societies paraded together but more often they celebrated their anniversaries independently.(71)

Lund

Lund lies on the edge of the Wolds seven miles north-west of Beverley. The parish which covers an area of 3,078 acres had a population of 503 in 1851.(72) The 24 proprietors of land in 1830 included 10 owner occupiers who paid 11.5% of the land tax but the greater part of the parish was in the hands of four non-resident landowners, Charles

Grimston, John Broadley, William Binnington and the Duke of Devonshire who between them paid 70% of the land tax.(73) By 1850 the Duke of Devonshire's land was owned by Lord Londesborough and in 1872 Lord Hotham purchased the manor and estate formerly the property of the Broadleys.(74) The presence of three nearby resident landed families, the Grimstons, Hothams and Londesboroughs, as the chief landowners, did little to affect the otherwise open character of the village. In 1851 there were 99 agricultural workers, 55 of them labourers and 44 farm servants and they constituted 58% of the occupied males in the parish; craftsmen and tradesmen provided a further 22%. The craftsmen included seven tailors, six shoemakers, six blacksmiths and six wheelwrights. The two publicans recorded kept the Duke of Wellington and the Plough.(75)

In keeping with Alan Everitt's hypothesis referred to above Lund, as a decayed market settlement with property in a number of hands, was not surprisingly strongly non-conformist in the mid-late nineteenth century. Indeed in 1894 the vicar complained of the 'Utter indifference of the people. Not a real Churchman among the whole population. This is the result of past years'.(76) Although the lack of support for the Anglican church is not evident the strength of Methodism is borne out by the religious census returns of 1851. The average total attendances at the parish church are given as 160, and the total attendances on Sunday 30 March at the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapels were 90 and 80 respectively.(77) The former chapel was built in 1835 and the latter in 1839.(78) Primitive Methodism was particularly successful in Lund with membership rising from eight in 1839, to 41 in 1853 and 56 in 1869.(79) In 1887 it was said that a third of the adult population were attenders at the Primitive chapel and at one time there were eight local preachers resident in the village.(80) William Petch of Middleton-on-the-Wolds who became a leading figure in Primitive Methodism in the area joined that body when he was a journeyman wheelwright at Lund and he retained his

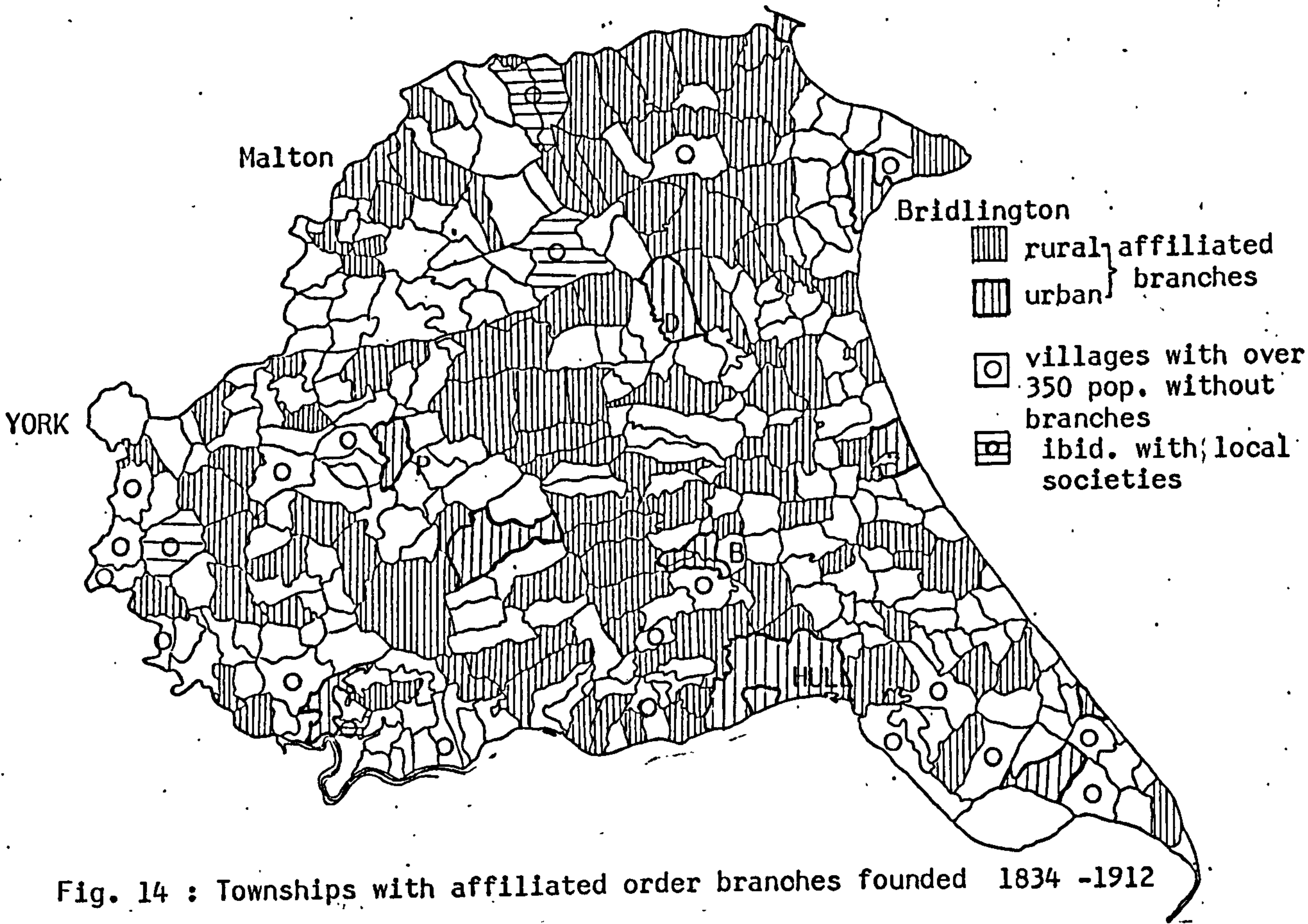


Fig. 14 : Townships with affiliated order branches founded 1834 -1912

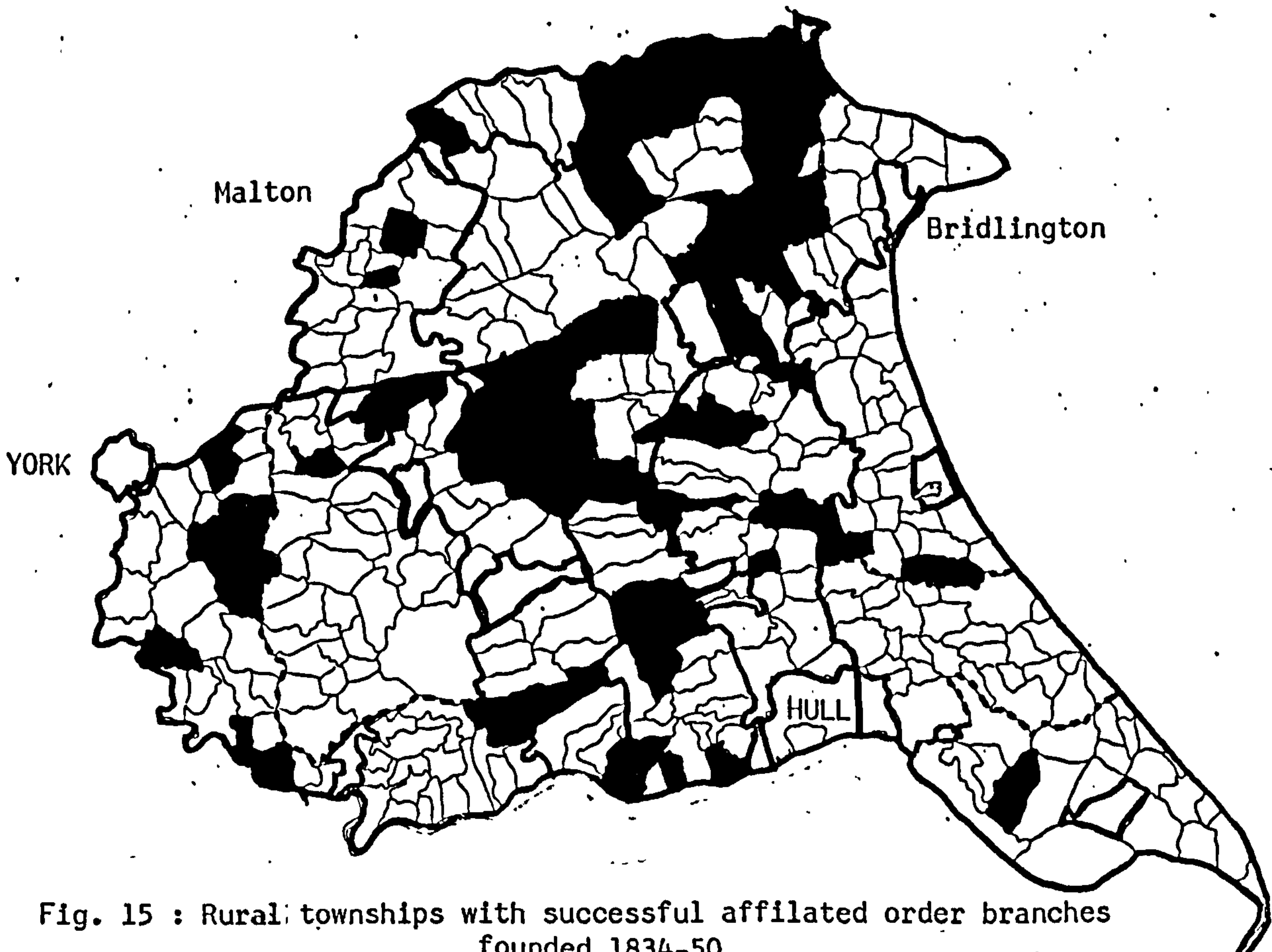
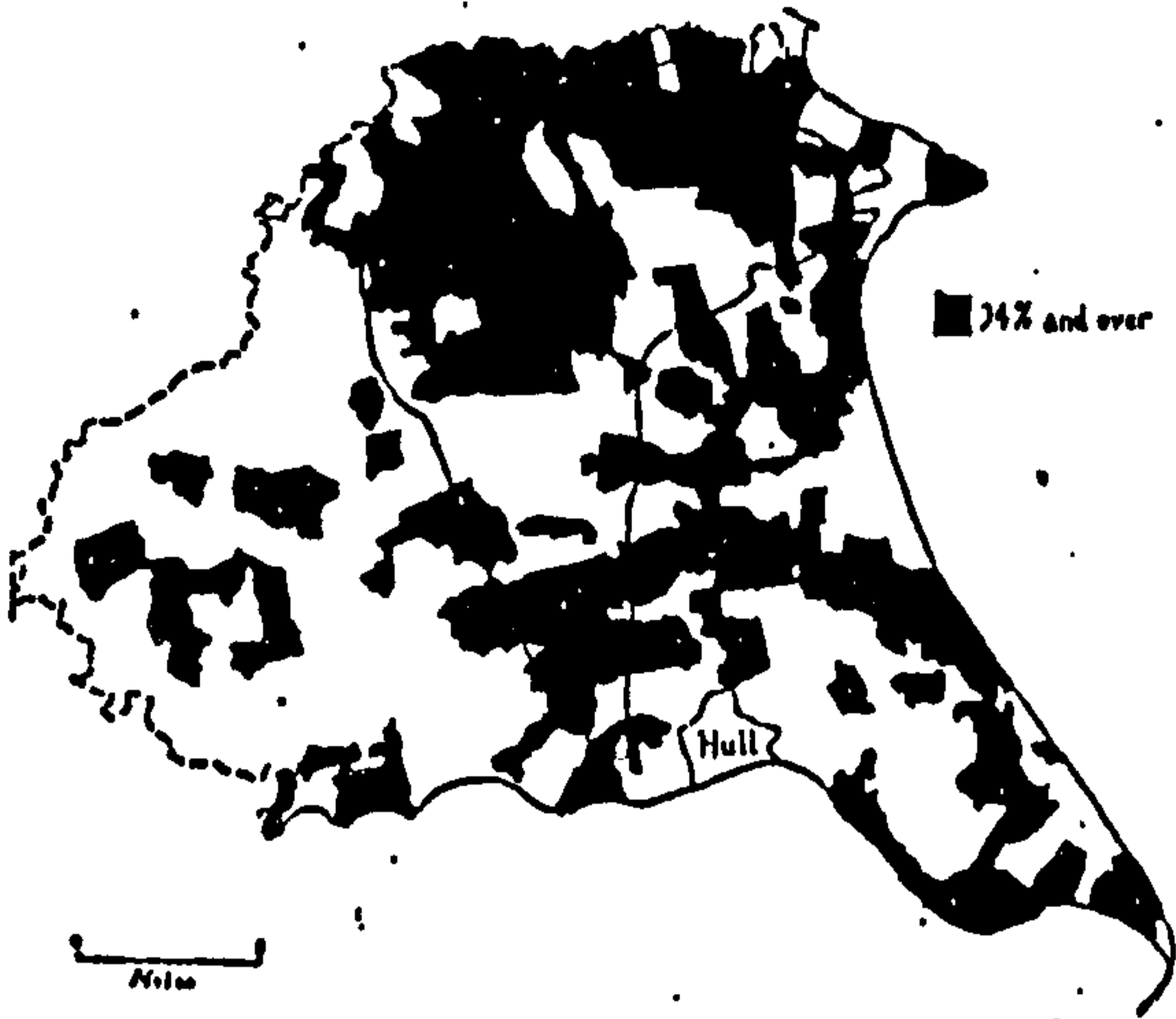
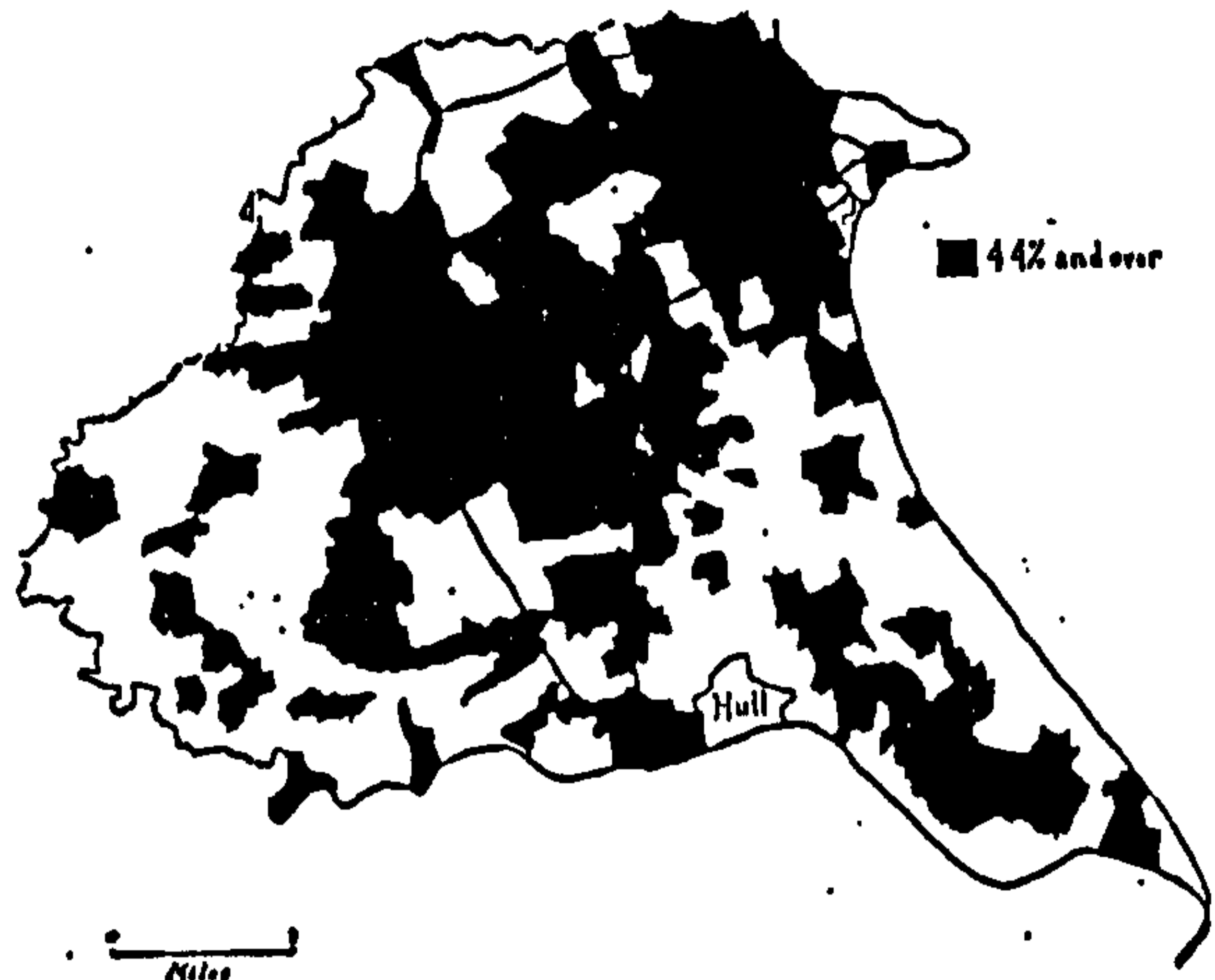


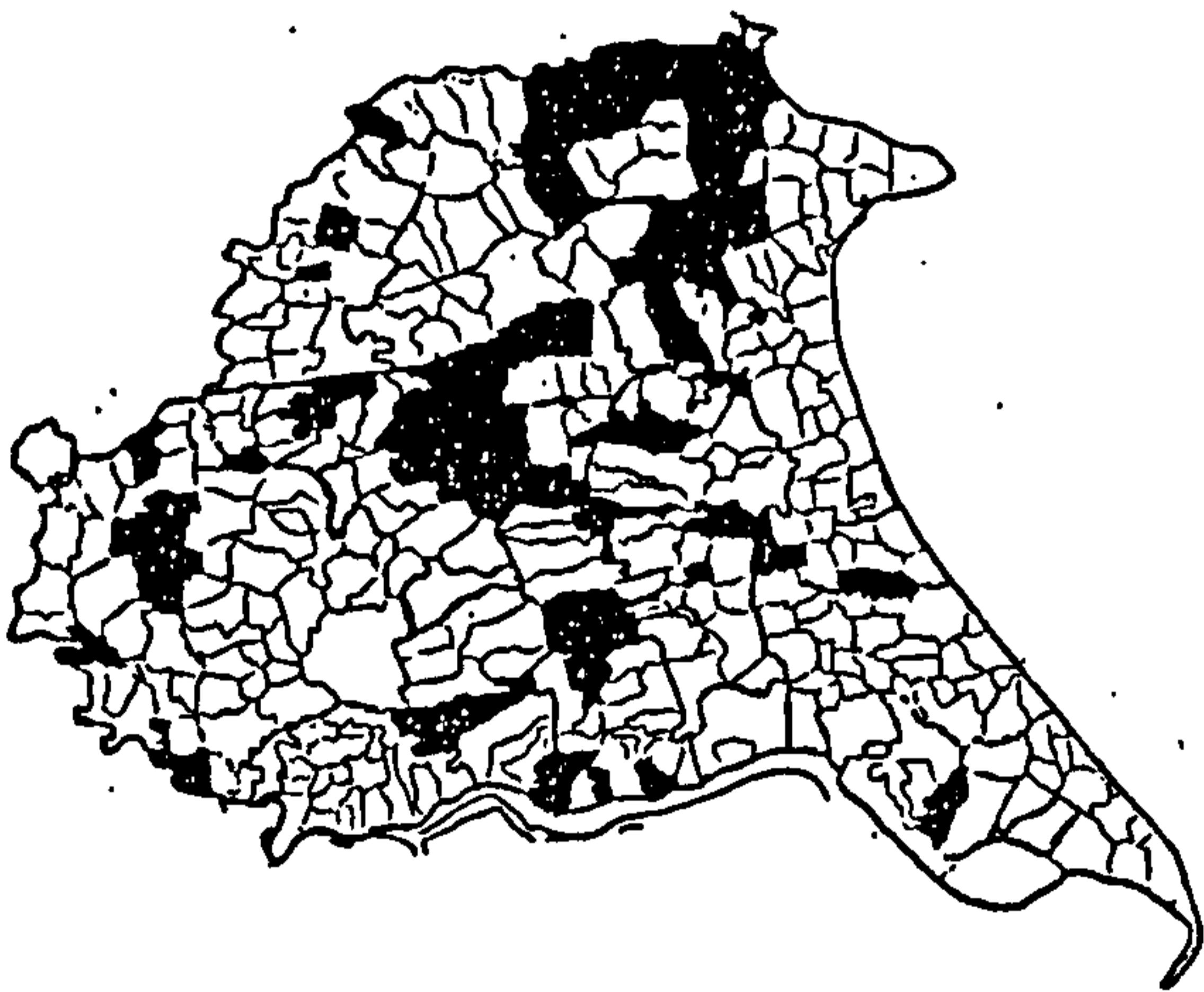
Fig. 15 : Rural townships with successful affiliated order branches founded 1834-50



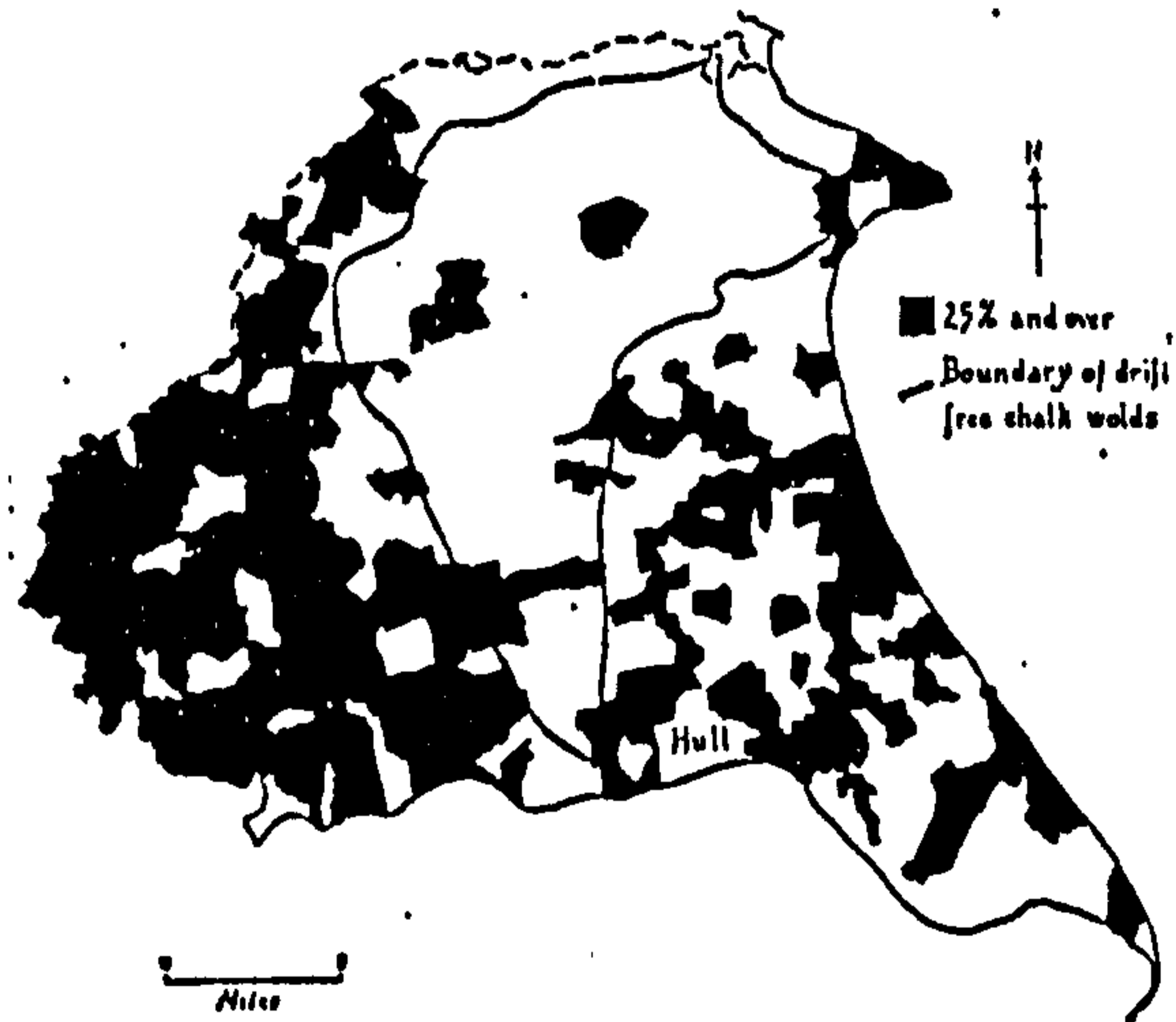
A. Farm servants 1851



B. Agricultural labourers 1851



D. Townships with successful affiliated branches founded 1834-50



C. Family labour 1851

Fig.16 : Distribution of Affiliated Branches and the composition of the Agricultural workforce in the East Riding 1851

Maps A-C from J.A.Sheppard, 'East Yorkshires' agricultural labour force in mid-nineteenth century, Agricultural history review, vol.9., 1969 pp.43-54

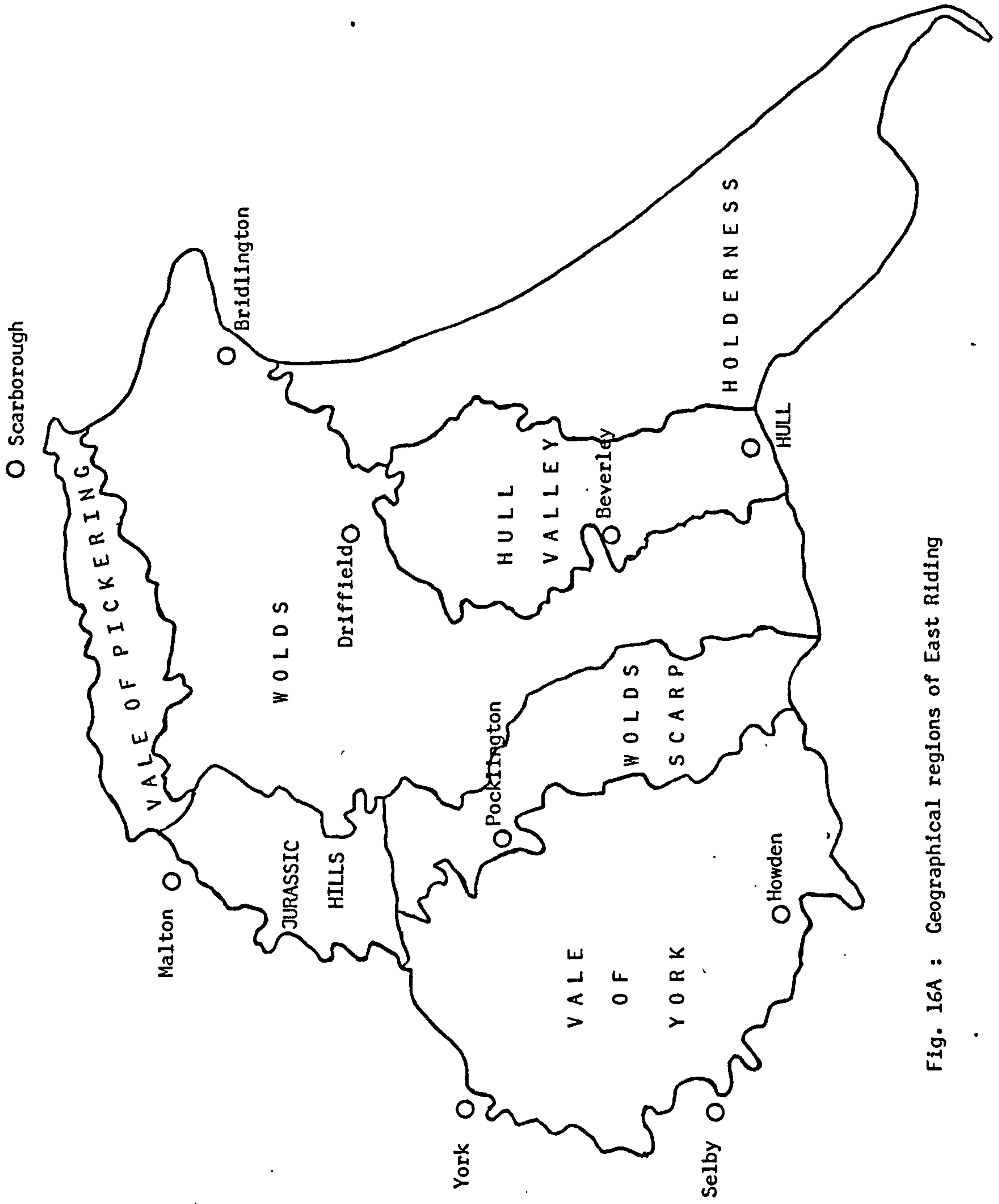


Fig. 16A : Geographical regions of East Riding

interest in the village by serving as secretary to St. Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU for over 40 years.(81)

The lodge which was opened in August 1839 at the Wellington Inn had as its first member the publican, Benjamin Cobb and the village schoolmaster and parish clerk, John Robinson, was the first secretary.(82) There were 71 members by 1845, 146 in 1865 and 1875, 213 in 1895 and a peak of 392 in 1912.(83) Agricultural workers provided 76% of the new members in the years 1868-79 and 75% of the total membership of 287 in 1903-4.(84) The lodge met at the Wellington Inn until 1924 when the former Primitive Methodist chapel, which had become a temperance hall, was purchased and became the present Oddfellows' Hall.(85) Although the lodge had many Primitive Methodists amongst its members and officers it showed no clear sign of partisanship. The anniversary services were always held at the parish church, and for many years the feast was presided over by the vicar, Rev. A. Grimston, with a Wesleyan farmer Robert Prescott in the vice-chair and the Primitive Methodist secretary organising the proceedings.(86)

DISTRIBUTION OF AFFILIATED BRANCHES

Figure 14 shows the distribution by township of affiliated order branches founded in the East Riding between 1830 and 1900. Although the county appears to be well covered there are noticeable areas where branches are more thinly spread and overall a considerable number of townships which seemingly never had a branch. A particular contrast can be seen in the northern part of the county where the sparseness of the provision in the western half contrasts with the cluster of eighteen or more branches in adjoining townships in the eastern half. The heavier concentration of the orders on the Wolds compared with Holderness and the Vale of York is also evident. The geographical regions of the East

Riding can be grouped in four main divisions: a. the Wolds and Vale of Pickering, b. the Vale of York, c. Wolds scarp and jurassic hills and d. Holderness and the Hull Valley and between these areas there is a marked contrast in affiliated branch distribution.

Table 61 : Geographical distribution of affiliated branches 1834-50

	Townships	No. with affiliated branches	
Wolds/Vale of Pickering	99	25	25%
Wold Scarp/Jurassic hills	43	5	12%
Vale of York	80	8	10%
Holderness/Hull Valley	107	8	7%

The large populous parishes of the Wolds and Vale of Pickering differ from the the more numerous small townships of Holderness and parts of the Vale of York. On the Wolds the settlements are larger, further apart and more compact. The farms were more extensive and the workforce was composed primarily of agricultural labourers or farm servants with few family workers in contrast to the Vale of York and parts of Holderness which had a high proportion of family workers as is shown by the maps in figure 16 from June Sheppard's article on the agricultural workforce of the East Riding in 1851. There is a marked correlation between the presence of over 25% family workers in the workforce and the lack of affiliated branches. The affiliated orders were particularly successful in a group of thirteen adjoining parishes in the Vale of Pickering and the northern Wolds where agricultural labourers formed some 50% of the workforce and where in most parishes farm servants accounted for over 34%. Small farmers and the adult male members of their families who helped on the farm were seemingly far less likely to join a friendly society than the labourer or farm servant.

Figures 14 and 15 show that there were groups of settlements where there is no evidence of the founding of any branch of the affiliated

orders and a number of these groups are associated with market towns. Rings of such places existed around Bridlington, Howden, Pocklington, Patrington and Hornsea. Here the reason must be partly the influence of the towns with their greater concentration of clubs but also in the case of Bridlington, Pocklington and Hornsea almost all the surrounding townships had a low population and could be classed as closed. The ring of fourteen townships around Bridlington without affiliated order branches contained thirteen townships that could definitely be classed as closed rather than open. Similarly there is a group of 32 adjoining townships in the north-west of the county without affiliated branches of which 26 were closed.

Towns by the number of lodges and courts they contained and by their initiating role in the surrounding countryside played a significant part in determining the distribution of the orders. Three or more branches were opened in each of the East Riding's towns between 1830-1900, with at least 21 being opened at Beverley, ten^{each} at Bridlington and Driffield and nine at Howden. Friendly societies had long been a familiar feature of town life and table 11 above shows that half of the local societies established in the East Riding by 1830 were in eight market towns.

Table 62 : East Riding Market Town Friendly Societies

Towns:	1803		1815	No. founded by 1830	Affiliated branches Inns@		
	No.	Members	Members		1830-50	1851-1900	1840
Beverley	3*	767	770	7*	9	11	49
Bridlington	4*	620	741	4*	6	2	38
Driffield	1	233	451	2	8	2	23
Hedon	1	60	154	1	3*	0	13
Howden	3*	271	317	3*	5*	3	29
Mkt. Weighton	1	181	237	1	3	0	18
Patrington	1	93	111	1	2	1	10
Pocklington	2	390	479	2	5*	1	22
Total	16	2615	3260	21	41	20	202

* includes 1 female society

@ includes beerhouses

The orders spread from town to town and at the same time radiated outwards to settlements within their catchment areas. In the case of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity six of the first seven lodges opened in the county were in market towns. The market town community was attracted by the secret orders with their display and exclusiveness and the early influential members were exactly that group, professionals, tradesmen and craftsmen, who had managed the early local societies. They promoted the order in the surrounding countryside to establish district branches, to boost a joint funeral fund and to show their strength for the purpose of recruiting. The town and country links established by the Oddfellows remained strong but in the other orders the village branches, often more successful than their parent bodies, soon showed their independence.

Area of recruitment and mobility of membership

CATCHMENT AREAS

Rural friendly societies are looked upon as small-scale parochial organisations, and are often referred to as 'village clubs' suggesting that their membership was confined to one particular settlement. This was rarely the case and often over half the members of a thriving 'village' club lived in adjoining settlements or further afield. This situation is even more marked in the case of affiliated branches in the later 19th century which had a high percentage of non-resident members.

Margaret Fuller records that local societies in the West Country normally stipulated that persons applying for membership should be resident within the parish or within a specified distance, usually a radius of three or four miles from the club room or church. Nearness to

the headquarters assisted attendance at meetings and the collection of contributions and payment of benefits. There was also the advantage that members could keep an eye on each other and thus prevent fraudulent claims. (87) Local society rule books from the East Riding do not generally contain any restriction on area of recruitment although prospective members for Cottingham Friendly Society in 1798 had to be resident in Cottingham or ten miles around. (88) In practice the majority of members of any friendly society, whether local or affiliated, are recruited in the base settlement or immediate vicinity but because of the high degree of mobility of the rural population this membership is gradually dispersed over a wider area and its area of influence and recruitment similarly enlarges.

A number of printed and manuscript lists of members of small town societies survive and from these the area of influence if not recruitment can be determined. Coincidentally membership lists from 1831 exist for all three of the local societies founded at Howden in the mid-18th century. (89) At that date the 347 members were spread over 58 townships with 166 (48%) resident in Howden. The vast majority of the membership (87%) lived in the town or within five miles and certain surrounding settlements seem to have been linked to a particular society. The Union Society had 17 members in Asselby but the Friendly Society only one. The latter society had members living at Hull, Selby, Goole, Barton, Leeds, Doncaster, Rotheram and York. Such long distance membership was not common and only 7 (3%) of the members of Market Weighton Friendly Society lived further than ten miles from the town in 1829 and none outside the East Riding. (90)

Table 63 : East Riding Local Societies - Residence of members

	Howden Union S. 1831		Howden Friendly S. 1831		Howden Female S. 1831		Mkt. Weighton Friendly S. 1829	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	The town	71	42	56	47	39	70	140
Within 3 miles	63	37	17	14	3	5	45	18
3 to 5 miles	23	14	24	20	5	9	36	15
5 to 10 miles	4	2	10	8	2	4	17	7
Over 10 miles	9	5	13	11	7	13	7	3
No. of members	170		120		56		245	

The only village society for which membership lists have been found is the Etton Amicable and Friendly which is far from typical. It was the largest society in the county with its 764 members in 1827 coming from 61 different places and in 1850 the reduced membership of 540 still came from 51 places.(91) Only 16% of its members in 1827 and 18% in 1850 lived in Etton but more lived there than any other settlement. The rules of the society stated that the president, stewards and clerks who were all elected annually should be resident in Etton and that the monthly meetings should be held there. The annual meeting however could be held in the village or within a five miles radius which suggests that a wide ranging membership was intended from the beginning.

Table 64: Etton Amicable and Friendly Society:

Place of residence of members	1827		1850	
	No.	%	No.	%
Etton	123	16	100	18
Within 3 miles	192	25	154	28
3 to 5 miles	249	33	176	33
5 to 10 miles	107	14	63	12
Over 10 miles	93	12	47	9
	764		540	
B. Chief place of residence				
Etton	123	16	100	18
Beverley	70	9	41	8
Hull	60	8	30	6
Cherry Burton	59	8	65	12
Lund	54	7	35	6
Beswick	49	6	35	6
Lockington	39	5	19	4
Middleton	33	4	20	4
Kilwick	32	4	25	5
Walkington	29	4	27	5
Bishop Burton	28	4	23	4
Leconfield	19	3	16	3
South Dalton	17	2	16	3

Source: Rule books 1827, 1850.

The membership in Etton itself in 1850 accounted for almost two-thirds of the male population aged 16 and over in 1851 which is a surprisingly high total. It is probable that the majority of the Hull and Beverley members were migrants from the rural areas but new members did join from these towns. On occasion the society's annual feast was held in Beverley. (92)

In the case of affiliated branches the survival of proposition and initiation books means that the area of recruitment for individual societies can be accurately defined. Table 65 shows the catchment area of eight affiliated branches in their first twenty or thirty years.

Table 65 : East Riding affiliated branches: Area of recruitment

Residence of new member	Hunmanby Shepherds 1839-69		Cranswick Foresters 1839-59		Lockington Foresters 1840-59		Ferriby Oddfellows 1845-64	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Village	133	80	119	66	79	57	40	49
Within 3 mls.	29	17	34	19	56	41	33	41
3 to 5 miles	3	2	17	9	0	0	6	7
5 to 10 miles	2	1	5	3	4	2	0	0
Over 10 miles	0	0	4	2	0	0	2	3

Residence of new member	Middleton Foresters 1839-59		Lund Oddfellows 1839-69		Keyingham Foresters 1858-69		Cranswick Oddfellows 1861	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Village	102	47	124	41	58	20	18	42
Within 3 mls.	88	41	163	54	102	35	20	46
3 to 5 miles	7	3	7	2	67	23	5	12
5 to 10 miles	17	8	5	2	61	21	0	0
Over 10 miles	3	1	5	2	2	1	0	0

Sources: Proposition books

The actual percentage of recruits from the base village differs considerably; however in all but Keyingham Foresters the great bulk of the new members (over 85%) were resident within three miles. Lockington Foresters and Hunmanby Shepherds recruited almost 100% within this limited area.

Keyingham Foresters' court was unusual in recruiting only 20% of its

Place of residence when joining Keyingham Foresters
1858-82

	No. of members
K Keyingham	97
O Ottringham	54
B Burstwick	53
S Sunk Island	29
BP Burton Pidsea	23
RC Ryhill/Camerton	23
H Hull	22
HA Halsham	19
G Garton	15
R Roos	13
P Paull	11
T Thorngumbald	11

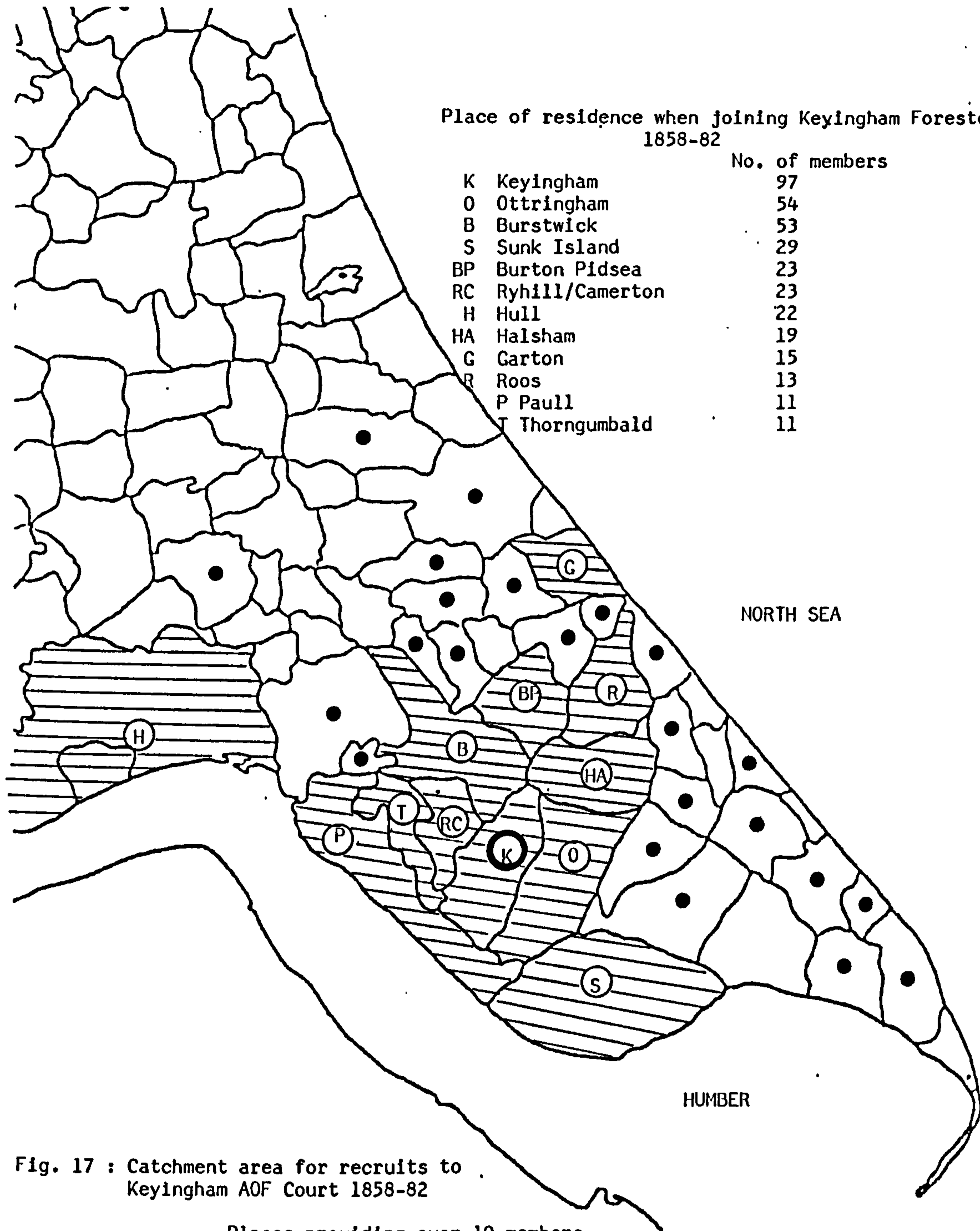


Fig. 17 : Catchment area for recruits to Keyingham AOF Court 1858-82

Places providing over 10 members

Places providing 1 - 10 members

members from its base village, and this society however does seem to have been founded with the intention of serving a wide area; and at least one of its founding members came from an adjoining village. During the years 1858-69 290 members joined from 37 townships in South Holderness and Hull. Figure 17 shows the area of recruitment. Anniversary services and processions were held in the adjoining parishes of Burstwick and Ottringham and by 1879 stewards had been appointed to deal with the distribution of benefits in Keyingham, Burstwick, Burton Pidsea, Thorngumbald and Hull.(93) Clearly Keyingham Foresters was much more than a village society and it cannot be seen as one of the props of an insular village community. Friendly societies like so many other features of Victorian village life crossed the artificial boundaries of parishes and they provided important links between communities rather than bolstering a false insularity.

The more diverse nature of friendly society membership can be illustrated by the area of recruitment of three affiliated branches in the mid Wolds sample area and the membership lists of Etton Amicable and Friendly Society. The existence of a flourishing club in the village did not mean that this was automatically the club that was chosen to join. Why did 54 residents of Lund choose to join Middleton Foresters when they had a perfectly good Oddfellows' club? The reasons for not joining the 'home' village club were probably personal. There might have been dislike of, or disagreements with existing members or officers possibly on religious or political grounds. An application to join might have been rejected by people who knew the candidate well. Conversely there may have been strong reasons for joining a club in a neighbouring village because of workplace links or more likely because of kinship with existing members.

Table 66 : Recruitment to three affiliated branches

Place of residence	Branch joined			Members of	
	Middleton AOF 1839-84	Lund IOOF 1839-69	Lockington AOF 1840-	Etton Amicable 1827	1850
Middleton	204	16	1	33	20
Lund	54	124	6	54	35
Lockington	2	20	187	39	19
Etton	2	30	7	123	100

Sources: AOF + IOOF Proposition books; Etton rulebooks 1827 + 1850

As the century progressed the area of recruitment widened. In the twenty years 1840-59 residents of 14 East Riding villages joined the Foresters' court at Lockington, 57% from Lockington, 41% from ten villages within three miles and only 2% from further afield. However in the twenty years 1880-99 members joined from 37 villages and the percentage from Lockington dropped to 41%. Thirteen per cent lived over five miles away including nine in Hull who joined in the 1890s. This widening of the catchment area was almost certainly brought about through the migration of the existing membership. By the early 20th century the majority of the members of Lockington Foresters were no longer resident in the village nor living within three miles and most of the more distant recruits must have been sons or other kin of existing members. (94)

MOBILITY OF MEMBERSHIP

The retention of membership of a home village friendly society by migrants is one of the most significant facts that has emerged in this study. It provides valuable evidence to illustrate how many urban migrants did not wholly break with their rural origins and how these continued links helped them adjust slowly to their new way of life.(95) It also brings into question Gosden's view that:

'the affiliated orders met the needs of a highly mobile industrial proletariat and their growth and

the diminution in the relative importance of the local societies may well have been due in part to the latter's inferiority in this respect. The local friendly society was suited to those whose lives were static, of its very nature it could not meet the needs of the worker who was mobile. Most societies prevented men over forty from joining since it was the contributions of the first half of the working life which were intended to pay for the benefits required during the sickness expected in a man's later years. The member of a local society who had to move to find work virtually lost all his subscriptions, the Oddfellow or the Forester could 'take his benefits with him' - even to many parts of the colonies.'(96)

The distribution of members of local societies given above suggests that many did continue their membership after moving away and therefore did not lose their benefits. Even in the case of emigrants not all was lost. On 4 March 1831 Robert Sharp, the clerk of South Cave friendly society, recorded the following in his journal:

Last night at the Club Robt. Nicholson sold all his right and title for five pounds. Robt. Smart, the mole catcher, for £2-19-3 and Cooper Tindale for £1 - 6 - 0 they are all for America (if it so happen) I believe more of the members would be glad to take money and be excluded. This is no great sign of the popularity of benefit societies.(97)

Nor is the supposed advantage of the affiliated orders in this respect evident from the records of village courts and lodges for it appears that few members on moving out of the area drew clearance and transferred to a branch nearer their place of work. Instead the retention of membership of a village branch provided an important practical link with the 'home' village and assisted in the transition from country to town. The records of friendly societies in this respect provide the type of systematic evidence on the continuing links of migrants with their home villages that Anderson recorded as being difficult to collect in his study of Preston.(98) What has been written on the subject relies heavily on comments by Llewellyn Smith in Charles Booth's Life and labour of the people in London and on limited incidental references.(99) Affiliated branch membership lists, minute

books, correspondence and accounts and reminiscences of feast days all provide evidence of continuing contact between the migrants and their relatives and friends 'back home'. The addresses recorded in the membership and contribution lists clearly demonstrate how by the late 19th and early 20th century it is only the minority of the members who are still resident in the base village and that a third or more of the members are living over ten miles away.

Table 67 : Lockington Foresters: Members residence

	Place of residence on joining 1840-99		Place of residence 1912	
	No.	%	No.	%
Lockington	308	50	85	25
Within 3 miles	250	40	69	20
3 to 5 miles	11	2	26	8
5 to 10 miles	29	5	47	14
Over 10 miles	20	3	112	33

Source: Proposition book and membership list

In 1912 the 339 members of Lockington Foresters' court lived in 93 English settlements and a third lived over ten miles from the base village. Fifty members (15%) lived in Hull, and others in Leeds, Bolton, Scunthorpe, Sheffield, Halifax, Middlesbrough and Barrow-in-Furness. A similar proportion of the 163 members of Lund Oddfellows' lodge, spread over 55 places, were living over ten miles from the village in 1920. Sixteen were resident in Hull, nine in Leeds and others in London, Bristol, Liverpool, Barnsley, Doncaster and America.(100)

Table 68 : Lund Oddfellows: Members residence

	Place of residence on joining 1839-69		Residence 1869		Residence 1920	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lund	124	41	32	25	38	23
Within 3 miles	163	54	68	54	41	25
3 to 5 miles	7	2	9	7	6	4
5 to 10 miles	5	2	9	7	27	17
Over 10 miles	5	2	9	7	51	31
	304		127		163	
No. of places		24		29		55

Source: Proposition and membership books

The most detailed account of the migration of members of an affiliated branch is provided by the annual lists of addresses of members given in the contribution books of Keyingham Foresters' court from 1859 to 1920.(101) As has been shown above this large court had always recruited over a wide area of South Holderness and only a minority of members had ever lived in Keyingham itself. During the second half of the century more and more members moved into Hull.

Table 69 : Keyingham Foresters: Residence of members 1861-1901

	1861		1871		1881		1891		1901	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Keyingham	57	18	61	15	44	11	40	9	23	7
Within 3 miles	113	36	102	25	109	26	100	23	76	22
3 to 5 miles	69	22	82	20	59	14	71	16	47	13
5 to 10 miles	56	18	120	29	147	35	162	37	142	40
Over 10 miles	23	7	48	12	55	13	60	14	63	18
[HULL	21	7	87	21	113	27	127	29	111	32]
No. of members	318		413		414		433		351	
No. of places	54		76		84		81		89	

Source: Contribution books

By the late 1860s the members living in Hull constituted the largest single group and by 1901 a third of the members were living in Hull and only 7% at Keyingham. Thirty-four per cent of the 472 men who were members of Keyingham Foresters during 1858-69 had moved to Hull by 1920 of which 129 had moved in the years 1860-75. Of the 162 who moved to Hull only three applied for a clearance and voluntarily left the society to transfer to another branch, 29 (18%) were excluded for non payment and 96 (59%) remained members until their death. Sixty-two of the last had been resident in Hull for over 20 years.

Table 70 : Keyingham Foresters - Hull migrants

No. of years remaining in society after move to Hull	Reasons for leaving:		
	Drawn clearance	Exclusion	Death
1 or less	0	5	5
2	0	3	2
3 - 5	2	5	2
6 - 10	0	7	8
11- 15	1	2	4
16- 20	0	3	11
20+	0	4	64
Total:	3	29	96

Source: Contribution books

The tenacity of the Hull migrants in retaining their membership of Keyingham Foresters is surprising but of greater significance is the way that those who moved much further afield, to other growing industrial towns and areas, continued to send back their subscriptions to a distant Holderness village club. At least twenty-seven members moved to London and northern and midland industrial areas including Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Rotherham, Middlesbrough, South Shields, Stockton on Tees, South Shields, Newcastle on Tyne, West Hartlepool, Durham coalfield, Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Newcastle under Lyme, Scunthorpe and Grimsby. Only six of these migrants terminated their membership of the Keyingham club by drawing clearance or expulsion for non-payment in the first five years and thirteen remained members for thirty years or more. Of the twelve who left the society before their death there were those who had migrated eight, thirteen, 31, 33, 39 and 42 years before. The last was Frederick Hope who was a twenty-six year old agricultural labourer living at Halsham when he joined Keyingham Foresters in 1860. The following year he moved to Rotherham, and then migrated to Bradford in 1863, to Leeds in 1867, and to York in 1885. He moved back to the Leeds/Bradford area in 1886 and remained there until 1903 when it is recorded that he had 'gone abroad'.

The extent of migrants' continued identification with their place of origin which was remarked on by Llewellyn Smith in relation to London in the 1880s is borne out by two Keyingham Foresters who returned to spend their last days in Holderness. Gibson Baimbridge, a joiner, who became a member when he was twenty-three in 1855, left Witherwick for Leeds in 1861. He remained in Leeds 38 years before returning to live at Arnold, four miles from Witherwick, where he died in 1904. Thomas Ellis of Tunstall was a twenty year old farm servant when he joined in 1860. Five years later he moved to Middlesbrough where he remained until 1901 when he went to live at Bewholme, near Hornsea. He was still living there in 1920.(102)

Membership rarely survived emigration, but some emigrants did attempt to keep up their subscriptions. Long Riston Oddfellows' minute book contains the following entry in March 1859:

Unanimously agreed that Mrs Chapman do receive the amount of £1 paid on account of her son being in America not discharging his accounts according to promise - but if he remitts the amount to be returned to this Lodge.(103)

In 1899 Lund Oddfellows had three members in America and still one in 1920.(104) In 1889 Thomas Wray, a retired joiner and wheelwright, of Goodmanham, emigrated to Canada with his niece. Twenty-two years later when he was 101 the Maxwell Lodge of Oddfellows at Market Weighton, which he had joined in 1836, agreed to make him a free member in honour of his long membership.(105)

Migrant members found many ways to transmit their contributions to their distant club. Some chose to pay it via a nearby branch of the order, others sent it back by post, or had it paid by relatives or friends, or made some arrangement on their annual visit home. The last was often at Martinmas. Distant members often got into arrears and might

unexpectedly find themselves out of compliance with their court or lodge. Two letters illustrate the problems migrants faced in keeping up with their contributions. The first from amongst the records of Keyingham Foresters is written by a farm servant working in North Lincolnshire who was in arrears. Manton

Dear Sir

I now wright these few line to yow i am very sorry i could not send the money before now but i had no work while may day i can onaly get yow half a sovering now but i will promise to let yow have the other before long as soon as ever i can get hold of any but yow now i am hired up to may now i have cursed my self every so many times for not comeing that martimas but i thought i should see yow when i went to cooks of ostwick but i ran away and it took all the money i had so i will send the other as soon as possible remember me to crouches they will think i am a mean man to do that yow will right back as soon as yow get this i was at home when yow sent the letter but send the next to J Reed Mr Stamp Manton Nr Kirton Lindsley [Lincolnshire](106)

The second, copied into the minute book of Long Riston Oddfellows, was from the widow of Jonathan Franks who was over 40 weeks in arrears when he died and therefore the lodge had refused to pay his funeral money.

Castleford January 8 1874

The secretary, officers and members of the Farmers' Refuge Lodge of Oddfellows, Long Riston.

Gentlemen,

I was not aware at the time of my husband's death that he was out of compliance with his club. I have always been given to understand from him that Mr Thomas Cook was paying his contributions for when my husband came over to Leven at Martinmas he brought the money with an intention of repaying Mr Cook the money that had been advanced by him for his contributions but on his return he told me he saw Mr Thomas Cook in Beverley and he said to him 'Mr Cook I want to settle with you for the club' and Mr Cook said 'Your club is alright. I am going to bury me mother and I will see you after about it' and resting assured that Mr Cook would see it alright I had not the least idea that his contributions was left unpaid. I don't wish to blame Mr Cook but the misunderstanding seems to have been between my late husband and him. And I know gentlemen I have stated truthfully all I know about it and I also know according to the rules I cannot legally claim the

funeral money. I must now, gentlemen, throw myself entirely on your mercy hoping that you will do your best for me under such trying and sorrowful circumstances as I am now thrown entirely on my own resources to find a living for myself and my three children. I must now leave it for your kind consideration and hope you will sympathise with me and that you will grant me the funeral donation. Hoping gentlemen you will keep the one great motto of your society in view - Charity. I await your decision. Respectfully, Mary Franks, Castleford.(107)

The lodge felt unable to agree to the widow's request and the secretary said that Franks had assured him that he was going to pay his contributions via a Castleford lodge as he had done on two former occasions when he had lived there. These problems of payment would not have arisen if Reed and Franks had taken advantage of the system of 'clearances' which had been ↪

↪ introduced by all the chief affiliated orders in their early days. After twelve month's membership a man could transfer to another lodge or court without loss of benefits.(108) This system was adopted from trade unions where it had been practised in the late 18th century.(109) A clearance was granted by the members' court or lodge and in the case of the Ancient Order of Foresters in 1840 it had to be deposited in a new court within four weeks. Once accepted the member only had to pay 2s 6d before being free and able to draw benefits.(110) By 1865 the Foresters amended their rules so that sick pay remained the liability of the original court and funeral benefit the liability of the original district for six months. Similarly the Manchester Unity Oddfellows ruled that sick pay and funeral benefit remained the liability of the original lodge for twelve months.(111) An example of a clearance certificate survives amongst the records of Keyingham Foresters and the wording is as follows:

Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society
Member's Clearance
Authorized Form Pursuant to General Law
Saml. Shawcross Permt. Sec.

Court Loyal Kimberley No.5109 of the Norwich and East Norfolk District
held at the Wild Mann Inn in Wicklewood in the County of Norfolk.

To all whom it may concern

These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof, Brother James Wigby a
Married man, now aged 31 years, by trade a Labourer was admitted a
Member of the above Court, on the 25th day of April 1867 and has
paid all Dues and Demands up to this First day of July 1882.

We therefore hereby authorize any Court of the Order to accept the
said Brother as a Clearance Member subject to the conditions
expressed in the General Laws to which, so far as they may apply to
the above Court, we undertake to Conform.

In witness whereof we have by Order of the Court and on its behalf
subscribed our hands and affixed the seal of the court.

James Bailey Chief Ranger
William Cross Sub Chief Ranger
John William Buttolph Secretary (112)

The system of clearances seems to have had little appeal to members of
East Riding courts and lodges. Comparatively few members took clearance
on moving from the area. Of the 247 members of Keyingham Foresters who
eventually moved out of the immediate catchment area of the club only
twelve (5%) drew clearance, 70 (28%) were eventually excluded and 165
(67%) continued their membership for the rest of their lives. In the
years 1858-69 only six members were received by clearance. A higher
proportion, 11% [35] of Lund Oddfellows left by clearance in the years
1839-69 but eleven of these were the founder members for the new lodge
at Cranswick.(113)

Migrants who remained members of a village society would often return
for the annual club feast. This occasion that began partly as a
recruiting display became the chief event in the village calendar for
many of the larger open settlements which had flourishing affiliated
branches up to the First World War. The feast which took on all the

trappings of a fair involved the whole community and brought together distant friends and relatives as well as many people from the neighbourhood and illustrates how the village friendly society, in contrast to urban branches, was much more than an exclusive self-help benefit club.

(1) Places where branches or former branches survived for at least 25 years.

(2) A. Everitt, 'Nonconformity in country parishes', in J.Thirsk(ed.), Land, church and people, Agricultural history review, vol.18, 1970, supplement p.179

(3) A. Everitt, The pattern of rural dissent:the nineteenth century, Occasional papers, 2nd series, no.4, Department of English Local History, Leicester University, 1972, p.44

(4) Hobsbawm and Rudé, Captain Swing, p.158

(5) Driffield Times 19/7/1862

(6) see appendix I Nafferton. The Nafferton United Society founded in 1814 had probably closed by 1862. A lodge of the Loyal United Order of Oddfellows was opened in the village in 1874 and the Swan sub-division of the Order of the Sons of Temperance in 1911.

(7) Sheahan and Whellan, p.485

(8) Microfilm of 1861 Census enumerators' returns, Beverley library. In 1892 in the parish of Nafferton, including Wansford, there were 72 'farmers' occupying over one acre, 43 of them occupying less than 30 acres. 'Report by Edward Wilkinson on the Poor Law Union of Driffield', Royal Commission on Labour: The Agricultural Labourer, p.64.

(9) The life of a Nafferton farmworker is recounted in M.C.F.Morris, The British Workman, Cambridge, 1928

(10) F.O.Morris, Possibilities in a parish, London, 1850, pp. 3,.; Victoria County History, East Riding, vol. 2, p. 295. There was a flourishing Wesleyan day school in the village from 1847-1914 an unusual feature in the East Riding, ibid., p.296.

Borthwick. Bp.V/Ret. 1868 visitation returns

(11) F.O.Morris, op.cit., p.9.

(12) Poll Book: East Riding election 1868, Beverley, 1868

(13) Driffield Times 5/8/1865 ;HCRO MRD/1/1 Driffield Wesleyan Circuit baptism register 1837-67

(14) Census enumerators' returns 1861

(15) Driffield Times 13/7/1861

(16) ex. inf. Mr.Robertshaw, LOAS District secretary, Leeds

(17) Royal Commission on Agriculture 1880, Mr. Coleman's Report, pp.159-160; RCRFS 1878 - Abstract of Quinquennial Returns of Sickness and Mortality, PP LXVIII, 1880; PRO FS 3/431 Rules of Ouse and Derwent Friendly Society; D.Neave 'The Wenlocks and Wheldrake' in D.R.Brown et

al.(eds.) Wheldrake aspects of a Yorkshire village, Wheldrake, 1971, pp.20-23.

(18) PRO FS 3/431.

(19) *ibid.*. In 1909 there were only 4 members resident in Escrick.

(20) D.Mills, Lord and peasant in nineteenth century Britain, London, 1980.pp.116-140

(21) B.A.Holderness, "'Open" and "Close" parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', Agricultural history review, vol.20, 1972, p. 131

(22) Hobsbawm and Rude, pp. 152-53

(23) T.Hardy, Tess of the d'Urbervilles, Chapter 43.

(24) Royal commission on the employment of women, young persons and children in agriculture, 1867, Evidence, p.367

Leven's population rose 113% between 1801 and 1851 and then dropped 25% by 1901. Routh's population rose by 50% between 1801 and 1851 and then only dropped 8% by 1901. VCH Yorks.vol.2

(25) T.Bulmer, Directory of East Yorkshire, 1892, pp. 449-452

(26) Poll book 1868; In 1892 there was a house called Home Rule House in Leven. T. Bulmer p.452;

(27) A variety of sources including trade directories, land tax returns and poll books have been used to select the broad categories of open and closed into which settlements have been placed. The general descriptions of landownership for individual townships given in mid-19th century trade directories, which have been used by a number of recent historians as a means of measuring open and closed, are the least satisfactory source particularly in relation to the more open settlements. The directories are concerned with detailing the main landowners and usually say nothing about the nature of landownership, whether it is in land or houses or both, nor provide any indication of the number of small freeholders and copyholders in a settlement dominated by one or two major landowners. The description of Harpham in White's directory of 1840 as containing 1970 acres of land 'all the property of Wm.St.Quintin, Esq.' clearly denotes a closed township but to what extent is the housing in independent hands at Huggate where William Thompson owned 'a greater part of the soil' ? Other sources such as land tax returns and tithe awards need to be consulted for a fuller picture of landownership to emerge.

(28) W. White, Directory of East Yorkshire, Leeds, 1840.

(29) Victoria County History, East Riding vol.v.,p.55.

(30) HCRO LTA 1832.

(31) VCH,pp.55-59; HCRO LTA 1832.

(32) Beverley Library, Microfilm of 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns.

(33) VCH,pp.57,64.

(34) IOOF,MU, List of lodges, 1845-1900.

(35) HCRO SBM Keyingham school board minutes 1876

(36) Abstract of quinquennial returns of sickness and mortality from RCRFS 1878, PP., vol.LXVIII 1880

(37) Hull Daily News 7/3/1900

(38) Keyingham Foresters' contribution and cash books, Foresters' Hall, Keyingham (now in HCRO)

(39) AOF Directory, 1845,1860,1870,1879.

(40) In 1881 Keyingham residents comprised 10% of membership. Keyingham Foresters' contribution book.

(41) Keyingham Foresters' rule books and correspondence, Foresters' Hall (now in HCRO)

(42) AOF Directory 1840, 1845; Keyingham Foresters cash book.

(43) *ibid.*, contribution books.

(44) AOF Directory 1868 + 1896.

(45) HCRO DDPK 18/5 List of Keyingham Foresters' Trustees 1876-1910

- (46) HCRO Microfilm of Religious Census Returns 1851 Burstwick
- (47) Keyingham Foresters' cash book
- (48) *ibid.* contribution books; HCRO MRW Baptism books of Patrington Branch Primitive Methodist Connexion 1843-74; Patrington Primitive Methodist Circuit Plans; inscriptions in Methodist Church, Keyingham, 1980.
- (49) HCRO Microfilm of Religious Census Returns 1851 Keyingham
- (50) BIHR Bp.V. 1894/Ret., 1894 visitation returns Keyingham.
- (51) HCRO SBM Keyingham school board minutes 1873-1903. In 1894 when there was no poll the vicar was returned unopposed along with Clark, Westmorland and two others. However at the next election in 1897 when Clark again headed the poll with 119 votes, the vicar came sixth with 68 and again lost his seat. By 1900 the vicar had a following in the village for he came second in the poll while Clark and Westmorland came third and fourth. In 1894 the vicar had noted in the visitation returns: 'The Master of the Board School now is a Churchman and assists me materially'. BIHR Bp./V.1894/Ret.. For fuller details on Clark and Westmorland see below p.
- (52) HCRO DDPK 18/5 List of Keyingham Foresters' Trustees 1876-1910.
- (53) Sheahan and Whellan, *op.cit.*, p.505
- (54) HCRO LTA Hutton Cranswick 1830
- (55) Sheahan and Whellan p.505
- (56) Herbert Johnson, A tale of two villages, Hutton, 1980, p.52
- (57) HCRO LTA 1830
- (58) 1851 Census enumerators' returns, microfilm, Beverley Library
- (59) W.White, Directory of East Riding, 1840.
- (60) Religious census returns 1851, microfilm, HCRO
- (61) BIHR Bp.V/Ret.1865 Visitation returns
- (62) HCRO SBM Hutton Cranswick 1872-1902; HCRO Acc 1036 Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit records; Court Hotham AOF Minute books; St.Paul's Lodge, IOOF, MU Minute books.
- (63) Hull Advertiser 22/2/1839; AOF Directory of Courts 1846, 1852, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1910.
- (64) IOOF MU Quarterly report, 1st quarter 1861; RRFS 1871, 1910; IOOF MU, List of Lodges, 1900, 1913; St.Paul's Lodge minute book 1877-1912.
- (65) LOAS Register of Lodges
- (66) Court Hotham AOF proposition books; St.Paul's Lodge IOOF proposition book 1861-88.
- (67) *ibid.*, minute book.
- (68) Court Hotham AOF proposition and minute books.
- (69) Hull and East Yorkshire Times 28/1/1977; Date on Foresters' Hall, Cranswick.
- (70) Hutton Cranswick School, School Log Book.
- (71) Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows' minute book 25/4/1903; 23/4/1904; Hutton Cranswick Foresters' minute book 23/5/1896; 7/5/1898; 19/5/1906.
- (72) Sheahan and Whellan, p.512 ; T.Bulmer, p.237.
- (73) HCRO LTA Lund 1830
- (74) Sheahan and Whellan, p.512; HCRO DDX/31/558
- (75) Census enumerators' returns, 1851, Microfilm, Beverley Library.
- (76) BIHR 1894 Visitation returns
- (77) Religious census returns 1851 - microfilm HCRO
- (78) Sheahan and Whellan, p.513.
- (79) HCRO Acc 1036 Driffield Methodist Circuit Records - Primitive Methodist chapel schedules and circuit plans.
- (80) H.Woodcock, Piety amongst the peasantry, p. 113.
- (81) *ibid.*, pp. 115, 121.; Mounted photograph of Wm.Petch in Oddfellows' Hall, Lund, 1980. For more on Petch see below p.
- (82) St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF, MU, Minute Book 1839- ; inscription to John Robinson in churchyard, Lund.

- (83) IOOF MU, List of Lodges 1845; Beverley Guardian 1856-1910 anniversary reports; Lodge records, Oddfellows' Hall, Lund, 1980.
- (84) *ibid.*
- (85) St. Peter's Lodge, IOOF, MU account book 14 Aug. 1924 and minute book 10 Jan. 1925.
- (86) e.g. Beverley Guardian 14/6/1879, 5/6/1880, 4/6/1881, and 3/6/1882
- (87) Fuller, pp.40-41
- (88) PRO FS 1/80c Rules of Cottingham Friendly Society 1798
- (89) Friendly Society PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 16; Female Society PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 67; Union Society 1831 in private hands photocopy D. Neave 1984.
- (90) PRO FS 1/497B
- (91) Rules of Etton Amicable and Friendly Society, 1827, 1850 - Beverley Library
- (92) Hull Advertiser 12/6/1842; 13/6/51; 10/6/53.
- (93) Hull Advertiser 28/5/1847; 25/5/1861; HCRO Keyingham AOF - account books and correspondence
- (94) Lockington AOF Proposition and minute book.
- (95) J.A. Banks, 'The contagion of numbers', in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, The Victorian city, vol.1, London, 1973, pp.117-118
- (96) Gosden, Friendly Societies, pp.77-78
- (97) D. Neave (ed.) South Cave, Howden, 1984, p.38
- (98) M. Anderson, Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire, Cambridge, 1971, p. 159
- (99) *ibid.*, pp.159-160; W.A. Armstrong, 'The flight from the land', in G.E. Mingay, The Victorian countryside, vol.1, p.128.
- (100) Lockington AOF Proposition and minute books 1840-1912, register book 1912; Lund IOOF MU Contribution books and sickness registers.
- (101) HCRO Keyingham AOF contribution books 1858-1920.
- (102) Many other examples could be given of the mobility of the membership of Keyingham Foresters. The following are taken at random from the 472 record cards on members 1858-1920:

Edward Leighton farm servant, joined Jan. 1865 aged 22. Address: 1865-66 Hilston; 1867 1 Sutherns Court, High St., Hull; 1868 3 Jensions Buildings, Warwick St., Hull; 1869 49 Beeton St., Southcoates, Hull; 1872-73 Mr. Holiday, Owstwick; 1874 Holme Farm, Kirkby Wharfe, Tadcaster; 1875-76 Owstwick; 1877 Humbleton; 1881 Mr. Harrison, Sunk Island; 1882-86 Frog Hall, Preston; 1887-90 Stockholme, Thorn, Hedon; 1893-1901 West Newton, Burton Constable; 1901-20 Swiss Cottage, Burton Constable.

William Medforth farm servant, born Burstwick, joined May 1869 aged 19
Addresses: 1869 Burstwick; 1871-2 Ryhill; 1873 Hollym Gate; 1874 18 Thomas Terrace, Garbutt St., Hull; 1875 8 Rose Terrace, Garbutt St., Hull; 1876-8 16 Emmas Terrace, Garbutt St., Hull; 1879-85 19 Wilton Terrace, Courtney St., Hull [1881 census - general labourer with wife and 5 children]; 1885-91 44 Arundel St., Holderness Road, Hull; 1892-94 15 Elizabeth Terrace, Barnsley St., Hull; 1894-1903 47 Arundel St., Hull; 1903-11 33 Victor St., Hull; 1911-13 32 Holland St, Hull; 1913-20 16 Drewton Terrace, Buckingham St., Hull.

James Musk wheelwright, joined April 1869 aged 21. Addresses: 1869 Burstwick; 1870 Preston; 1871 6 Woodbine Terrace, Waterloo St., Hull; 1871-72 Nafferton; 1872-73 86 Hymers St., North Ormesby, Middlesborough; 1873-74 54 Nelson St., North Ormesby; 1875 Woodlands Rd., Girdlington, Bradford; 1876-78 29 Park Road, Barnsley; 1879 95 Kensington St., Girdlington, Bradford; 1880-81 Shipley Moor, Cottingley, Bingley; 1882 5 Station Road, West Brighton. Died 16 June 1882.

William Lawson tailor, joined June 1859, aged 23 Addresses: 1859-66

Keyingham; 1867-68 Roos; 1869 Caterham Valley, Redhill, Surrey; 1870-71 Roos; 1871-74 Keyingham; 1875 Roos; 1876 8 Sarah's Terrace, Courtney St., Hull; 1877-78 91 Beeton St., Hull; 1879-83 Roos; 1883-85 Victoria Terrace, Burley St., Holderness Rd., Hull; 1885-87 6 Cottage Row, Holderness Rd., Hull; 1888 1 Courtney St., Hull; 1889 Ottringham; 1889-90 Courtney St., Hull; 1890-94 8 Arundel St., Holderness Rd., Hull [Bulmer 1892 Tailor and pork butcher]; 1894-98 12 Arundel St.; 1899 Roos; Died Roos May 1903.

The last illustrates the misleading nature of mobility statistics from Census Enumerators' returns. Lawson born at Roos was living there at the time of the 1871, 1881 and 1901 censuses but he had moved many times in between.

(103) Long Riston IOOF MU Minute book

(104) Lund IOOF Sickness register

(105) HCRO MRM 2/28 Newspaper cutting (n.d. 1911) entitled "'Father' Wray of Market Weighton: a centenarian Oddfellow". He died 27 January 1912. He was a brother of the writer Rev. J. Jackson Wray.

(106) undated letter, Keyingham Foresters' Hall, 1977.

(107) Long Riston IOOF MU Minute book Jan. 1874

(108) General laws for the government of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Dewsbury, 1840, p.31; *ibid.*, Manchester, 1846, p.28; Laws and regulations of the Independent Order of Oddfellows(MU), 1837, pp.25-26; General rules for the government of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Kingston Unity, 1858, p.23; United Ancient Order of Druids, Hull district laws and regulations, Hull, 1841, pp. 9-10; E.Crew, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Friendly Society Centenary Souvenir 1926, p.26

(109) E.J.Hobsbawm, 'The tramping artisan', in Labouring men, pp.36-37; R.A.Leeson, Travelling brothers, London, 1980, pp.112-115.

(110) General laws AOF, 1840, p.31

(111) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.222.

(112) HCRO Keyingham Foresters records. By the end of 1882 James Wigby then of Thorngumbald had joined Keyingham Foresters. In 1886 Wigby moved to Cottingham and he was still living there in 1920. *ibid.*, contribution books.

(113) *ibid.*; Lund IOOF contribution books.

Plate 4.: Lund Oddfellows' Club Feast Day Procession c1910

top : Processing from Oddfellows' Hall

bottom : Procession in churchyard



Chapter 7

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Club Feast Day

The affiliated orders made their greatest impact on the local community through their annual feast days. During the second half of the nineteenth century the 'club feast' in many East Riding villages was the most important day in the year and directly or indirectly it replaced the old village feast. The basic pattern of the feast day celebrations had been laid down in the 18th century and many of the rules of local societies provide a detailed account of the procedures to be followed. The Union Society of Great Driffield was established in 1794 and the seventeenth article in its rules, as printed in 1831, declares:

That a Feast-Day shall be held every year, upon the second Monday in the month of July, when all the Members of the Society, who intend to dine, shall pay or cause to be paid, upon the last monthly meeting night preceding the same feast, to the Treasurer ..., One Shilling towards providing the feast dinner, and every Member residing in the town of Great-Driffield, or within five miles thereof, shall attend in the Club Room at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the same day at which hour precisely the roll shall be called over, and all the Members that are not present to answer their names when called, unless prevented by some reasonable cause, shall be fined 6d. each. After the list is called over, all the Members that are present shall go in procession, according to priority as they stand on the Register list, with the President as leading Member, from the Club Room to the Church, and all such Members as refuse or neglect to attend Divine Service shall forfeit 6d. each. When Service is over, the Members shall return to the house where the Club is held, in like order as they went to Church [to dine] ... Dinner to be on the table exactly at 1 o'Clock.(1)

The affiliated society feast was most likely to be held on a weekday in June or early July - a slack period in the agricultural year and at a time when the weather was likely to be more favourable than on the other

great holiday for the East Riding agricultural population - Martinmas.[see table 71] One short-lived society, Court Olive Branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters at Driffield, attempted unsuccessfully to cash in on the Martinmas week celebrations by holding its feast then.(2)

Whit-week, the favourite time for club feasts in Oxfordshire, was only popular in some of the towns in the East Riding.(3) In the villages the club feast was usually on a set day, for example the first Wednesday in June, and preparations for this treat, 'which is always looked forward to with great interest by the entire population', were begun weeks before.(4) At Huggate the village underwent a thorough renovation with all the white-washed farmhouses and cottages receiving a new coat of lime wash and school log books reveal that older girls were generally kept at home to help their mothers clean for the feast up to three weeks before the event.(5) The feast attracted large numbers from a wide area and it was the occasion for sons and daughters and other relatives to gather at the family home. The holding of the feast on a weekday does not appear to have affected attendance. A Monday feast was particularly popular in the towns where St.Monday had long been celebrated but in the villages Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday were more commonly feast days.[see table 71](6) In one village it would appear that farmers did deduct wages from labourers for their attendance at feasts and in another it was not unusual for men to be out working in the fields as early as three o'clock, sowing turnips, in order to get off during the day to the feast.(7)

Table 71: Season and day of week of East Riding feasts

A. Time of year of East Riding club feasts			
	Local Societies	Affiliated Orders	Total
January	1	1	2
February	0	2	2
March	0	1	1
Easter Week	1	1	2
April	0	1	1
Early May	4	4	8
Whitweek	6	9	15
Late May	2	10	12
Early June	12	27	39
Late June	9	31	40
Early July	16	21	37
Late July	3	14	17
Early August	2	10	12
Late August	1	0	1
Martinmas Week	0	1	1
Total	56	133	190

Sources: Newspaper reports and club rules
- see Appendix 1.

B. Day of week of East Riding club feasts			
Day	Local Societies	Affiliated Orders	Total
Monday	10	12	22
Tuesday	9	12	21
Wednesday	8	13	21
Thursday	5	4	9
Friday	1	10	11
Saturday	1	2	3
Total	34	53	87

Sources: Newspaper reports and club rules

The day began with the members meeting at 8 a.m. at the club room where the roll was called, new members were initiated and club business transacted. At 10 a.m. the members headed by a brass band processed, in the order that their names stood on the roll, from the club room to the parish church or on occasion to a nonconformist chapel. The members were dressed in their regalia, wearing scarfs and carrying sticks, staves or

crooks and accompanied by a large banner. Certain clubs, particularly Foresters and Druids went in for more elaborate dress depicting their mythical origins. In 1874 Filey Foresters' procession was led by a member mounted on a dappled gray charger, draped in robes of shining green, wearing a cocked hat and carrying a club. He was followed by:

'the "First Bud" juvenile society with a variety of bannerets bearing appropriate mottoes; then came "Robin Hood" dressed in green, with a plume of white ostrich feathers in his hat, and riding in true House Guard style his splendid gray, attended by "Little John" and a brilliant staff of mounted officers with drawn bows, and a large retinue of members on foot, each dressed in regalia of the order, and graced by two splendid banners bending to the breeze.(8)

Once at the church or chapel, which might be some distance from the club room - even in a neighbouring village, the members and others took part in a service the main feature of which was the sermon by the incumbent or guest preacher who usually took as his text something appropriate to the friendly society movement. The service, which was not always devoutly attended to, could be lengthy.(9) The members then re-formed their procession and returned to the club room where, or in a marquee in an inn yard, the members sat down to a lavish feast. The preacher, incumbent, doctor or leading local layman took the chair and after the meal made one of the many speeches which accompanied the long toast list. The band was sometimes present and at Middleton Foresters' feast in 1870 the East Yorkshire Militia Band provided suitable music for the toasts. They played the 'National Anthem' for the toast to the Queen, 'God bless the Prince of Wales' for Prince of Wales, 'Hallelujah Chorus' for Archbishop and Clergy, 'Rule Britannia' for Army, Navy and Volunteers, 'Maggie May' for the Ladies, and 'Good Old English Gentleman' for the Rev.H.D.Blanchard, the incumbent, chief landowner and chairman of the feast.(10) After 1884 the feasts took on a more political complexion and the chief speakers were usually the local M.P.

and, or, the opposition candidate.(11)

The dinner and drinking that followed lasted until the early evening when the members and band again paraded around the village and surrounding area. Often the procession made its way to the parsonage, hall and chief farmhouses where the members 'stood in front in the form of a crescent, with the band playing in the midst'.(12) Donations and honorary subscriptions were received at these stops.

The day ended with the band and club members joining in with the public entertainments that had been going on all day. 'Shooting galleries, stalls and vendors of ginger beer, lemonade, etc. were planted in every nook and corner and along the sides of the street.'(13) In 1865 at Nafferton Shepherds' feast a grand gala was held at night in a field near the King's Head Inn 'where the lovers of racing and other rural sports had an opportunity of enjoying themselves'. Betting was heavy on the 'Nafferton Derby' and several foot races. There was also 'some capital clog dancing and dancing on the green to the delightful strains of the Drifffield Glee Band'.(14) At Newport in 1841 the Foresters', after their annual dinner and when possibly not in the most sober of conditions, gave a display of their recently acquired skill in archery; unfortunately Charlotte Brown, aged eleven, ran into the path of an arrow and was mortally wounded.(15)

Throughout the Victorian period local newspapers are full of the reports of friendly society anniversaries in the months of May-July. In 1849 the Stamford Mercury in Lincolnshire commented:

'Were we to give place to all the accounts we receive of the annual festivals of Foresters, Odd Fellows, and other Clubs, we should scarcely have space in our columns for any other matter'. (16)

And in a similar vein 25 years later the Drifffield Times reported:

We are rather apprehensive that the reports of friendly societies' anniversaries or club feasts, as they are called, have lately been so frequently inserted in the public prints of the neighbourhood, that the publishing of many more might almost appear to be a monopoly of the press, and that readers might be led to conclude that the space they occupy might be filled with more useful matter.(17)

The club feasts became the 'red-letter' day of many village communities and their importance in the village calendar is evidenced by the numerous references to them to be found in school log books from the 1860s.(18) The feasts along with Sunday school treats and Martinmas week were the main social occasions which significantly affected school attendance. Entries from Lund Church School log book in the 1870s are not untypical:

1873 21 July Very thin today - laying the foundation stone of a Sunday school for the Primitive Methodist Chapel - and a great many of our day scholars are their Sunday scholars.

6 November Several of the first three classes absent. Gone with their parents to Beverley hirings.

24 November Very thin today being Martinmas Monday when most of the children have brothers or sisters coming home from service for a week's holiday.

1874 29 May ... being Lockington Feast several of the children were absent from school.

5 June Holiday today - Village Feast

1876 2 June The school has had a holiday yesterday and today through a custom (I believe) which is kept up of the annual village club feast which is celebrated today.

9 June The school was very thin on Monday afternoon (only about 10 present) it being the occasion of the Primitive Sunday School Anniversary and today is Middleton Feast day and several are gone there this afternoon. (19)

Martinmas week and the village feast were the two customary festivities to survive into the early 20th century. The feast however was rarely still linked to the anniversary of the dedication of the church or to an old charter fair but instead it was the annual festival day of the local branch of an affiliated order. The extracts from Lund

school log book make no mention of the old village feast, which in 1840 was still being held on the fourth Tuesday in Lent, because by the 1860s its position in the village holiday calendar had been taken by the anniversary proceedings of St. Peter's Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity.(20) Similarly the feasts referred to at Middleton and Lockington were the anniversaries of the branches of the Ancient Order of Foresters in those villages. All over the county old village feasts were giving way to club feasts. At Patrington the feast of Patrington Old Club had become the premier village occasion by 1852 when a correspondent to the Hull Advertiser commented: 'The many annual feasts, for which this town has long been celebrated, have sunk into insignificance in comparison with the one termed the club feast.' (21) At Cottingham on the first anniversary of the Ancient Order of Foresters it was reported that 'of all former feasts, in the memory of the oldest inhabitants, none will bear comparison'.(22) Fairs as well as feasts were usurped by the clubs and it was noted on the 32nd anniversary of the Filey Royal Ravine Lodge, a former IOOF Lodge, that:

Such is - and has been for the last thirty years - the interest manifested in this locality in the yearly return of this festival that Filey Fair which in former times was always held on Whitsun Tuesday is now regarded as being held on this anniversary day.(23)

There was no such transference of the fair day at South Cave where the village feast and fair on Trinity Monday and Tuesday (late May-June) remained more important than, and independent of, the club feast day which was held in July. The diary of Robert Sharp, schoolmaster, of South Cave provides a detailed account of the main ingredients of village and club feasts in the pre-Victorian period. The village feast was the great occasion for the gathering of relatives and far flung friends and it was preceded by 'a great deal of bustling and cleaning and sore disturbing the poor spiders'. As well as being fed on cheese

cakes the visitors were entertained on two days by a wide range of stalls and other attractions:

1829 16 June Tuesday. This is the great day of all the days in the year with us for display. I dare say not many good clothes would be left at home. There were shews as usual. Marie Martin and the Red Barn, and the Murdering of Daft Jamie all by the way of amusement !!

17 June Wednesday. Horse Racing, Ass Racing, Foot Racing, Blobbing for Oranges in a Tub full of Water; Racing Wheel Barrows blinded and other rustic amusements - concluding with getting drunk by those who could afford it and those who could not pay were thankful to others that would afford them the gratification.

The club feast day was seemingly reserved for the entertainment of the members rather than the populace at large.

1827 12 July Thursday - Club feast day, it was at Newloves where they had a Booth fixed in the yard, and the Members all dined together at two tables set the whole length there were about 120 members, a very good plain dinner, and good order kept. Matthew Smith towards night got very drunk, and some boys got some soot, tallow and red, and daubed his face all over, making him look wilder than an American Savage.

1831 7 July Thursday - This is the Club feast day this year at Morleys, there were just 100 members present, dined in the barn. I came away before 4 o'clock all was quiet so far as I saw. The musicians playing about, all the afternoon, for their own benefit if not to the amusement of others.

1832 13 July Friday - I believe there was not one person drunk at the Club feast yesterday, which is more than can be generally said, whether the liquor was mixed so as to favour sobriety or not I cannot say.(24)

One of the principal features of the old village feast that was taken over by the club feast was the coming together of far-flung families on that day. Edward Anderson of Kilham in his autobiographical poem The Sailor published in 1811 recalls that feature of Weaverthorpe village feast - 'Weatrop sport'.

At Weaverthorp relations did not fail,
 For there my uncles George and Tom sold ale;
 My uncle John there keeps a blacksmith's shop,
 And at my grandmother's I us'd to stop,
 And our relations there did all resort,
 At Candlemas they met at Weatrop sport.
 My uncles I could reckon up eighteen,
 And fifty cousins where I've welcome been;
 How pleas'd was I so many friends to see,
 This always was a feast indeed to me:
 Distant relations, far as we could ken,
 Both rich and poor, they all were welcome then,
 And freely all on uncle John did call,
 If he had room he entertain'd them all.(24a)

At Lund the family of James Teal, blacksmith, gathered for the Oddfellows' feast day at the turn of the century 'All the families - the sons and daughters all came home for that - like we all went from here [Hull].... My grandma had a meal going all the day long the full length of the room, all hams that she had boiled, everything all cooked. Grandfather would bring anybody in to have tea and that sort of thing, it was very hard on her.'(25) Actual feasting was a feature of both the club anniversaries and the old village feast days. The latter had dishes particular to each village, cheese cakes at South Cave, butter loaves at Leavening, and Spear-pie at Stamford Bridge.(26)

Local societies in the late 18th century and early 19th century allowed the stock of the club to be drawn on to pay for dinner and drink on the feast day. The rules of Market Weighton Friendly Society in 1794 and Cottingham Friendly Society in 1798 allowed each member to spend 1s. out of the stock of the society on the feast day. Members of Pocklington Royal Brotherly Society in 1806 were allowed 1/3d for their dinner from the stock and Brandesburton Benevolent Society was particularly generous in allowing its members 1s. for dinner and 1s. for drink.(27) After 1830 the local societies, many with rapidly decreasing funds, clamped down on such expenditure. Howden Union Society rules declared in 1831 that 'On every feast-day the whole of the expenses shall be paid by those members

who partake thereof no part of the expenses to come out of the funds.'(28) The 1850 rules of Etton Amicable and Friendly Society provided for members to pay 2s. per year into a 'Feast Fund' and in the same year Newbald Benefit Society rules declared bluntly that 'Every Member shall pay for the Annual Dinner, whether they attend or not.'

(29) One of the chief complaints made against club feasts was that the event was a heavy drain on club funds. The account books of Keyingham Foresters show than an average of £5 15s was expended on the anniversaries in the 1840s. The full account for the 1849 anniversary was as follows:

1849 [Expenditure]

May 30	to 64 dinners	£4 16s	and 3 dinners gratis	£5 - 0 - 6
	to half the Collection at Church to Sunday School			0 - 8 - 9
June 13	To staves at Hedon	5 - 0		
	To Flags and Banners	17 - 6		
	To Carriage of do. from and to Hull	3 - 6		
	To Flag + Banner Bearers	£2 - 1 - 6		
	For Music	£3 - 0 - 0		
	To Staves Cleaning and Repairing	2 - 0		

[Income]

May 30	Collected at Burstwick	11 - 0
	Do at Keyingham Church	17 - 6
	64 dinners at 1/6 each	£4 - 16 - 0 (30)

Similar sums were expended on the anniversaries of other East Riding courts and lodges. During the 1840s Cranswick Foresters spent an average of £5 11s and in 1841-45 Lund Oddfellows an average of £4 15s on the feast day. (31) In the case of Keyingham Foresters the cost of the anniversary day came to approximately 7% of the total income and for Lund Oddfellows about 8%. (32)

A certain amount of income was generated by the feast day, honorary members paid their subscriptions and in the early days the collection made during the church or chapel service was paid into the club funds. In 1842 Middleton Foresters received £4 5s from honorary members and £3

5s from the church collection. In addition there could be a reasonable income from fines levied on the feast day. The same court passed the following new rules in August 1884:

That every member pay 1/- towards his dinner at the Annual Feast.

Also every member residing within 10 miles of the Court House not walking in the procession and not attending Divine Service shall be fined 1/- without reasonable excuse.

All Members being in the Village on the Feast day and not complying with the above rule to be fined 1/-. Each member to be before the Court House to Answer to his Name and receive his Ticket by 10 a.m. on the Feast day.

Generally in the early days members paid for their own dinners on the feast day but as the funds of the societies increased there was pressure for the dinners to be paid for 'out of the box' or at least subsidised. In 1848 Cranswick Foresters voted 14 to 7 in favour of the feast being paid for out of the box, in 1850 Lockington Foresters agreed to subsidise the dinner from club funds and in 1851 Middleton Foresters resolved that the cost of the 2s dinner should be equally shared between members and the fund. In the years 1855-61 the members of Middleton court apparently received free dinners.

It became illegal in 1850 for registered societies to pay for the feast out of benefit funds, and from that date societies began to establish separate management and feast funds which were built up by periodic levies. From 1880 Lund Oddfellows levied a half penny a week from members to meet the anniversary expenses and Cranswick Oddfellows allowed a sum of £6 out of the management fund in 1894 to help defray costs of feast. (34) The rules of the affiliated orders after 1850 all clearly state that no part of the expenses of the anniversary were to come out of lodge funds.(35)

The drunkenness and disorder associated with village and club feasts were the main aspects that were attacked by reformers in the late-18th

and early-19th century. These features were still present later in the century, and affiliated society minute and fine books record a number of lapses on the part of members on feast day. At Lund in 1863 Brother Richard Sellkirk was fined one shilling 'for smoking when in the procession from Divine Service' and a similar fine was imposed on, but not paid by, William Longbottom of Cranswick Oddfellows in 1876 'for being drunk in procession on Feast Day'. The same offence brought fines of five shillings for three members of Middleton Foresters in 1884. Cranswick Foresters levied the very high fine of £1 1s on Joseph Blyth 'for his misconduct on the feast day by casting a slang upon the conduct of the officers'. In 1893 two members of Lockington Foresters were fined for unruly conduct during the procession on feast day and four years later the same court fined a member 2/6d for 'using indecent language during the dinner on the anniversary day'.(36) The tipsy nature of the post-dinner processions at Warter Oddfellows' Feast was a well remembered feature.(37)

Although the newspaper reports carry little but favourable comments on the feasts proceedings other columns provide some qualifications to the picture. In June 1840 an inquest was held into the death of a Hutton Cranswick shoemaker who had been killed in a fight after becoming intoxicated at the Oddfellow's' anniversary at Driffield. That town's Petty Sessions in July 1850 dealt with William Windass and William Norman who were charged by James Spedding with threatening his life. 'The parties reside at Wetwang and had been drinking at the club feast'. In July 1872 the same court fined four men who were charged with being drunk and disorderly at Cranswick Club Feast.(38) Little or no action was taken however to curb drinking on the feast day. Driffield magistrates in May 1874 granted permission to several licencees for an extra hour on the night of village club feasts but they did remark 'that

club feasts ought to be concluded by the ordinary closing time, viz. ten o'clock.' and in 'dry' villages such as Warter licences were granted for beer tents for one or two days.(39) The importance of drink in the feast day celebrations was shown at the two annual club feasts at Sherburn where on each occasion the members of the friendly society traditionally processed directly from the church to the large village brewery where each member was regaled with a glass of ale. (40)

The intemperance and 'needless display' which offended some observers of the anniversaries of the affiliated orders seemingly underwent little reform in the rural areas but in the towns of the East Riding there was an early move towards more rational entertainment. Any such change was applauded by the press. At Driffield many of the clubs had curtailed their celebrations by 1846 when the Hull Advertiser commented:

In consequence of the growing distaste among the various orders and clubs for bombast and parade, a striking feature in their early career, as well as the fact of the extravagance which has been absurdly lavished on baubles and other absurdities having considerably drained the coffers of many of these societies, the Ancient Order of Foresters have in Driffield this year not only dispensed with processions, baubles, music and sermons but confined the celebration of their anniversary to the transaction of business and a dinner in the Corn Exchange, which took place on Monday last. The other clubs have not celebrated their anniversary in any way. The Shepherds, however, fond of the old order of things, observed their anniversary on Wednesday last with the usual demonstration of processions, gilded crooks, music, sermons and the creature comforts of a jolly dinner, with the usual accompaniments of ale, rum, gin and brandy.(41)

The positive move to substitute the procession and feasting with a more improving celebration by the Beverley Oddfellows in 1849 gained the heading 'Progress of intelligence among the working classes':

The Odd Fellows of the Manchester Unity are about adopting a new mode of celebrating their anniversary of the various lodges in this town. The old system of parading the streets with the decorations of the order, followed by an especial benefit to the outward man seems to have at length lagged behind in the onward order of improvement. Cheap trips have been substituted, but still even the pleasant recreation of the sea-side visits and rural scenery have not appeared to afford sufficient facilities to the

high throbbing impulse of intellectual progression. This year they intend to hold a public evening meeting to commence with a social tea-party, after which a programme of subjects connected with the character and advantages of the order will form a conversazione for the evening's entertainment. The profits arising from the tea will be applied to the Widows' and Orphans' fund connected with the institution.(42)

The Druids and Foresters at Bridlington were similarly reported to have given up 'their usual processions, sermons, etc.' in 1853.(43)

The abandonment in the towns of the public display on anniversary days began the marked divergence of urban and rural friendly societies. The town societies became more inward looking with a greater concentration on their role as a secret order emphasising ritual and exclusiveness while the village societies became more open and increasingly asserted their independence of central authority. The branches of the affiliated orders in the towns could gain individual prominence but they were just one of the many influential organisations to emerge in the Victorian town. In the village the friendly society was the village society, its feast day was the village feast and it was far more comprehensive in its membership than its main rivals the Primitive and Wesleyan chapels.

The nonconformist members with their links with the temperance movement were probably behind the small element in many village societies which attempted to reform, or do away with, the feast day. The Rechabites who were the chief friendly society at Skipsea, where the order had been promoted by the Independents, managed by 1840 to convert the village feast into an occasion of 'high festive rational enjoyment ... remarkable for the changed character in the customs, manners, and views of the people at that particular time of the year'. Until the last two or three years the village had been noted for its annual horse and foot races 'and their general concomitants' on Whit Tuesday but these had declined and the feast day of the Rechabites and Oddfellows

was celebrated instead with 'harmony, peace, order and sobriety'. The Rechabites after a service in church had tea followed by a temperance meeting in the Independent chapel. After the temperance meeting the Odd Fellows had a ball.(44)The minute books of the Oddfellows and Foresters in the strongly nonconformist village of Cranswick show that a number of members were always pressing for the abandonment of the feast day, though whether this was on religious or economic grounds is never stated. Where the actual voting is recorded for the Foresters the totals were as follows:

Year	For Feast	Against Feast
1848	23	11
1852	13	11
1853	22	11
1854	15	9
1856	24	9
1857	24	11
1858	25	8
1862	28	9
1892	33	14
1893	29	10
1895	21	15
1906	16	10

The voting figures do not show any great change in attitude to the feast day in the latter years of the century.

Votes were also taken on who should preach the sermon, whether or not they should have regalia and music, how the feast should be paid for and sometimes where the service should be held. There was usually little support for hiring regalia from town courts, and the only years when there was a majority in favour of regalia, and a large majority as well, were 1862 and 1863 probably because of fear of the counter attractions of the newly founded Oddfellows lodge in the village. The members were always in favour of music and having a brass band. (45)

Plate 5 : Middleton-on-the-Wolds Foresters' Feast Day Procession c1910

Notice in top photograph the clergyman, in mortar board,
under the banner



Brass bands

The most important ingredient of any village club feast day was the brass band. On many of the early feast days of the affiliated orders in the 1840s the sound of the marching band must have been the principal feature that attracted the attention of the populace in general and stirring music no doubt served its purpose in encouraging young men to join the society. A silent procession could not have escalated the event into the 'red letter day' that it became for so many village communities. Music was not an unknown feature in rural society; lone fiddlers, church orchestras and itinerant musicians, all provided occasional entertainment but none could equal the attraction of a brass band playing in the open air.(46) It was far from chance that the development of brass bands coincided with the arrival of the affiliated orders. The important role played by friendly societies in the establishment and development of brass bands however appears to have gone unnoticed by the historians of the latter.(47)

The value of bands of music in attracting public attention in open air processions and displays would clearly have been understood from an early period but the appearance of marching military bands in England from the late 17th century probably had a significant influence on the great development of the use of music in a wide variety of open-air celebrations during the following two centuries.(48) By the late 18th century any public celebration required a procession led by a band of music. The numerous festivities occasioned by victories or peace declarations during the Napoleonic Wars saw the military, town officials, freemasons and friendly societies processing with a band through the streets of Beverley.(49) Bands were present at the nomination meetings and poll days for parliamentary and borough

elections and with the great increase in Radical activity in the early nineteenth century they were an essential feature of the massive open air demonstrations. The contingents marching to Peterloo in 1819 were led by bands and the early trade union gatherings were marked by processions with bands and banners flying. (50)

From at least the late 18th century friendly society anniversary processions with musical accompaniment had been one of the principal annual open-air celebrations in both urban and rural communities. A report of the annual feasts of benefit societies in Hull in July 1794 recorded that most paraded accompanied by a band of music playing loyal and patriotic tunes.(51) At Weston in Norfolk the club perambulated the village with drum and fife in 1795.(52) The importance of the existence of a band to play at benefit society anniversaries is emphasised by the action of the townspeople of Driffield in 1828 when they subscribed £48 towards purchasing woodwind and brass instruments for a band of music 'to play on all public occasions in Driffield when thereunto requested and particularly on the annual festivals of the two Benefit Societies established in Great Driffield'.(53) Freemasons at this period were not averse to such public displays and when the Constitutional Lodge at Beverley celebrated its first festival day in June 1793 it was agreed to ask 'the Highland Band, belonging to his Majesty's 42nd Regt. of Foot, to play before us in procession to Church'.(54)

Thus the two bodies, local societies and the Freemasons, which were the source for the ideology, ritual and regalia of the affiliated orders had already a well established routine of processions led by bands of music and therefore it is not surprising that this feature was prominent from the establishment of the orders. It is significant however that the meteoric spread of the orders throughout the country in the years 1835-50 required a similar growth in bands if all feasts were to be so

accompanied. Two factors apparently assisted this growth, they were the increased availability of experienced musicians coupled with the great improvement of brass instruments in the 1830s.

During the Napoleonic Wars regimental and militia bands multiplied and on the disbandment of many, after 1815, a considerable number of trained musicians entered civilian life and it was these and the members of church bands or orchestras who probably provided the leaders, personnel and instruments for the wind and brass bands which mushroomed in English towns and villages in the 1830s-40s.(55) Bands, brass and otherwise, were by no means the peculiarity of the industrial north. Alun Howkins found mentions of 148 village bands in reports of Whitsun celebrations in Jackson's Oxford Journal between 1840 and 1914.(56) A less comprehensive study of the reports of East Riding friendly society feasts between 1838 and 1875 provides the names of 82 bands from East Riding towns and villages.(57) East Yorkshire indeed was regarded by one of the earliest historians of brass bands as the pioneer area of the movement, with the founding in York of Walker and Hardman's band in 1833 and Bean's band in 1834. Joseph Bean of the latter band was also a co-founder of the Hull and East Riding band in 1836. The county's significance however in the history of brass bands comes from the fact that the very first brass band contest was held at Burton Constable in 1845.(58)

The coronation of Queen Victoria in July 1838 gave a great opportunity for the recently founded affiliated orders and the embryo brass bands to announce their arrival as two essential ingredients of Victorian open-air displays. The celebrated Besses o'th' Barn band was engaged by the Oddfellows at Dixon Green, Farnworth, Lancashire to accompany their coronation day procession and the obituary of the Chartist shoemaker Thomas Dunning of Nantwich, who died in 1894, records that he was leader

of the towns Quadrille Band at the local demonstration on the Queen's coronation nearly sixty years before.(59) In East Yorkshire bands were reported at the coronation celebrations at Beverley, Welton, Leven, Kilham, Brandesburton, Howden, Newport, Malton, Settrington, Bridlington and Bridlington Quay.(60) From the mid-19th century 'a communal occasion with no brass band was no occasion at all'.(61)

Many of the brass bands of 1838-75 had close links with the affiliated orders and some bore the names of the orders with whom they had originated. In Hull there were at various times Oddfellows', Foresters', Druids' and Rechabite brass bands and at Beverley Foresters' and Oddfellows' bands. Oddfellows' bands also existed at Pocklington and Howden, Rechabite bands at Bridlington and Skipsea, a Foresters' band at Holme-on-Spalding Moor and a Druids' band at Ganton.(62) The band which played for the feast day of the British Oak Lodge of GUOOF Malton in 1868 was formed especially by a member of the lodge who had previously belonged to the old rifle band.(63)

Court Hotham A.O.F., Hutton Cranswick, purchased a drum, in February 1840, for use at its anniversaries. The drum was kept at the inn and members could hire it and 'pay the sum of five shillings into Court Hotham for the youse of her and if the Member do ill or unfarely youse the Drum he must get her repaired at is own expence'.(64) Cranswick Foresters' minute books record the importance attached to the choosing of the band to appear at the feast for in most years there had to be a ballot to decide between two to four nominated bands. In 1848 North Dalton band which had appeared at the three previous feast days received 18 votes and the seemingly newly formed Cranswick band only six. However next year the home village band was chosen. Four bands were balloted for in 1856 and the following year when three bands were nominated it was decided to employ the 'band that will play for the smallest sum'.

Certain bands were particularly popular and were chosen year after year, such was the case with the Nafferton Saxhorn Band in the 1860s and Cranswick Brass Band in the 1880s and 90s. Possibly the frequent choice of the latter was due to a high proportion of the bandsmen also being Foresters.(65)

Minute books and newspaper reports indicate that certain bands were much sought after for feast days. No doubt the prowess of a band was reported on and clubs seemingly vied with each other to have the current favourites. In the Driffield area in the 1840s the most celebrated musicians appear to have been 'a merry little band from Langtoft consisting of six brothers' who all followed the same trade. In successive years the band appeared at club feasts at Wetwang, North Frodingham, Driffield, Nafferton, Hutton Cranswick, Middleton, and Lockington.(66) The band may have suited the villagers but in 1851 the Rev.F.J.Lundy of Lockington described it as 'a wretched brass band'.(67) In the late 1850s and early 60s Etton Brass Band was particularly popular in the area and in 1861, when it was reported as having attained 'a high degree of efficiency'; it performed at feasts at Cranswick, Lund, Lockington and Etton.(68) Probably the most successful of bands came from Nafferton where in the second half of the nineteenth century there were two bands, the Saxhorn and the Station Mills bands. The Saxhorn band under the direction of W.Hoggard performed at club feasts at Kelk, Wansford, Sherburn, Cranswick, Wetwang, Kilham, Lund, Harpham, Weaverthorpe, Filey, Bridlington, Nafferton and Lockington, often returning year after year, in the 1860s and 70s.(69)

Although village bands performed at other functions such as horticultural shows, temperance festivals, sunday school anniversaries, school feasts and political and trade union meetings it was the club feasts that gave them their greatest opportunity to demonstrate their

skills.(70) At Thixendale the Drum and Fife band formed by the church choir in 1888 was in October 1890 'merged into a band of more importance composed of players on brass instruments'. However it was not till eight months later that 'The Thixendale Church Choir Brass Band' made its first public appearance at the Club Feast at Duggleby where it met 'with much success; affording great satisfaction'. (71)

In 1887 a writer in the British Bandsman commented that 'the social causes for the growth of the wind band during the last century are to be found in military music and greatly multiplied public recreations'.(72) In rural areas the chief public events were the annual feasts of the local branches of the affiliated order friendly societies and it is probably not without validity to claim that their introduction in the late 1830s-50s coincidental with the emergence of the brass band in the north of England was the chief cause of the multiplication of village and small town bands in the early and mid-Victorian era. Conversely the ending of village club feasts between the wars must have been a significant factor in bringing about the present dearth of brass bands in the East Riding.

It was at villages in the Driffield area that the feast day celebrations with procession, band, dinner and sideshows survived longest. At least 23 feasts were still being held in the Buckrose Parliamentary Division in 1908-9.(73) In 1912 the Parish Magazine Union recorded club feasts at Rudston, Hunmanby, Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Lund, Muston, Folkton, Filey, Foxholes, Walkington, North Frodingham, North Dalton, Nafferton, Ganton, Etton, and Wold Newton.(74) The National Insurance Act of 1911 and the cessation of feasting during the First World War were the two most important factors in bringing an end to the club feast. Cranswick, Middleton and Kilham all still had feast days

with processions, services, dinners, speeches and the accompanying fairs
 In 1928-29.(75) Cranswick's celebrations had been halted in the war and
 were only revived in 1928. In 1927 it was noted in relation to Hutton
 Cranswick:

The village feast was observed on Wednesday, but the
 celebrations lacked their old-time elaboration. The custom
 of holding a public procession and dinner seems to have
 passed away, and the only reminder of the feast was provided
 by fair attractions on the village green.(76)

The continuance of the village feasts depended a lot on the
 willingness of the showmen to appear with their sideshows and
 roundabouts. Shipley's of Driffield and Corrigan's of Hull were the main
 providers of amusements at the feasts in the early 20th century. In 1920
 Shipley's did not take up their usual run and Corrigan's began their
 regular appearances at the Wolds' feasts going in turn to Middleton,
 Wetwang, North Dalton, Hutton Cranswick, Nafferton, Burton Fleming, and
 Rillington.(77) The availability of land on which to erect the fair was
 an important factor and Corrigan's are said to have purchased a field for
 this purpose at North Dalton and so perpetuated the feast.(78) Middleton
 continued to have a feast throughout the 1930s and as the notice,
 fig.18, for the 1936 feast indicates it still had all the features to be
 found in the feast day celebrations a century before. The Second World
 War finally ended East Riding village feasts as it did so many other
 things. However in April 1950 40 members of Middleton Foresters gathered
 together to decide whether or not to have a feast that year but only 7
 voted in favour.(79) Occasionally the Beverley District Oddfellows meet
 at Cranswick and process with a band to the Methodist Church for a
 service followed by a tea and this must be the last remnant of the East
 Riding feast days.(80)

(1) HCRO QDC/2/29 Rules of the Union Society established at Great Drifffield 1831, p.14.

(2) AOF Dispensation Book - see Appendix 1.

(3) A.Howkins Whitsun in 19th century Oxfordshire , Oxford, 1973; Howden and Drifffield had their chief club feasts in Whit-week.

(4) Drifffield Times 29/6/61 reference to Kilham AOF anniversary.

(5) Memoir of Joseph Smith, of South Holme, late of Huggate and Riseborough, Wesleyan Local Preacher, Malton, 1900, pp.203-4; e.g. HCRO SLB - Lund School Log Book 1874 18 May - Rather thin this morning - some of the girls nursing or helping their mothers to clean for the feast.

1 June Most of the girls absent assisting their mothers to clean for the feast which is to be held on Friday next.

(6) In Birmingham friendly societies held their feasts on Mondays in the 1780s and in 1846 the 'affiliated orders' organised numerous Monday railway excursions. D.Reid 'The Decline of Saint Monday, 1766-1876', Past and Present no.71, 1976 pp.82-83.; The Friday feasts were objected to by the Anglican clergy see p.344.

(7) Beverley Guardian 14/6/1862; Memoir of Joseph Smith ... op.cit., p.203

(8) Drifffield Times 27/6/74. One would like to know a little more about the 1850 Oddfellows anniversary at Market Rasen, Lincolnshire where the 'Principal attraction of which were the two females who headed the procession in an open carriage'. Hull Advertiser 5/7/50

(9) The Rev.F.J.Lundy noted in his diary on 2 June 1851 'Moulton [Lincolnshire] - Divine Service at 11 when I preached to the "Friendly Society" and a more indevout set of people I never saw - not a response, 2 of them drunk - a very unencouraging affair it was. They had some bad music and a worse than lukewarm set they are. I was asked to dine with them but their misconduct disgusted me so much that I would not go.' Mss. diary - typescript in possession of D.Neave 1984; In 1865 the report on Kilham Foresters' feast stated that: 'Immediately after service the members had to repair in haste, in consequence of the too long service at church, to a booth in the yard of the Inn, where a first-class dinner was in waiting...' Drifffield Times 15/7/65.

(10) ibid., 18/6/70.

(11) see p.366-371.

(12) Memoir of Joseph Smith op.cit. p.204

(13) Drifffield Times 13/7/61 - description of Nafferton Shepherds' Feast.

(14) ibid., 15/7/65

(15) Hull Advertiser 13/8/41; A somewhat safer and more recent sport, bicycle racing, was performed at Kilham Foresters' feast in 1870.

Drifffield Times 25/6/70.

(16) Stamford Mercury 8/6/49 quoted in Rex.C.Russell Friendly Societies in the Caistor, Binbrook and Brigg Area in the 19th Century, Nettleton WEA 1975, p.7

(17) Drifffield Times 27/6/74.

(18) HCRO SLB: Lund, Sunk Island, Hayton, Thornton, Pocklington Wesleyan, Market Weighton National, Nafferton National, Nafferton Infants, Londesborough, Nunburnholme. Logbooks still at respective schools: Barmby Moor, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, Eastington, North Newbald, Hutton Cranswick, Middleton on the Wolds, Cherry Burton, Lockington. Logbook in private hands: South Cave Boys School. Hutton Cranswick school was usually closed for the whole week of the club feasts at the end of the century.

(19) HCRO SLB Lund National School Log Book.

(20) W.White, Directory of the East Riding, 1840, p.212

- (21) Hull Advertiser 4/6/52
- (22) ibid., 19/7/39
- (23) Eastern Counties Herald 27/5/69. In 1861 it was noted: 'Tradition preserves the memory of the fair-day, and it is still marked by the presence of a few stalls for the sale of fruits and sweetmeats. Its observance is, however, gradually being transferred to the anniversary of the Odd Fellows' Society, which is held about the same period of the year'. W.S.Cortis, Guide to Filey, Filey, 1861.
- (24) HCRO DDX/216 Robert Sharp's Diary
- (24) E.Anderson, The Sailor, 1811, p.47
- (25) Recording of Mrs.Simson of Hull, September 1980.
- (26) D.Neave(ed.) South Cave, Howden, 1984 reprint, p.22; R.Addison, 'History of Leavening' p.7; Mrs.Gutch Examples of Printed Folk-Lore concerning the East Riding of Yorkshire, London, 1912 pp.151-8.
- (27) Rules: Market Weighton Friendly Society 1794 PRO FS 1/797B; Cottingham Friendly Society 1798 ibid., 1/801; Pocklington Royal Brotherly Society 1806 ibid., 1/805; Articles to be Observed and Kept by the Members of the Benevolent Society ... Brandsburton Hull, 1814. p.12.
- (28) Rules for the regulation of the Union Society ... Howden Howden, 1831 pp.17-18
- (29) HCRO QDC/2/5 Rules of the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society, Beverley, [1850], pp.9-10; Rules and Orders for the Regulation of the Newbald Benefit Society, Beverley, 1850, p.15. Members of Drifffield Union Society in 1836 were to pay 3d. per month to defray expenses of feast day. PRO FS 1/795.
- (30) Keyingham Foresters' Account Book 1838-69.
- (31) Lund Oddfellows Minute Book; Hutton Cranswick Foresters' Minute Book.
- (32) Keyingham Foresters' Account Book; Lund Oddfellows' Contribution Book.
- (33) Middleton Foresters' Minute Book.
- (34) Minute Books: Oddfellows Cranswick and Lund; Foresters Middleton Cranswick and Lockington.
- (35) e.g. Rules: IOOF MU Lund 1858; GUUOF Cottingham 1864; AOF Hutton Cranswick 1906. for full reference see Primary Sources III
- (36) Lund Oddfellows Minute Book; Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows Fine Book; Middleton, Cranswick and Lockington Foresters Minute Book.
- (37) Recording of G.Noble, Pocklington, 1980
- (38) Hull Advertiser 12/6/40, 12/7/50; Yorkshire Gazette 13/7/1872.
- (39) Drifffield Times 23/5/74; ex.inf G.Noble, Pocklington,
- (40) Drifffield Times 8 + 22/7/65
- (41) Hull Advertiser 5/6/1846. I owe this reference to E.Gillett. Two years later the same newspaper reporting the Drifffield Foresters' 10th anniversary noted 'There was no procession, no music, no banners, no sermon, and no parading the streets in fantastic dresses as on former occasions'. ibid. 16/6/48 Drifffield Provident Benefit Society dispensed with 'music's charms' at its anniversary in 1840. ibid. 17/7/1840
- (42) ibid., 28/9/49. In 1845 Brough Foresters' celebrated their anniversary with a steam-boat trip to Goole followed by dinner at the Railway Tavern, Brough the paper making the cryptic comment that 'we are sorry to say the evening's proceedings were not of such a harmonious characters as could have been desired'. ibid., 1/8/45. In January 1879 Lockington Foresters resolved to have a trip to Scarborough and a dinner provided there. On 3 March however this resolution was rescinded and the feast held as usual. Lockington Foresters' Minute Book.
- (43) ibid., 8/7/53.
- (44) ibid., 12/6/40.

(45) Hutton Cranswick AOF Minutes; Hutton Cranswick IOOF Minutes; Cranswick was the only village with two successful affiliated branches, the Foresters and the Oddfellows. They had their feasts in the same week and usually on the same day but their services were in different buildings. In the 1880-90s they sometimes agreed to process together but not always. In 1900 the Foresters refused the Oddfellows' request for a joint anniversary. In 1906, before leaving the parish, the vicar requested that the two clubs hold a joint service as it would be his last opportunity to preach them. The Foresters voted in favour 20 to 6. AOF minutes 1880, 1898, 1906; IOOF minutes 1900, 1903, 1904. For picture of joint procession see plate 3 above; In 1865 Patrington UAOD decided not to hold a club feast. Eastern Morning News 16/6/65 reference from E.Gillett.

(46) Robert Sharp, schoolmaster of South Cave, provides a comprehensive picture of music in an East Riding village in the years 1826-37 in his journal. HCRO DDX/216/ 1 27/6 + 22/12/1829, 13/2/31, 2/1/32, 29/3/37.

(47) A.R.Taylor Brass Bands, Granada, 1979; J.F.Russell and J.H.Elliot The Brass Band Movement, London, 1936. Links with friendly societies are only incidentally mentioned in J.L.Scott, 'The evolution of the brass band and its repertoire in Northern England', unpublished Ph.D. thesis Sheffield 1970, e.g. pp.5, 127, 143, 179, 183. Surprisingly no mention is made of the affiliated orders in David Russell 'The popular musical societies of the Yorkshire textile district 1850-1914', unpublished Ph.D. thesis York 1980 in which he records 242 brass bands. At least four had their origin in a church or chapel, four in a political society or trade union, twelve in a temperance organisation and forty in a factory or other place of work, p.94 Table 9, and Appendix 1(b). Was the West Riding, an area teeming in friendly society lodges and courts, that different from the East Riding? See also Dave Russell 'Popular musical culture and popular politics in the Yorkshire textile districts, 1880-1914' in J.K.Walton and J.Walvin (eds.), Leisure in Britain 1780-1939, Manchester University Press, 1983, pp.99-116.

(48) C.Weir Village and Town Bands, Shire Books, Princes Risborough, 1981, pp.3-5

(49) J.Moffatt History of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons No.294. Beverley [1968], pp.20,22,+ 24

(50) E.P.Thompson The Making of the English Working Class, Penguin edition, 1968, pp.465-7, 744-8; E.A.Smith 'The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807', Northern History, Vol.II, 1967, p.72.; J.Markham, Nineteenth-Century Parliamentary Elections in East Yorkshire East Yorkshire Local History Series 37, 1982, p.28; A.R.Taylor, op.cit., pp.23-24; J.L.Scott, thesis, pp.5,15-17,127,179, 183-4.

(51) Hull Advertiser 19 July 1794. In Hull in 1788 5 November was celebrated with a procession through the principal streets by 1500 members of various friendly societies 'preceded by their respective Banners, and accompanied with music' P.Davis, The Old Friendly Societies of Hull, Hull, 1926, pp.4-5

(52) B.Bushaway, By rite, p.40

(53) HCRO PR 984 Gt.Driffield Churchwarden's accounts 1818-69.

(54) J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.6

(55) A.R.Taylor Brass Bands, Granada, 1979, p.17. Church orchestras consisted of a mixture of string, wind and brass instruments. Holme-on-Spalding Moor church orchestra in the early 19th century consisted of 'one big bass fiddle played by Henry Johnstone, a shopkeeper near the pump, and a few smaller brass instruments'. Kirby Underdale church had a string band of considerable local fame, and at Barmby Moor the congregation were accompanied by a bass viol, horn, clarinet, flute and fiddle. D.Neave, Notes on the History of the Church

and Parish of Holme-on-Spalding Moor, 1970, p.[3]; W.R.Shepherd, History of Kirby Underdale, 1928, p.42; W.D.Wood Rees History of Barmby Moor, 1911, p.40. The use of instruments purchased for the church orchestra was sometimes restricted and they might not be available for town and village bands. Lund churchwardens' accounts record that the clarinet purchased in 1832 'should be kept solely for use during divine service in the Church'. HCRO PR 2003 Lund Churchwardens' accounts 1808-67.

(56) A.Howkins Whitsun, p.30'

(57) Reports in Hull Advertiser, Yorkshire Gazette, Driffield Times, Beverley Guardian, Malton Messenger, Eastern Counties Herald, and Scarborough Mercury.

(58) E.Jackson, 'The Origin and Promotion of Brass Band Contests', Musical Opinion, no.228 September 1896, pp.814-815 and no.230 November 1896, pp.101-02.

(59) A.R.Taylor, op.cit., p.25; W.H.Chaloner 'The Reminiscences of Thomas Dunning (1813-94)' Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society vol.lix, 1947, p.129. Dunning was an active member of the Ancient Order of Foresters at the time.

(60) Hull Advertiser 6 July 1838; York Courant 7 July 1838

(61) D.Russell, thesis, p.183

(62) Hull Advertiser 6 + 13/7/38, 5/4/39, 24 + 31/5/39, 29/11/39, 20/6/40, 4/7/45, 18/6/62; Yorkshire Gazette 25/5/39; Beverley Guardian 30/7/59, 15 + 29/6/61; Driffield Times 22/6/61; Malton Messenger 5/7/56.

(63) Malton Gazette 18/7/1868. The lodge was founded at Norton, East Riding, in 1861.

(64) Hutton Cranswick Forester's Minute Book 1839-63. The drum was used at Nafferton Club Feast in 1841.

(65) *ibid.*; The Cranswick Brass Band later rehearsed in the Foresters' Hall and until recently its long disused instruments were still under the stage in the Hall. ex.inf. WEA Class Hutton Cranswick 1978

(66) Yorkshire Gazette 22/6/39; Hull Advertiser 8/5 + 12/6/40; 30/7/41; 20/5/42; 14/7/43; 31/5/44; Cranswick, Lockington and Middleton Foresters' minute books.

(67) Mss.Diary of Rev.F.J. Lundy 1851 typescript copy in hands of D.Neave 1984. The Langtoft band was still being employed at feasts as far away as Scarborough and Weaverthorpe in 1860. (Driffield Times 7/7/60; Scarborough Gazette 2/6/60.) The band was involved in a 'ran-tanning' in Langtoft in 1861. (Hull Advertiser 11/5/1861)

(68) Beverley Guardian 22/6/61; Cranswick and Lockington Foresters' and Lund Oddfellows' minute books.

(69) *ibid.*; Driffield Times 1, 8 + 15/7/65; 13 + 27/6/74; 5/6 + 3/7/75; Eastern Counties Herald 8/7/69. It appeared at at least six feasts in June 1874.

(70) Hull Advertiser 30/8/62; Beverley Guardian 6 + 30/7/59, 27/5/65; Malton Messenger 19/7/56; Eastern Counties Herald 7/3/72; Brass band concerts were not as common in the East Riding as they were in West Yorkshire and rivalry seems to have been mainly confined to being chosen to play at a club feast.

(71) HCRO PR 1691 'Annals of the parish of Thixendale 1868-1911'

(72) quoted in A.R.Taylor, op.cit., p.18

(73) see below p. 370

(74) Parish Magazine Union Vol.35, 1912.

(75) Driffield and Buckrose Mail 28/6/28 + 20/6/29.

(76) *ibid.*, 23/6/27

(77) E.Corrigan, Ups and Downs and Roundabouts, Driffield, 1973, pp.50-53

(78) ex.inf. Mr.David Byass, Bainton 1980

(79) Middleton Foresters Minute Book 1912-62; The last feast parade was in June 1939 when the banner was last used. ex.inf. Mr.Lazenby, AOF Court Secretary, Middleton 25/2/1980. The fair appears to have been at Middleton on the feast day in 1946. E.Corrigan, op.cit., p.100

(80) e.g. in 1979

Middleton-on-the-Wolds FORESTERS

The Officers and Members intend celebrating their 93rd

ANNIVERSARY

ON

FRIDAY, JUNE 12th, 1936.

The Lodge will open at 9 a m to admit New Members, 15 to 35 years of age; Juveniles 4 to 14 years of age; and transact other business Members to be before the Court at 10 a.m. to answer to their names and receive Dinner Ticket, after which

A PROCESSION will be formed, headed by the

NAFFERTON UNITED SILVER BAND

And proceed to the PARISH CHURCH, where a SERMON will be preached by

REV. T. H. TARDREW,

Vicar of St. Mary's Beverley.

Divine Service to commence at 11 o'clock.

DINNER

Will be provided by Host P. Dove, in the Village Hall, at ONE o'clock

DR. CLEMENTS will preside, supported by Rev. T. H. TARDREW, Rev. R. A. LOTEN, Mr. W. S. TEMPLE, J.P., C.C., Mr. S. G. HOGARTH, Mr. J. W. PARRATT, and others.

All Members present and residing within Three Miles of the Lodge, must walk in all the Processions, and attend Divine Service. Any Member not complying with this Rule will be fined 1/-, unless a satisfactory reason can be given. Tickets can be obtained from J. STERRIKER, Chief Ranger; J. DUNN, Treasurer; W. ABBOTT, Secretary.

Printed by E. Whitaker, Driffield Times, Driffield

Fig. 18 : Middleton-on-the-Wolds Foresters' Feast Day poster 1936
compare with fig. 3 above re Hedon AOF feast in 1840

Chapter 8

CRITICISM AND CONTROL

Drawing largely on newspaper reports of village club anniversaries recent writers have been at pains to portray the feast day as an example of increasing social control of the working class. Cunningham has called them 'occasions patronised and controlled by the wealthy and participated in by a deferential populace', and Obelkevich has stressed the self-discipline and deference exhibited by the the society members on the day; the orderly processions, moderate drinking, and close involvement of the clergy and farmers all proclaimed their virtue and loyalty. Even 'when they begged contributions from the gentry and farmers they reverted to a comfortingly traditional relationship of paternalism and dependence'.(1) In his study of Whitsun festivities in nineteenth century Oxfordshire Howkins claims that friendly societies were the decisive influence in 'replacing the wildness of the early years of the century with sobriety and order'.(2)

Club day represents the increasing penetration of the moral values established among the middle and upper classes by the 'reformation of manners' into the lives of the poor and shows that even by the mid-nineteenth century the process of incorporation had gone a long way. Moreover, it provides an illustration of how that incorporation was carried out. Many of the clubs, even the Affiliated Orders, were completely dominated by the local gentry and clergy.(3)

Howkins' writings on friendly societies reverberate with words such as 'control', 'domination', 'taking-over', 'taming', 'reformation', 'organized', and 'monopolized' when discussing the involvement of clergy and gentry.(4) How real was this control and domination? Undoubtedly such positions were sought but how often obtained? This chapter

examines the issues that brought the affiliated orders into conflict with clergy and others and, in the light of evidence from the East Riding, rejects the picture of clerical and gentry dominated societies.

Club feasts in themselves were often far from being occasions of 'rational enjoyment'. They may have had orderly processions and modern sideshows and attractions but even in the later 19th century they were not as the Yeos have suggested 'neutered into swings and roundabouts'.(5) Much to the regret of many, including friendly society members and officers, they still exhibited scenes of drunkenness, immorality, and brutality.(6) The most active critics of the societies and their feast days were Anglican clergy. A correspondent to the Anglican newspaper The Guardian in 1862 commented:

All who are familiar with Friendly Societies know very well that they mean a great deal more than the mere payment of certain premiums and the reception, in time of need, of certain equivalent benefits. They know that they are clubs in another sense of the word also. The name is associated in their minds with bands and banners, and processions with scarfs and rosettes, with public-house dinners, and all their natural concomitants. Too often the Club-day in a village means a day of rioting and drunkenness; a day on which respectable people shut up their houses and keep indoors, or take the opportunity of paying a visit to friends at a distance. (7)

The letter goes on to say that although some feast days have 'been seized by an energetic clergyman, and turned into occasions of rational and Christian relaxation' the anniversaries of the affiliated orders with their 'quaint costume, the hieroglyphic banners and long files of members' have defied such personal influence.

The excesses of the feast day were only experienced once a year but there were other aspects of the management and organisation of the friendly societies, particularly the affiliated orders, that provoked hostility; public house meetings and the ritual and regalia exhibited at the funeral of a member.

Public house meetings

The most vigorous and prolonged criticism levelled at both local and affiliated societies concerned their close association with public houses. Critics focussed on both the actual expenditure on drink at club meetings and the way that intemperance was encouraged through requiring men to visit public houses monthly. The committee on intemperance set up by the Convocation of York clearly saw benefit-club meetings on licenced premises as a major cause of drunkenness. Numerous clergy testified to this claiming it as 'the great cause of village intemperance', and that it had 'made drunkards of some of the otherwise noblest spirits'. One cleric reported:

I have, in six years, attended the death-beds of, I think, seven men, whose deaths were caused by drink, and their drinking habits mainly by their clubs.

and another:

In this parish a club is held in a Beer-House fortnightly. Many men who have ostensibly gone to their club, leave the house in a state of intoxication. A short time ago a man was sent to prison as the direct result of attending this club.(8)

The report called for a law to be passed forbidding the holding of benefit societies at public houses, such a proposal being backed by 87% of the 83 magistrates questioned.(9)

Until the twentieth century however the public house was the meeting place for 'the club' and the society which held its meetings elsewhere was the exception. Nine out of every ten friendly societies in Middlesex in 1845 met in public houses and only one of the 85 registered societies in Kentish London between 1855 and 1870 did not. In 1850 352 (96%) out of 366 Foresters' courts in Yorkshire met in pubs and in Lincolnshire 126 (96%) out of 131.(10) Similarly in the case of the East Riding 96%

of all clubs founded before 1850, for which we have an initial meeting place, met in a public house. Of the 149 clubs only six met elsewhere: two in private houses, two in chapel schoolrooms, one in a village schoolroom and one in a church.(11)

Table 72 : Initial meeting places of East Riding friendly societies

Date founded	Meeting at public house		Meeting elsewhere	Total
	No.	%		
Before 1832	26	96	1	27
1832 - 1849	117	96	5	122
1850 - 1874	52	85	9	61
1875 - 1900	9	56	7	16
After 1900	0	0	23	23
Total	204	82	45	249

Source: see appendix 1

Thirteen of the friendly societies established after 1900 were branches of the teetotal Order of the Sons of Temperance and it is not surprising to find that they were meeting in Primitive and Wesleyan schoolrooms, temperance halls, a band room and a cafe.(12)

The society which met in a church was the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society founded in 1789 which had the following explanation in its rule book:

It is a practice on some occasions very improperly, to hold meetings in the evening at public-houses, where expense is incurred, riot encouraged, and the purpose of the meeting most shamefully subverted; it is therefore determined, that all meetings of this Society shall be held in the Parish Church at Etton, on a Sunday morning, at an early hour before the time of divine service ... at which meeting no expense can be incurred, but where, from respect to the place, there is good reason to hope order and regularity will be observed, and general benevolence, good neighbourhood and friendly intercourse promoted, so grateful in the eye of the Almighty.(13)

The expense incurred referred to was expense on drink and many local

societies did allocate part of a member's monthly contribution to be spent in this way. One hostile commentator went as far as to claim that:

It is a rule in most of the benefit societies to apportion to every member a certain amount of drink on each meeting night for the so-called 'good of the house' and when it happens, as is frequently the case, that a very large proportion of the members are absent, the liquor has to be consumed by the few who may be present. The result is, in many cases, helpless intoxication; and in some instances loss of life from excess.(14)

This is clearly an exaggeration but the rules of a number of East Riding local societies in the late 18th and early 19th centuries allow for part of the monthly contribution, ranging from a penny to threepence, to be spent on drink but none specifically state that it must be spent on the night irrespective of the presence of the member.(15) A number of the societies included a clause to deal with absent members' drink contributions. Patrington Amicable Society in 1822 declared that 'when a member is absent, his three-pence shall be kept by John Escreet, [the landlord], till he is present, when it shall be spent by himself'. The Brandesburton Benevolent Society, 1814, Drifffield Union Society, 1794, and Nafferton United Society, 1814, all retained the drink money of absent members for feast day expences, while in the case of Hunmanby Amicable Society it went to the general stock of the society. The three-pences of absent members of South Cave Friendly Society, 1802, went for the relief of members who were sick lame or blind.(16)

The anonymous author of a circular calling for a reform of abuses in the running of Brandesburton Friendly Society in 1832 stated:

The threepence per month must no longer be wasted in drinking, (as ordered by the Rules of the Society). Every Member, for the future, must keep his own money to spend when and where he chooses, or let the

monthly threepences be added to strengthen the stock of the Society, and not the hands of one particular Innholder as hitherto.

The Meetings of the Society must be held at some private house, and not at public houses, for landlords are monopolizers of the benefits of most societies, for the sum monthly drunk is not trifling, and the amount of the week of feasting is enormous.(17)

The hosting of the anniversary dinner was seemingly much sought after by publicans and in old established societies it was rotated amongst publican members. The Etton Amicable and Friendly Society rules in 1827 state that 'this Society shall have an Annual Feast on the last Wednesday in May, at different towns, at the houses of the respective innkeepers as they entered by rotation'.(18)

At a meeting of South Cave Friendly Society in 1831 the monthly meetings and feasts were restricted to those publicans who were old established benefit members. The clerk, Robert Sharp, commented in his journal:

Last night was the Club night, there was a sort of revolution, they will not have any longer any Publican as Free Members merely for the purpose of having the feast and meetings at their houses, but those Publicans who are members are to have the Box, yearly in rotation beginning with the eldest member, which is Matty Pickering.(19)

The feast day of a flourishing society could be of great financial benefit to the host and in consequence some publicans were prepared to forgo receiving a rent for the club room for monthly meetings. At Long Riston in 1867 the Oddfellows agreed to pay a rent of £2 15s a year for the use of a chamber over the Traveller's Rest Inn, 'except we have an anniversary then is the Host only to have 2s 6d'.(20) The rents paid by Hull courts varied widely, Court Angel AOF paid £1 5s per annum including lighting, cleaning and rent in 1838, and Court Foresters' Home

AOF £3 10s including fire and gas in 1848.(21) At Lund the Oddfellows' lodge did not at first pay any rent but in October 1842 at the request of the innkeeper, a founder member, it was agreed to pay £1 6s a year for the room backdated to the opening in 1839.(22)

In 1859 Charles Hardwick was of the opinion that in reality publicans did not greatly benefit from having clubs rent-free on their premises and he cited the case of five IOOF MU lodges in the Preston district which in a two year period 'were compelled to remove to other houses, because the landlords' profits were not sufficient to cover the expenses of lighting and cleaning the rooms'.(23) On the other hand a speaker in Hull in 1848 stated that the real name of the Oddfellows should be the 'Licensed Victuallers' Benefit Society', and a magistrate suggested that if friendly society meetings ceased to be held in public houses then 'in twelve months one half of them would be "to let"'.(24)

Irrespective of the activities of publicans in promoting friendly societies, discussed in an earlier chapter, it was inevitable that working-class organisations would meet in a public house. Where else could they meet ? Lawson writing of Pudsey in the 1830s recalled:

There were only two places to go in spending spare time away from one's own house - church chapel or alehouse; the former were seldom open, while the latter was seldom closed. The first was not attractive, ... the second was made what was thought at that day attractive....The ale-house in Pudsey was once a better index of the manners, customs, sports and pastimes, than now - because nearly all the male population went there, more or less. People went there because they had nowhere to go for society. Whatever took place then came off at the ale-house ... (25)

The inn more often than not could provide the only room of any size for a public gathering in town or village. In the town in the late 18th century the inn was the scene of meetings of enclosure commissioners, turnpike and navigation trustees, justices of the peace, associations

for the prosecution of felons, and masonic lodges and in the village the inn hosted manor court and vestry meetings. The inn therefore was the natural meeting place for both the old local friendly societies and the new affiliated orders, as well as Swing rioters and Chartists in the 1830s and trade unionists throughout the century.(26)

In rural communities the alehouse clearly had greater attractions than the cold drink-less church or the often uncomfortable surroundings of the home. The Rev. John Eddowes, vicar of Garton-on-the-Wolds, when writing on the life style of the East Yorkshire agricultural labourer contrasted 'the dirty, untidy, comfortless' cottage with the 'well-lighted and more cheerful apartment at the public-house' and pictured him 'Instead of going to his own cheerless home, he has preferred joining the thoughtless and light-hearted ones who are gathered around the blazing hearth at the village alehouse'.(27) These words were echoed by Lord Snell in condemning drunkenness in mid-19th century villages:

One explanation of this harmful habit was that the public-house offered to the men back from the lonely fields and hedgerows the human fellowship for which their souls craved, and if some of them abused the opportunities that the public houses afforded, and went either slowly, or headlong, to the devil, it was because the devil alone appeared to want them.(28)

Public house meetings and their supposed encouragement of drunkenness aroused criticism of friendly societies from the respectable classes generally but the elaborate display of ritual and regalia and the reading of orations at members' funerals brought the affiliated orders into particular conflict with church and chapel.

Funerals

The funerals of friendly society members in the 1830s-40s were major events with hundreds and sometimes thousands of spectators turning up to watch. The working man who joined a branch of the affiliated orders would no longer receive a pauper funeral but instead one lavish enough for a peer. Men whose funerals would have gone unnoticed received wide coverage in the local press and affiliated order journals.

On Sunday last the first funeral of an Ancient Forester in this part of the country took place in the churchyard at Little Reaston [Ruston Parva] where about 200 of the brotherhood belonging to the different courts in the neighbourhood attended to see the internment of the remains. Not less than 1000 spectators flocked from the neighbouring villages to witness the procession which was ably conducted, and the funeral oration delivered in a most solemn and impressive manner by B.P.Hall of Court Kingston, Hull. Several appropriate hymns were sung, accompanied with three trumpets. The deceased was a shoe-maker by trade, and only in the twenty second year of his age, and much respected by all who knew him.(29)

[Death] At Bridlington on 30th of March [1841] Brother Robert Frankish aged 55 years, of Teetotalers Refuge Tent no.97. His remains were followed to the grave by the Brethren in procession wearing the sash of the Tent, (of white silk) and crape rosettes, two appropriate verses were sung at the door of the house, and at the grave those beautiful lines commencing, 'Swiftly our moments pass away'. It being the first general funeral procession we [Rechabites] have had great interest was excited. It was calculated that not less than four thousand persons, were assembled to witness the solemn scene and supposed to be the greatest number known to have attended a funeral in this place.(30)

In December 1840 the body of a twenty-three year old Oddfellow was accompanied by over 600 people for the four miles from North Frodingham to Skipsea. Many villagers were attracted by the 'novel and imposing spectacle' as the long procession moved along with members dressed 'in their funeral costumes of white aprons and white gloves and black

sashes'.(31) Other reports record 800 at an Oddfellow's funeral in Hull, 4000 watching a Forester's funeral in the same city, 1000 attending the funeral of a Howden publican who was a member of the Oddfellows, Foresters and Shepherds, and the procession and burial of an Oddfellow at Bridlington 'attracted such a concourse of persons as, perhaps, has but rarely, if ever, been exceeded at a funeral in Bridlington within the memory of man'.(32)

Rule books of the affiliated orders frequently contain instructions concerning members' funerals which partially explain the attendance and attraction of the events. The following occur in the bye-laws of the Loyal Norcliffe Benevolence Lodge of Ancient Shepherds at Langton:

VI. That any Brother residing within Three Miles of Langton neglecting to attend the funeral of a Brother belonging to the Norcliffe Benevolence Lodge, shall be fined One Shilling, except he be on the Sick Book.

VII. That at the Decease of a Brother the W.M. [Worshipful Master] shall appoint Two Mutes, Pall Bearers, &c., to attend at a specified time, those not attending at the time shall be fined Sixpence.(33)

By the rules of Long Riston IOOF MU lodge a member's widow or relative was to receive £12 on his death 'towards his funeral expenses' and if there was no proper representative to receive the funeral money then 'steps shall be taken to pay the legitimate expenses of the funeral, and the balance to be retained until the next meeting of the lodge'. The officers and members were to be closely involved with the funeral:

The Secretary of the Lodge shall, on receiving notice of the death of a member, call together the officers and committee of the Lodge, and if agreeable to the relatives of the deceased they shall arrange for following his remains to the grave.

That every member shall be requested to attend the funeral of a deceased brother within the distance of three miles from the house where the Lodge is then held, if the funeral take place on a Sabbath Day; and any member being intoxicated in the procession to be fined five shillings, or guilty of any other disgraceful conduct to be fined one shilling.

That in all processions three Past Grands shall act as conductors, and shall each carry a proper staff or wand; and before any procession moves on from the place of meeting, the fines imposed for intoxication or any disorderly conduct, shall be read by the N.G. [Noble Grand], or one of the conductors, to the members then assembled.(34)

The Foresters' Court at Keyingham had similar rules relating to attendance and behaviour but with additional information on regalia and duties of officers:

When any member of this court dies, his friends must immediately send a written notice of his decease, stating when and where he died, and when and where he is to be interred, to the chief ranger of this court, when the members of the same, residing within six miles, shall be summoned to attend the funeral, should it take place on a Sunday. If it take place on a week-day, the officers shall attend, or be fined one shilling each. The officers shall be allowed two shillings each for attending the funeral, if within three miles of the court; but if above that distance, fourpence for every additional mile (within six miles) shall be allowed. To be paid out of the management fund.

The members who officiate at the deceased member's house and at the grave, shall each wear a black sash. The two mutes shall have proper staves, with crape and ribbon to the same. The inner and outer beadles of the court shall be appointed as mutes, and shall attend at the deceased member's house a quarter of an hour before the time of leaving. Any member attending a funeral procession intoxicated, smoking, acting in any disorderly manner, or refusing to obey the conductors, shall be fined two shillings and sixpence.(35)

The features of an affiliated order funeral that incensed Anglican clergy are fully described in a report of the funeral of an Oddfellow at Louth, Lincolnshire in 1846. A procession of 140 Oddfellows wearing their 'usual paraphernalia' were headed by two men carrying large naked

swords, followed by another carrying an open bible with an hour glass on the book. The coffin was draped with the deceased's sash and apron. After the church service 'an 'Odd fellow' (a Methodist local preacher) read a short address: two verses of a hymn were sung, the sentiment in unison with the address; and the ceremony ended by each 'odd fellow' throwing into the grave a sprig of thyme.'(36)

The paganism of the regalia and the 'illegality' of the funeral oration were major reasons why certain clergy tried to prevent such scenes occurring. In February 1833 a large number of Oddfellows attended the funeral of a member at Christ Church, Woodhouse, near Huddersfield, West Riding. After the burial the clergyman addressed the assembled Oddfellows as follows:

Now my Brethren! as you stand here, I have a few words to say to all of you. You may think, because I have interred this man, I have done my duty; but as a minister of Christ, I cannot allow this occasion to pass without saying something to you. I intend to give you a short lecture, and then turn my back on you for ever. I care not for you - I dare tell you so. What do you mean, by coming here with your badges, collecting a multitude of people, breaking the Sabbath, and keeping thousands from a place of worship? - is it not abominable? I care not for your badges - they are emblems of wickedness; and you are worse than devils or infidels; and if you do not forsake your badges, you will not only go down to the grave as this man has done, but you will sink to hell eternal You are a disgrace to society - a scandal to the country you live in! Go to the heathen, and he will teach you a lesson! Ever since I have known anything of you this has been my opinion, and shall ever remain so.(37)

In 1841 the Archdeacon of Durham called on clergy and churchwardens to prevent the Oddfellows from using their prayers and orations which savoured more of Deism than of the Christian faith, and showed a 'contempt of our holy office, and the desecration of our holy places.'(38)

A number of clergy did act in this way. In 1846 the vicar of Market Weighton refused to allow the oration to be read over the grave.(39) At

Weston, near Spalding, Lincolnshire, the Rev. Edward Moore demanded that the churchyard should be cleared of 'such people' when he found the Foresters reading an address over the grave of one of their members. Other Lincolnshire clergy were more circumspect and sought the advice of their bishop. The correspondence of Bishop Kaye of Lincoln reveals that many of his clergy were worried by the actions of the affiliated orders. In 1839 the vicar of Welton, Lincs., on coming across the funeral oration in the rules of a Foresters' court stated to the members that 'Those who made such a rule ought to have known, that it is contrary to the ecclesiastical law of this Kingdom for any one but the Clergymen to perform any rite or ceremony over the dead in the Church or Church yard'. The vicar of Kirton Lindsey 'doubtful of the legality of the proceeding' requested that the oration might be omitted or read outside the churchyard wall and then with the consent and co-operation of the Foresters' court approached the bishop for advice. The bishop's reply to his clergy was that there was no objection to the oration being read as long as it was done after the funeral service had been finished and the clergyman had left the churchyard. Mr. Peel of Willingham and the Rev. George Atkinson of Stow felt however 'that to permit their address to be read, would pave the way for addresses from the sectaries in our parishes, who have indeed been troublesome in some places in regard to the singing of their hymns at the grave'.(40)

Nonconformists were not necessarily any happier with the ritual and regalia of affiliated order funerals. In 1841 when the hearse with the body of an Oddfellow was already at York Cemetery the officiant, the minister of Salem Chapel, 'in consequence of some scruples he had' refused at the last moment to conduct the service. A local Anglican clergyman was applied to and he consented to carry out the ceremony.(41)

Antagonism to various practices of the affiliated orders was just as prevalent amongst the Methodist hierarchy as amongst Anglican clergy in the 1830s and 40s and if anything the opposition was more virulent.

Ungodly associations - Methodist attitudes to the affiliated orders

Great concern over the activities of the 'secret orders' was expressed in the Methodist Magazine as early as 1813 when it printed a letter from the Rev. Jacob Stanley of Dudley and an address delivered in Staffordshire in 1811. In it are attacked the 'heathenish' associations known by the names of 'Druids, Loyal Britons, Nelsonics, Friendly Odds, and Odd Fellows, &c':

all are intended to promote alehouse conviviality, to revive ancient heathenism, and to plunge those who live in the nineteenth century into all the ignorance and barbarism of Pagan Britain, when Druids were priests, and Demons were objects of religious worship ... It is deeply to be lamented, that several members of religious societies have, from a hope of temporal gain, entered these, to their own injury, and to the great dishonour of religion ... our preachers ... excluded all those persons from their societies who belonged to those lodges. Many dissenting ministers have done the same ...

... Who could have thought that Christian men would have been so much in love with ancient Druids ... as ... to imitate their appearance ... ? And who could have imagined that any of my plain, poor brethren, would have been so fascinated with the charms of greatness, as to throw away their hard-earned money upon medals, scarfs, and robes, somewhat resembling the vestments of heathen priests ...?(42)

At the Wesleyan Methodist Conference at Leeds in 1830 considerable discussion took place on the injury that had been sustained in Manchester, Huddersfield, Wednesbury, Dudley, and elsewhere by 'so many of our people having joined the Independent Order of Oddfellows'. Disquiet was voiced not just because of the convivial and secret nature

of the societies but because 'some friendly societies had during the Luddite agitation been foci of a revolutionary propagandism, through which some of our people had been involved in criminal and fatal enterprises'. Some ministers had successfully persuaded members to leave the orders but others had resorted to expulsion from the Methodist society. A certain Mr. Bromley however asked to have produced the authority by which membership in such societies had been condemned. 'No answer was forthcoming'.(43)

The great expansion of the orders in the late 1830s naturally saw increasing numbers of Methodists, both ordinary members and local preachers, joining the Oddfellows, Foresters and other orders and a letter published in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine of 1841 called for action to be taken to form, in connection with the church, alternative benefit societies 'on unobjectionable principles'. The letter from J.E. Moulton of North Shields was published under the title of 'Ungodly associations exposed'. Moulton suggested that Stanley's address of 1811 should be reprinted because although some of 'the more revolting improprieties have been suppressed,... still there is much connected with them that is decidedly wrong'. He condemns the ritual, public house meetings, and song-singing but even if these were done away with the main evil would remain - 'the association of religious people on terms of intimacy and friendship with persons destitute of religion'.(44) In the same year two ministers of the Methodist New Connexion questioned the propriety of Christians joining any type of benefit society because it was improper 'to lay aside any thing with the view of availing themselves of it in any future time of need'. Their strictures delivered in lectures on the use of money were based on Matthew, vi., 19-21:

The principle endeavoured to be established throughout, is, that out of their respective earnings, "the mechanic must only save sufficient to

procure him the necessary implements of his calling; the tradesman sufficient to form a capital wherewith to conduct his business; and the husbandman must save from the proceeds of one year's harvest enough to procure seed from which to raise the next year's crop." Beyond this nothing is to be laid aside, and the surplus is to be devoted according to certain directions laid down, which are, in fact, to provide for those in need, first, who are Christians - and then for all men generally.(45)

Such views had few followers and there also was only limited expansion of Methodist friendly societies. Rex Russell has found information on Wesleyan benefit societies at Boston, founded 1823, Horncastle, founded 1838, Lincoln, 1839, and Grantham, 1844.(46) From the strongly Methodist county of the East Riding only three denominational benefit societies are known and none had a long life; Howden Wesleyan Benefit Society, established 1843, dissolved 1859, and two branches of the Belper Primitive Methodist Local Preachers Provident Institute, at North Frodingham, which lasted 1856-73, and Bridlington of which there is no record after it was founded in 1857. The Frodingham society, which was called the Driffield branch, never had more than 27 members or £34 in funds.(47)

It is likely that the founders of the Howden society were directly inspired by Moulton's article for their rules contain the following passage:

Benevolence and the kindly offices of humanity, should certainly be manifested towards all, but to enter voluntarily into promiscuous social intercourse is highly dangerous both to the piety and morals of those who fear and obey God. And to avoid which whilst in pursuit of temporal aid in a time of sickness, is not an inferior contemplation of this Rule of the Society. This caution is also heightened by the consideration of the drinking customs of some of the Clubs now in existence on their anniversary days and club nights as well as by their song-singing and revelry, the parade of flags and banners bands of music grotesque figures, peculiar customs, mysterious devices, and the like, all of which are opposed to godly simplicity and

sincerity.(48)

This attitude to the affiliated orders was not seemingly supported by village Methodists in the East Riding for they showed no reticence in joining the Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids and other orders. Reference above has been made to William Petch, wheelwright, secretary of Lund IOOF MU 1860-93 who was Primitive Methodist chapel steward, trustee, class leader and local preacher, at Middleton; to William Duke, shoemaker, successively trustee of Lund and Cranswick IOOF MU lodges and Primitive Methodist local preacher; to Richard Westmorland, shoemaker of Keyingham, trustee of Foresters' court and local preacher, class leader and chapel steward for some 50 years of the Primitive Methodist chapel; to Henry Clark, shoemaker of Keyingham, trustee of AOF court and Wesleyan local preacher; to Charles Edwin Foster, vice-grand of Seaton Oddfellows, superintendent of Wesleyan Sunday school; Singleton Bowes, blacksmith, Primitive Methodist and Chief Ranger of Cranswick AOF court for 25 years; and James Myers of Hornsea, gardener Arch Druid of Hornsea Druids, Primitive Methodist local preacher and Sunday school superintendent.(49)

Many others can be cited. In the case of Hutton Cranswick Foresters in the years 1883-1898 the following Primitive Methodists held office: Marmaduke Simpson, agricultural labourer, Sub-Chief Ranger [SCR] and senior beadle; S. Moody, agricultural labourer, SCR; Robert Moody, agricultural labourer, secretary; Robson Summerson, joiner junior woodward and assistant secretary; E. Farrow and R. Davy, agricultural labourers and senior beadles; and Henry Nicholson, tea dealer, Primitive Methodist local preacher and senior beadle.(50) At Lund, a village described as not having a 'real Churchman' amongst the whole population, numerous examples can be found of Methodists amongst the officers of the Oddfellows' lodge, Wesleyans such as George Waites, labourer, trustee,

Wilson Ward, Noble Grand on four occasions; William Ward, Noble Grand in 1862 and Primitive Methodists like Thomas Cass, Noble Grand 1858 and 1861, and Thomas Cross, secretary and Vice Grand.(51) At Keyingham a search through the Primitive Methodist baptism register has shown that at least 26 Foresters had children baptised there. Amongst the Primitive Methodist members of the Foresters were Richard Andrew, blacksmith, trustee and manager of Burstwick chapel; from Keyingham, Robert Gray, labourer, society steward; Herbert Seymour, 50 years society steward and 60 years a class leader; John Coupland, tailor, trustee of the chapel; Hezekiah Gray, local preacher, and Charles Eastwood of Ottringham, 50 years a lay preacher.(52)

The religious sympathies of the members of lodges and courts are on occasions shown by to what bodies they lent money and it was not uncommon for mortgages to be taken out on nonconformist chapels. At Cranswick money was lent by the Foresters to the Baptist chapel of which John Hodgson, tailor and 18 times Chief Ranger 1847-61, was steward.(53) Lund Oddfellows lent £135 to Lund Primitive Methodist chapel and £120 to Middleton Primitive Methodist chapel, the steward of the latter, William Petch, being secretary of the Oddfellows.(54) These two sums were recalled by 31 December 1879 and therefore it is not surprising to discover that in February 1880 Middleton Foresters were lending £120 to their village Primitive Methodist chapel.(55) Elloughton Oddfellows' lodge was particularly active in this field making loans totalling over a £1000 to the following Primitive Methodist chapels in the 1870s: Elloughton, Newbald, Spring Bank, Fountain Road and Lincoln Street, the last three being in Hull. This lodge had close links for many years with the Primitives at Elloughton; its hall was built on land adjoining the chapel and it frequently let it out for Primitive Methodist events. John Scrowston an Oddfellow from 1887 was long serving steward of the chapel

and secretary of the lodge for at least 25 years from 1911.(56)

This strong Methodist orientation is one of the most important factors which handicapped the Anglican clergy when they endeavoured to influence or control the village clubs. Anglican clergy had a long history of interest, in and involvement with, friendly societies but their attitudes to them underwent major changes in the mid and late nineteenth century.

Anglican clergy and friendly societies

On the wall of the chancel of Market Weighton parish church is a fine marble monument in memory of the Rev. George Skelding, vicar 1774-1819, which records that he was:

For 23 years the zealous Patron of the Weighton Friendly Society, the members of which unanimously voted this Humble tablet as a token of their sincere gratitude and respect.

Skelding was typical of many of his fellow market town incumbents with his involvement with a local friendly society. Richard Allen, vicar of Great and Little Driffield, 1798-1833, was a trustee of Driffield Union Society, and Thomas Guy, vicar of Howden, was a free member of both the Union and Friendly societies, and a committee member of the latter.(57) It is probable that this involvement was more due to their secular standing than their religious position. The small towns were all places with modest ecclesiastical livings, 'utterly insufficient for the maintenance of a gentleman and his family', and the resident clergy serving these parishes had similar educational and social backgrounds to

the farmers, tradesmen and professional classes who often played a leading part in the management of the friendly societies.(58) Higher ranking clergy subscribed to societies as did the landed gentry but few played any executive role. At South Cave Daniel Garnons, vicar 1783-1817, President of the Friendly Society, and antagonist of the Barnard family, chief landowners and patrons of the living, was succeeded by the squire's brother, the non-resident Edward Barnard, who confined his involvement with the friendly society to annual subscriptions of one guinea.(59) Barnard's father-in-law, Francis Wrangham, rector of Hunmanby, 1795-1840, was the East Riding's most socially aware incumbent in the early nineteenth century. In Hunmanby he established a cow club, a savings bank, a dispensary for the poor, and a free library. He was an honorary member of the Amicable Society and in 1822 signs the rules alongside the officers.(60)

Wrangham was one of the many Anglican clergymen producing pamphlets promoting social welfare schemes such as savings banks, allotments and friendly societies in the early years of the nineteenth century.(61) Their interest was on the whole secular and stemmed from their involvement with the administration of the poor laws and their work as magistrates. There was enthusiasm for friendly societies which reduced expenditure on the poor and made men 'more industrious in their callings, more sober, more peaceable, and consequently, more happy'.(62)

Such considerations were probably behind the involvement of the wealthy Rev. John Blanchard (1790-1862), vicar of Lund from 1826 and rector of Middleton-on-the-Wolds from 1827, in the promotion of the affiliated orders on their arrival in the rural East Riding. Blanchard's role as the first vice-chairman of Driffield Board of Guardians and his

notoriety as the magistrate who imprisoned Jeremiah Dodsworth for non-payment of tithes have been referred to above. Few clergy were as actively involved as Blanchard with friendly societies. On the first feast day of Middleton Foresters in June 1839 he became an annual subscriber of 2ls and three years later his two sons became annual subscribers of 5s each. Similarly in his other parish of Lund he subscribed 10s to the Oddfellows' lodge from 1841 and his sons 5s each from 1842. Even outside his parishes Blanchard subscribed annually to friendly societies and made donations when he preached. From 1841 he was an annual subscriber of 10s to Lockington Foresters and when he preached at Kilham Foresters' anniversary in 1842 he donated £1. He was also a benefactor to the old established Etton Amicable and Friendly Society donating £3 by 1850 and a director of Beverley Savings Bank. He was well liked in the area and his interest was welcomed by the affiliated branches. In 1840 Middleton Foresters presented Blanchard with a sash and Lund Oddfellows gave him an emblem in the following year.(63)

Blanchard as a wealthy squarson with an expert knowledge on the training of gundogs was an Anglican clergyman of the old school a breed which was rapidly replaced in the mid-nineteenth century by the new parish priests, men whose concern was primarily with the spiritual welfare of their parishioners and whose interest in parochial institutions stemmed from a desire to reach their flock and to have some influence over them in order to encourage them to attend church. In one of the most influential handbooks for the clergy, J.J.Blunt's, The acquirements and principal obligations and duties of the parish priest first published in 1856 the incumbent was advised however not to interfere with the independence of his parishioners:

... in general, whilst endeavouring to improve the condition of the poor, you will do well to make them half-workers and not attempt to interpose in their affairs beyond a point ... Help them without humbling their honest independence; counsel them, but do not tutor them to excess. Be satisfied to have your own way in your own concerns, without insisting upon having your own way in everybody's else. Give your people credit for knowing partly how to take care of themselves.(64)

An interesting fictional portrayal of an active parish priest's approach to parochial institutions including friendly societies occurs in an anonymous work entitled The Parish and the Priest: 'colloquies on the pastoral care and parochial institutions of a country village', which was published in 1858. The work consists of conversations between the parson of 'Fisherford' and a visiting young man, Ernest. The eleventh colloquy is on the subject of 'Clubs, club feasts and Harvest Festivals' and in it Ernest asks if there is not now a tendency for the clergy to be overwhelmed with mere temporal business. The parson agrees but states that temporal work enables him to achieve the dearest object to a clergyman's heart, 'the gaining of influence', and then goes on:

Here is a case in point, for by it I am sure that I have gained an influence which I could have obtained in no other manner. Tonight is 'Club-night' in Fisherford, and on me devolve the duties of Secretary, the recovery of members money and keeping their accounts ... Everything that brings a parson in close connection with his flock must give him influence ... But the practical difficulty with most of us is how to establish that closeness of connection ... Now these good folks who would never come near the parson voluntarily in his character of parson, will approach him without suspicion as their club secretary; ... And so with a little prudence and caution - the parson will accustom the wildest of his people to the sight of him, and take the first efficient step towards taming them.(65)

Ernest then asks how the parson came to connect himself with an institution 'which in many parishes is such a thorn in the clergyman's

side that he has no more to do with it than on one day of the year by preaching the club sermon'. The parson explains how when he arrived at Fisherford the village club met in the public-house and the anniversary never passed off without drunkenness and uproar. After one of these occasions pressure from the parson and honorary members led to the club moving from pub to infant school, revised rules being registered and the parson becoming secretary. It was felt by the parson that it was better if the secretary were superior in rank and education to the rest of the body:

Provided he will be content to act as secretary only; to be ready with advice, that is if it is asked for ... Any attempt to interfere, or to intrude upon the independence of the club would be resented.(66)

Margaret Fuller in writing about local societies in the West Country provides evidence to show that in the mid-19th century clerical control did increase as at Fisherford. Honorary members participated more closely in the management of societies, monthly meetings were transferred from public houses to church schoolrooms, and new clubs on sound principles established by the clergy.(67) However the possibility of such control was increasingly eroded by the spread of the affiliated orders. Courts and lodges had an independence and importance which the old local societies could never achieve. As a result the approaches of the clergy had to change.

At the end of the century Anglican clergy were being encouraged to become actively involved with village friendly societies. The great late 19th century publicist of the friendly society movement Rev.J.Frome Wilkinson, rector of Kilvington, Nottingham, president of the United Sisters' Friendly Society (Suffolk Unity), and a financial member of the IOOF MU, urged his fellow clergy to follow his example:

I cannot help thinking that in these days the clergy of the Church of England would do better, be of more use to their working-class parishioners, if they, joined as benefit members, some one of the Orders, and put in an appearance in lodge and court-room. We, of the clergy, are a distinct class enough, without even in appearance emphasising that distinction. The more we come down out of our pulpits the better for us.(68)

A little later these words were echoed in a hand book on parish work by the Rev. Clement F. Rogers, lecturer in Pastoral Theology at King's College, London:

He [the clergyman] should find out what courts of Foresters, and what lodges of Oddfellows, there are in or near the parish: which make provisions for women, and which have juvenile branches affiliated. If not already belonging one and not too old, he should join as a benefit member, and he will be heartily welcomed if he takes care to avoid any air of patronage in so doing. If above the age limit he may still become an honorary member, attend the meetings and co-operate in the work. Should he have no objection to joining a court that meets on licensed premises, his presence will no doubt help to minimize the evils to which such a meeting place is liable. If he does object, he may find a court or lodge that meets elsewhere, and canvas for members to join it; or he may be able to provide another place of meeting in different surroundings.(69)

The attitudes of Wilkinson and Rogers to friendly societies although tempered by an understanding of the snares of patronage still were much the same as those of Blunt and the rector of Fisherford. Involvement with a village club would assist in making contact with and hopefully lead to an influence over working class parishioners. Once influence had been gained then control could be exercised over the excesses of the feast day and the evils of public house meetings.

What evidence is there for clerical control of East Riding affiliated branches ? The fact that many branches no longer met on licensed

premises by the early twentieth century and the information given in newspaper reports of feast days would seem to provide overwhelming evidence. However the manuscript records of individual courts and lodges show a different picture and bring into question both the influence of the clergy and the deference of the membership as portrayed by Howkins, Obelkevich and others.

Anniversary service - church or chapel ?

The forty-fourth anniversary of St. Peter's Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, was held at this village yesterday. The lodge was convened to transact business in the morning, when four new members were elected. A large number of the members assembled and marched in procession through the village to the church when a sermon was preached by the Rev R.D. French, vicar of Warter, from St. Luke xviii., 13. An adjournment was afterwards made to a tent where over 100 members and visitors sat down to an excellent dinner, served by Mr. Anthony, of the Wellington Inn, the chair being occupied by the Rev A. Grimston, vicar of Lund. After the removal of the cloth, the usual toasts having been drunk, Mr Wilkin, of Beverley, gave the Archbishop and clergy. Mr French, whose name was coupled with the toast, responded. (70)

The impression created by the report of Lund Oddfellow's feast quoted above is one of dominance of the feast day by the Anglican clergy. The friendly society, which significantly bears a saint's name, attends a service in the parish church and listens to a sermon from a neighbouring clergyman. The feast is presided over by the vicar and the first toast is for the Archbishop of York and the clergy. Why this close involvement with the Church of England by an organisation 75% of whose 170 members were agricultural labourers and farm servants and whose leading officers were prominent members of the Primitive Methodist chapel ?

Local papers between 1850 and 1914 are full of annual accounts of the feast days of friendly societies - accounts which invariably dwell on the attendance of the members at the parish church, the sermon given by the incumbent, followed by an orderly procession to a public house or

hall where the annual feast is presided over by the clergyman and toasts and speeches delivered by him, fellow clergy, gentry and leading farmers. The overall picture created by the reports is one of deference, paternalism and close involvement with, and control by, the Anglican church. It is such source material that has coloured attitudes to rural affiliated branches. Obelkevich in considering friendly societies in South Lindsey in the mid 19th century states, as an indicator of their deference and dependence, that 'they always chose the parish church for their anniversaries'.(71) In ^{the} East Riding although the great majority of village feast day services were held at Anglican churches a large enough proportion were held at nonconformist chapels to question Obelkevich's statement.

In 1839 Wetwang Shepherds held their anniversary service at a Methodist chapel, Kilham Foresters attended the village Baptist chapel, Cottingham Foresters the Independent chapel and Driffield Oddfellows had two sermons preached at their anniversary, one in the parish church in the morning and another in the Methodist chapel in the afternoon. In the following five years there are reports of the attendance of Leven Foresters, Nafferton Shepherds and Brandesburton Oddfellows at Wesleyan chapels, Newport and Keyingham Foresters and Driffield Rechabites at Primitive Methodist chapels and Bridlington Druids at an Independent chapel. The Bridlington Druids and Cottingham and Leven Foresters regularly attended chapel rather than church. Although newspapers have not been searched so thoroughly after the mid-1850s the impression has been gained of far fewer anniversary services at chapels in the second half of the century nevertheless they do occur. In 1867 Huggate Reformed Shepherds had their anniversary at the Primitive Methodist chapel and the following year Foston on the Wolds Shepherds went to the Wesleyan

chapel. Weaverthorpe Friendly Society went to the Wesleyan chapel in 1874 and Filey Oddfellows to the Primitive Methodist chapel in 1875.(72)

Thus for many courts and lodges the parish church, as the venue for the anniversary service, and the incumbent as the preacher were by no means permanent fixtures. Discussions on venues and preachers exercised the minds of club members and officials in the weeks before the anniversary. The minute books of Court Hotham, Ancient Order of Foresters, Hutton Cranswick reveal that these deliberations along with the choice of brass band frequently ended in a ballot. During the first twenty-five years of its existence the court seems to have regularly attended the parish church for its anniversary service but the vicar was only occasionally chosen as the preacher. On twelve occasions the choice of preacher was voted on and only five times did Mr. Rigby, vicar of Hutton Cranswick come top of the poll. Six of the contests were against Rev. Henry D. Blanchard, curate then rector of Middleton and the voting was as follows:

Table 73 : Hutton Cranswick Foresters:
Votes for anniversary preacher

	Rigby	Blanchard	Others
1855	10	15	0
1856	10	23	0
1857	33	3	0
1860	13	19	4
1863	10	20	10
1864	11	28	3

Source: Hutton Cranswick AOF Minute book.

The invitations to preach were sent out once the result was known and it must have been chastening for the vicar to find himself supplanted at so many anniversaries. There is little sign of deference in the way the Foresters chose their preacher.

Later in the century it was the venue rather than the preacher that

was voted upon. In June 1875 the court held its anniversary service in the Primitive Methodist chapel and the following year a proposition that the Primitive Methodist minister be invited to preach was carried by 13 votes. In 1877 however the voting was: parish church 22, Baptist church 5, and Primitive Methodist chapel 4. Eleven years later the ballot resulted in a dead heat with the Primitive Methodist chapel getting 21 votes and the parish church 21. Similarly Cranswick Oddfellows decided to attend the village Baptist chapel in 1886 rather than Watton parish church, an event that occasioned the local paper to remark 'This is the only instance on record in this district of a lodge going to chapel'.(73)

The affairs of the club were decided by the members themselves and an excellent demonstration of the independence of the affiliated orders from clerical control is provided by an entry in the minute book of Lockington Foresters' court in January 1888. The court had received a letter signed by five local Anglican clergy asking if their feast day could be removed from a Friday for religious reasons. The Foresters took a vote, two were for the change and 45 against.(74)

The use of the parish church for anniversary services was established practice for the local societies founded in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and many societies had annual attendance at the Anglican church written into their rules. The new affiliated orders were carrying on the tradition and were offended if their request for the incumbent to preach was refused. In 1849 Bainton Shepherds' lodge in preparing for its annual feast had to apply to eight clergy before finding one willing to officiate for them, 'it being their invariable custom to have a sermon preached to them at the parish church'. In 1835 the vicar of Leeds, West Riding refused to preach at the Oddfellows anniversary declaring that 'he did not preach sermons for Oddfellows, or anything of

the kind' and so his place was taken by a nonconformist minister. The newly formed Foresters' Court at Kilham were refused the use of the church by the curate in June 1839 and therefore held their service at the Baptist chapel and in 1841 a similar refusal led Welton Foresters to hold their anniversary service at the Wesleyan chapel.(75) The

Foresters' Miscellany commented:

At the previous anniversary, the members attended the church, but we regret to say on this occasion the curate refused either to preach, or to allow them the use of the church. He declined assigning any reason for this conduct. We heard a conjecture as to the cause, but we trust the worthy curate is not so narrow minded as to allow such a cause to induce him to close the doors of the sanctuary against those who wished to hear the gospel preached.

The curate of Middle Rasen, Lincolnshire refused to preach at the Foresters anniversary because many of the Foresters were regular attenders of the Wesleyan chapel and probably if he preached them a sermon he should not see them again for twelve months.(76)

As members of affiliated branches and particularly their officers were more likely to be Wesleyan or Primitive Methodists than Anglicans it might seem fitting that a chapel should be the venue for the service. However the church was the traditional place for such events and its neutrality and secular role in the community made it more acceptable to the society as a whole. The East Riding villager would undoubtedly have agreed with the Stockport Chartists who in 1839 repeatedly insisted that 'The church was unquestionably the property of the public'.(77) The church in the words of one local incumbent in 1865 was considered merely a 'perfunctory institution', it was attended out of habit or duty not because it was in any way considered a 'divine institution'. It was common for dissenters, particularly Wesleyans, to regularly attend the

parish church. Again and again this is stated in replies made to the archbishop in 1865. At Bempton it was said that 'The great majority of the people are Methodists even of those who attend church' and at Bishop Burton most of those who attended the Wesleyan chapel also attended the previous church services.(78) The incumbent of Watton noted 'the people have not (as in many places) forsaken the church for the chapels but go to both which is of course by no means satisfactory'. (79) The church was attended for secular reasons and the chapel for spiritual.

The holding of the anniversary service at the Anglican parish church cannot be said to have had any religious significance or to have demonstrated deference or churchmanship on the part of the club members. Certain clergy were well aware of the limited religious significance of the anniversary service. The Rev Frances J. Lundy at Moulton, Lincs., in June 1851, commenting on the congregation at a friendly society service wrote in his diary: 'a more indevout set of people I never saw - not a response, 2 of them drunk - a very unencouraging affair it was. They had some bad music and a worse than lukewarm set they are. I was asked to dine with them but their misconduct disgusted me so much that I would not go.' A month earlier he had not been much more impressed when he preached at the club anniversary at his home village of Lockington:

Up at 5 and set to work at my Sermon. Before 10 it was finished when I breakfasted. Mr. Blanchard came and about 11 a wretched brass band, with the Foresters. Not many came and I gave them 'a word spoken in due season'. May it not be in vain! Collection 17/-. After service we dined, a party of 60 at Willson's Tavern, good dinner, lots of speechifying and bad music and Bakky. We dispersed at 4.(80)

The earlier local societies had made payments out of club funds for the sermon and to church officials but the affiliated orders in contrast looked for a donation from the preacher.(81) When Lundy preached at

Lockington in 1851 he donated 10s to club funds; earlier in May 1844 when the Rev. William Proctor had preached he had donated 2s 6d. (82)

The affiliated orders would seem to have considered both the use of the parish church and the provision of a sermon by the incumbent or preacher of their choice as a right. Similarly they were not controlled as to where they held their monthly meeting; whether it was at a public house or not was the members' own decision.

Meeting place - public house, national school or independent hall ?

In 1838 teetotalism and criticisms of public-house meetings had been roundly attacked in the Druids' Monthly Magazine. The journal claimed that the temperance movements aim was

to effect a monopoly for the coffee-houses, and to convert the rising generations into a weezan-faced race of milk-sops ... for as long as men are social, free, hearty, mirth-loving, song singing, masculine beings, generous, invigorating wine, aye, and stronger drink too, together with the brown blood of bold John Barleycorn, will cheer the festive moments, and lighten the toils of all who can procure such auxiliaries to strengthen the hearts and the hands of those who partake them.(83)

When this was written many of the orders still retained characteristics of the convivial societies with which they had originated but thirty or forty years later none of the orders would have dared, or chosen, to print such a pro-drink statement. By the 1870s the activities of the temperance reformers had so altered public attitudes that criticisms of continued public house meetings increased from within the orders.(84)

Two articles in the Foresters' Miscellany in 1884 dwelt on the advantages for courts in meeting away from public-houses. A certain Brother King in a prize-winning essay on the 'Attendance of members at

ordinary court meetings' was of the opinion that members frequently did not attend court meetings because they were held at public-houses and called for the speedy removal of clubs to school-rooms or similar places.(85) In the following issue James Blossom of Sheffield contributed an article on 'Courts meeting away from public-houses' in which, by using copies of the AOF directory for the years 1880 and 1884, he compiled statistics to show the greater viability of 'temperance meeting courts'. In his opinion there were six main objections to public-house meetings:

1. Bad for our officers, because it places temptations to drink in their way ...
2. Bad for our members in a pecuniary sense. Do not men sometimes spend more in partaking of these beverages than they contribute in subscriptions ?
3. Bad for our wives, our sisters, our daughters. The great majority of our members send their contributions to their courts by the members of their households. Do these like to be seen going into a public-house ?
4. Bad for our sons ... Is it right that young men should be led into evil in order to get good ?
5. Bad for our reputation ...
6. Bad for public recognition by men of rank. It is not only the means of deterring many working-men from joining us, but likewise many of the upper classes, who would otherwise come forward as supporters of our institution ... (86)

From 1850 the numbers of new foundations meeting away from public houses began to increase. New societies in 'closed' villages not surprisingly met at the newly provided 'National' schoolroom. This was the case at Escrick in 1851, and Leconfield, 1859, Wawne, 1870, and Etton 1873. The first was a local society established by the Liberal squire, Lord Wenlock, and the other three were branches of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows which, like the United Ancient Order of Druids and the National United Order of Free Gardeners, expanded in the East Riding from the late 1850s and had a higher proportion of its lodges meeting away from public houses than the Foresters and Manchester

Unity Oddfellows. A wider choice of village meeting place was available in the later nineteenth century with the greater proliferation of schools, reading rooms, church institutes and temperance halls. There must have been attempts by clergy and others to influence the choice of meeting place but ultimately it was decided by the members and it was their own changing attitude that was the chief factor in the move away from the public house. In 1850 over 90% of East Riding societies met in public houses but by 1900 this had dropped to 51% and then further to 40% by 1910.(87)

What is surprising is not the number of societies that were established in, or moved to, unlicensed premises but the number which remained at public houses. Although the temperance movement appears to have had limited support in the rural East Riding one would have thought that the strength of nonconformity, particularly Primitive Methodism, would have had a greater impact on choice of meeting place. Methodist friendly societies meeting at chapel schoolrooms were particularly shortlived as were other societies which started away from public houses.(88)

It is difficult to find accurate dates for the move of individual societies from the public house but the following table indicates the trend.

Table 74A: The move from the public house: East Riding friendly societies 1820-1919

Decade	No. moving	Decade	No. moving
1820-29	3	1870-79	10
1830-39	1	1880-89	4
1840-49	3	1890-99	11
1850-59	4	1900-09	2
1860-69	5	1910-19	4

Source: Appendix 1

Branch minute books reveal that moves could be frequent and also that

they were not always away from the public house. Court Wellington, AOF, founded at Lockington in 1840 initially met in the Rockingham Inn but at some time previous to 1885 it had removed to the National schoolroom. At a court meeting in January 1886 it was proposed that they return to the inn and on a vote being taken 25 were for the move and only eight against. A special meeting was called and a ballot taken when the voting was 30 for staying in the school and 36 for returning to the inn.(89) The court remained at the inn until recently when it ceased to meet.(90)

In December 1856 the Duke of Cumberland lodge of Oddfellows at North Ferriby, which had met at the inn of the same name since its establishment in 1843, applied to Elloughton District for permission to move to the National schoolroom. For some reason this request was turned down but when renewed seven years later the move was allowed. In 1867 the lodge was permitted to meet in the coach house of G.Lambert during the rebuilding of the schoolroom.(91) Finally in 1886 the lodge acquired the former Primitive Methodist chapel and it became, and still is, the Oddfellows' Hall.(92)

Removal from inn to schoolroom or vice versa was only transferring from one dependent position to another, often from publican to estate landlord or Anglican parson, and for many independent minded nonconformist friendly society members this must have been a far from satisfactory position. The desire to have their own independent meeting place was present in all newly formed organisations whether nonconformist sect, temperance organisation or friendly society and as a result in towns and 'open' villages purpose built meeting places proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century. Eileen Yeo has effectively demonstrated the link between the expansion of working-class meeting places and the harassment afforded to Chartist and socialist groups in the late 1830s.(93) The suspension by magistrates of licences of

public-houses where radicals met and pressure put on nonconformist sects not to allow their chapels to be used for such meetings led to an explosion in the provision of halls which were clearly 'intended as independent working-class controlled territory' in the years 1837-41. Temperance halls, socialist Halls of Science, Chartist People's Halls, and friendly society halls were opened in great numbers throughout the north and in the industrial midlands.

The motivation behind these projects was expressed succinctly by Sheffield Chartists in 1840:

The first and most desirable object of attainment in our progress of social and civil reform is, that as a section of society, we make ourselves independent of every other body or class, we cannot do so unless we have our own meeting, reading and lecture rooms. If we have to borrow of others, we must come to their terms, and they will permit us to know nothing but what will serve their own interest.(94)

Amongst the earliest Oddfellows' halls were those built in Bradford and Barnsley in 1837 and Bradford also claims the first temperance hall opened in the same year.(95) The idea of building one's own meeting place spread across the country with a surprising speed. In the East Riding Pocklington seems to have led the way for on 20 May 1839 the foundation stone was laid for a temperance hall and exactly one week later the foundation stone was laid for the Oddfellows' Hall.(96) This latter hall can hardly be seen as 'working-class territory' for the Byron Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows, MU, founded in 1834, was an establishment body in the town, with a high proportion of the professional and landed section of the community as members, and therefore it was not typical of the movement in the rural areas.(97)

The provision of friendly society halls in the East Riding cannot be linked to the presence of radicalism and it would seem to be more a

combination of a desire for independence, a wish to demonstrate the wealth and strength of the organisation, and pressure from the influential nonconformist membership to meet away from licenced premises. The role of the temperance movement has already been briefly discussed above and it is not surprising to find that it was the Rechabites who were responsible for the other early purpose built hall at Skipsea. The speed with which it was erected is, however, surprising. The Teetotalers' Victory tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites was opened in 1838, in conjunction with the Independent chapel, and a year later a hall was built to serve as a 'tent' for the Rechabites and as a Union Sunday School.(98)

The ability of the rural working class to raise funds to build hundreds of chapels and halls is one of the remarkable aspects of Victorian village life. The achievement was particularly marked in the case of Primitive Methodism where substantial chapels were built within a year or two of the introduction of the sect into town or village.(99) Provision by friendly societies in the East Riding was far less impressive with only twenty affiliated order halls being recorded in the period 1839-1910, of these nine at least were purpose built, three were former Methodist chapels, two former schools, one a former temperance hall and one a converted house.

Table 74B : Purpose-built friendly society halls in East Riding

Place	Order	Date built
Pocklington	I.O.Oddfellows MU	1839
Skipsea	I.O.Rechabite	1839
Welton	A.O.Foresters	1849
Keyingham	A.O.Foresters	1857
Nafferton	L.O.A.Shepherds	1861
Elloughton	I.O.Oddfellows MU	1871
Preston	U.A.O.Druids	1876
Withernwick	A.O.Foresters	1890
Cranswick	A.O.Foresters	1901

Source: see Appendix 1

A hall which still stands and for which there are full details of its building is Keyingham Foresters' hall of 1857. The decision to build a hall was made at a special meeting of the court in July 1856 at a time when membership was rapidly increasing. The court which was opened in 1839 had a membership of only 86 in 1850 but steady growth and an influx of 77 new members in 1855 brought the total to over 200 in early 1856 and no doubt the accommodation at the Blue Bell Inn had become rather cramped. Land on which to build was purchased for £140 and a Mr. Hall erected the building in 1857 at a cost of £460. Mr. Hall's final bill was for the fine coat of arms which still adorns the outside of the hall. (100) The building consists of one large hall and a committee room on the first floor with two cottages below. This was a sensible use of the site the rent of the cottages providing a regular income. (101) Other village branches which intended emulating Keyingham were not so successful. Long Riston Oddfellows' lodge with a peak membership of 164 and funds of only just over £500 in 1863 decided, at the annual meeting that year, to build a hall with two cottages underneath to rent. The scheme was dropped but adopted again six years later when membership had dropped and funds were little better. Once again the plans were shelved and the lodge remained at the Traveller's Rest. (102) As the century progressed expenditure of funds on the building of halls appears to have been increasingly discouraged. When some time before 1873 Hull District of the AOF applied to register a rule giving them the right to make periodic levies on the constituent courts in order ^{to} raise funds to provide a hall it was not allowed by the Registrar of Friendly Societies. (103) Similarly it is remembered, albeit incorrectly, that when in the 1890s Cranswick Foresters wanted to build a hall they were

forbidden so they left the AOF in 1898, built a hall in 1901 and then rejoined the order in 1905.(104)

The close involvement of members and officers with Methodism accounts for the not uncommon acquisition of a former chapel for a friendly society hall. At Hutton Cranswick the Oddfellows purchased the former Wesleyan chapel when a new one was built in 1862, and at North Ferriby and Lund the Oddfellows' lodges purchased former Primitive Methodist chapels.(105) At Elloughton where the links between the Oddfellows and Primitive Methodism were strong their hall, built in 1871, was squeezed into a small plot of land adjoining the Primitive chapel.(106) At Newport and Keyingham former Anglican schoolrooms were converted to Oddfellows' halls. (107)

Individual clergy may have had little control over a society's meeting place but they were willing to show their support for any project that took the club away from the public house. In 1861 the vicar of Nafferton laid the foundation stone of the Shepherds' hall.

Nafferton - Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity - On Tuesday evening the 7th instant [May] the members of the above named society who have hitherto held their meetings at the King's Head Inn, convened one for the purpose of laying the foundation stone of a new lodge. Having formed a procession headed by the Nafferton brass band, they marched to the vicarage and from thence to the site purchased for the purpose. After a hymn was sung and suitable prayers offered up by the Rev.H.West, vicar of North Frodingham, the stone was laid by the Rev.J.Davidson, vicar of Nafferton. The members were then addressed in appropriate speeches by the rev. gentlemen, pointing out the benefits to be derived from mutual associations as well as congratulating them on the steps they had taken in providing themselves with a suitable building of their own, and by way of encouragement to them the Rev.J.Davidson stated in his speech that some of the principal inhabitants of the place had signified to him their intention of entering themselves as honorary members. Another hymn was then sung and the benediction pronounced by the Rev.J.Davidson. At the close of the meeting the rev. gentlemen were

heartily cheered, and the band having played the National Anthem the members again formed a procession and marched as far as the church from whence they dispersed to their respective homes.

Two months later the hall, 'a fine roomy structure ... erected at a great cost ... suitable either for a club house or a concert or lecture hall', was opened with band, speeches and the inevitable presence of the Anglican clergy.(108)

This report of the foundation stone-laying, like those describing club feasts throughout the country, if considered in isolation could be seen to show the control or domination of a village friendly society by Anglican clergy. This, however, is a false picture as regards the East Riding where the records of individual lodges and courts show clearly their independence and self-management. The clergyman's attendance at feast days and other events was at the behest of the friendly society and he could be considered more the servant than the master of the village club. This was particularly so with the new breed of socially aware clergy at the end of the century who found themselves supporting ailing clubs. One such man was the Rev.W.A.Pearman, vicar of Bishop Burton 1888-1923, who found himself running the village club.

Soon after his appointment to the parish Pearman joined, as a benefit member, the Oddfellows' lodge which met, and continued to meet, at the Altisidora Inn. He played an active role in establishing the Richard Watt Juvenile Provident Society which eventually became a juvenile branch of the Oddfellows and every year he presented the 'Pearman' medal and sash to the senior lodge member who had introduced the greatest number of new members. Most years he published the annual returns and balance sheet of the lodge in the parish magazine alongside a report of the annual feast an institution of which he was an enthusiastic supporter.(109) In his report of the 1897 feast he wrote:

Out of doors the day was fine, but unfortunately there was an almost entire absence of the usual shows, due it was supposed to a recent bye-law of one of the Local Governing bodies. The absence of these shows on a village holiday is generally to be regretted. Anything likely to take away from our villages and from the poorer classes generally, the chance of innocent enjoyment on their Feast Day is to be deprecated. It should be remembered that the various Provident Societies contain almost to a man the very best representatives of the working classes of the country, and that the village feasts are usually carried on under their auspices ... The 'feast' is the best form of advertisement at the disposal of the Provident Societies. £5 is spent on a band and other things, and £10 a man comes back in the form of new members. The decline or absence of the feast would therefore be a very serious matter here and elsewhere to the Provident Societies.(110)

This was a far cry from the attitude of the writer to the Guardian thirty-five years before who had hoped that 'by degrees the feasts and processions will sink more into the background, and the real and permanent benefits of a society constitute its chief attraction', or from the strongly worded condemnation by a mid-nineteenth century Lincolnshire clergyman of:

These half-heathen clubs [which] are, I think, utterly unlawful for a Christian man. They are close brotherhoods, formed with those who are not in a close sense our brethren ... Their very names are unseemly. A club of 'Odd Fellows' is a good joke but hardly a decent piece of earnest.(111)

(1) H.Cunningham Leisure in the Industrial Revolution London, 1980, p. 122; J.Obelkevich Religion and rural society, pp.87-89

(2) A.Howkins Whitsun in 19th century Oxfordshire, p.44

(3) *ibid.*, 'The taming of Whitsun: the changing face of a nineteenth-century rural holiday' in E. and S.Yeo(eds.) Popular culture and class conflict 1590-1914, Brighton, 1981, p.197.

(4) *ibid.*, Whitsun, pp.19-20, 44,; *ibid.*, 'The taming', pp.194, 197-8 200-201, 202, etc.

(5) E. and S. Yeo, 'Ways of seeing: control and leisure versus class and struggle', in E. and S. Yeo (eds.), Popular culture, p.139

- (6) The club feast days at Paulton in Somerset were remembered for the sideshows, dancing, drinking and fighting. After the usual procession, service and dinner the pleasure fair took over. Members shared a 54 gallon barrell of beer which was finished off by the women the next day. 'The wemon sometimes Finished up with a Fight Through jealouseys & I Saw two wemon Strip to their waist Naked only a Skirt on & Faught for a $\frac{1}{4}$ of hour... Frequent battle werè Faught ... The Rangle was began on a Saturday night and Finished up on the Monday or Tuesday with a Pitch Battle in the second Field Below Green Close.' M.Fuller West Country Friendly Societies.pp.114-116. Fighting was also recalled in Oxfordshire as well as the far from graceful dancing on the green or in the club-rooms. Leafield club feast which lasted two days was particularly marked for its drinking and fighting in the latter part of the century. In 1875 this club-feast occasioned the following report in Jackson's Oxford Journal. 'The morning passed off very well, but long before evening set in the extra policeman's services were much needed. It was an imitation of Donnybrook Fair, many of the men feeling in that happy mood as to invite other men to 'step on the tails of their coats'. There was even one faction fight. Saturday was a repetition of Friday's sport.' A.Howkins, Whitsun, pp.39-42
- (7) Quoted in Report of Registrar of Friendly Societies 1862, PP 1863, 39.
- (8) Report of the Committee on Intemperance for the Convocation of the Province of York, Church of England Temperance Society, Manchester, 1874, pp.72-75
- (9) ibid., pp.261-264
- (10) B.Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, p.53; G.Crossick, An artisan elite, p.178; AOF Directory, 1850.
- (11) Statistics compiled from Appendix 1 below. Only two of the six exceptions were affiliated orders and these were the ones meeting in private houses.
- (12) Order of Sons of Temperance, Hull Grand Division, The Pioneer, no.86, 1912.
- (13) Articles of agreement ... Amicable and Friendly Society ... Etton, Beverley, 1827, rule 12.
- (14) Report of the committee on intemperance, p.72.
- (15) e.g. Howden Union Society 1794; Market Weighton Friendly Society 1794; Hedon Union Society 1799; Cottingham Friendly Society 1798; Patrington Amicable Society 1794; Wansford Provident Society 1815; Pocklington Union Society 1816; and Hunmanby Royal Union Society 1824.
- (16) see bibliography for rules; M.Fuller, West Country Friendly Societies, pp.58-9.
- (17) HUL DDX 'To the members of the Benevolent Society at Brands-Burton'.
- (18) Articles of agreement ... Amicable and Friendly Society ... Etton, Beverley, 1827
- (19) HCRO DDX 216/4 7 Jan. 1831
- (20) Long Riston IOOF MU minute book, 20/7/1867; Report of committee on intemperance, p.74.
- (21) Court Angel, AOF, Hull minute book 7/5/1838; Court Foresters' Home, AOF, Hull minute book 21/10/1848.
- (22) Lund Oddfellows, minute book Oct. 1842
- (23) C.Hardwick, The history, present position and social importance of friendly societies, 3rd.ed., n.d., p.150
- (24) Hull Advertiser, 25/8/1848; Report of committee on intemperance, p.264
- (25) J.Lawson, Letters to the young on progress in Pudsey, 1887, reprint

1978, pp. 77, 83.

(26) B.Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, pp.50-54; P.Clark, The English Alehouse, London, 1983, pp.234-5, 315-322; Hobsbawm and Rude, Captain Swing, pp.64-65; Out of 62 agricultural trade union branches in Warwickshire in the 1870s 35 (56%) met regularly in pubs despite a strong link with Primitive Methodism. Helen Gurden 'Primitive Methodism and agricultural trade unionism in Warwickshire 1872-5', Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin 33, 1876, p.5 In 1861 of the 2096 trade union organisations with known places of meeting 1685 (80%) met in pubs. F.+ R.Harrison review of United Kingdom First Annual Trades Union Directory 1861 in ibid., 23, 1971, p.82; see also D.J.V.Jones, The Last rising, p.30

(27) J.Eddowes, The agricultural labourer as he really is; or, village morals in 1854, 1854, pp.8-9.

(28) H.Snell, Men, movements and myself, London, 1936, p.20

(29) Hull Advertiser 2/8/1839

(30) Rechabite Magazine vol.2, no.19, August 1841, p.106

(31) Hull Advertiser 11/12/1840 I owe this reference to E.Gillett.

(32) Hull Advertiser 9/2/1838; 24/8/38; 26/10/38; 30/6/43;

An Oddfellow's funeral at Pocklington with members in full regalia so impressed upon the mind of a young man that he remembered it vividly over 50 years later. Pocklington Weekly News 6/1/1906 letter from W.Grubb

(33) HCRO DDX 65/22

(34) Rules of the Loyal Farmers' Refuge Lodge, Long Riston, No.1102 of the Beverley District Branch, of the I.O.O.F, M.U. Friendly Society, Beverley, 1860, pp.15-16

(35) Rules of Court Friendship AOF 765, Keyingham, 1875.

(36) Stamford Mercury 20/2/1846

(37) J.Spry, The History of Odd-Fellowship, 1867, pp.33-34

(38) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.168.

(39) Hull Advertiser 8/5/1846

(40) Lincolnshire Archives Office(LAO) B.Cor.5 Correspondence of Bishop John Kaye, 4/77/3, 4/79/4, 4/67/5, 4/67/7. I am most grateful to Rod Ambler for providing me with this material.

(41) The orders were quick to publicise this sign of support by the established church and some months later at a large gathering in the city the clergyman was presented with a silver tea-pot bearing the following inscription:

Presented to the Rev.Robert Sutton, M.A., by the societies of the Ancient Foresters, Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, and Ancient Free Gardeners, of York, in testimony of their gratitude for his services, and as a mark of respect for his good will towards them, and for his conduct as a Christian minister. Foresters' Miscellany, 1842, pp.25-26

(42) Methodist Magazine, 1813, pp.66-71, quoted in R.C.Russell, 'Methodist friendly societies in Lincolnshire - the need for research on these', Journal of the Lincolnshire Methodist History Society, vol.3, no.6, Spring 1983, pp.124-125

(43) B.Gregory, Side lights on the conflicts of Methodism during the second quarter of the nineteenth century 1827-52, London, 1899, pp.93-94.

(44) J.E.Moulton, 'Ungodly associations exposed', Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1841, pp.302-305

(45) 'Is it consistent for professing Christians to join benefit societies or secret orders?', Foresters' Miscellany, 1841, pp.139-140

(46) R.C.Russell 'Methodist friendly societies', pp.123-125. A Primitive

Methodist Funeral Brief Society was founded at Louth in 1855 and a Primitive Methodist Sick and Dividing Club at Gainsborough in 1889. (47) PRO FS 1/817,826,+ 828; RRFS 1862-64,1866. A far more successful Primitive Methodist society, the North Tuddenham Friendly Benefit society, which was initially founded for local preachers has been recorded by Alun Howkins in Norfolk. A.Howkins, Poor Labouring Men, pp.51-52

(48) PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 326

(49) see above pp. 235-40

This list could be greatly extended to include men like 'Hallelujah Tommy' of Beverley - Thomas Laughton (b.1824) was a Wesleyan sick visitor, class leader and local preacher. He joined the Grand United Order of Oddfellows in the year he got converted and held every lodge and district office in the order including Noble Grand, District Master and lodge trustee and he was twice a delegate to annual national conferences. W.Wray, ed., The autobiography of Thomas Laughton. d.[c1897], p.47. Understandably many of the officers of the Order of the Sons of Temperance (OST) were active Methodists e.g. W.Scoffin, twice Worthy Patriarch of Beverley Division OST, was a Wesleyan local preacher for over 22 years and a Sunday school teacher, The Pioneer 75, Dec.1909, p.1; I.O.T.Bolton, Grand Worthy Patriarch and Grand Patron of Hull Grand Division OST, from Garton in Holderness, held all the lay offices in Wesleyan chapel, *ibid.*, 89, July 1913, pp.1-2; R.Emmerson, Grand Patron of Hull Grand Division OST, from Great Hatfield, Holderness, family founded Primitive Methodist chapel in village, active layman in Hornsea circuit, *ibid.*, 70, Aug.1908, pp.2-3; J.W.Johnson, financial scribe of Hull division OST, born Shiptonthorpe, Primitive Methodist trustee, class leader, society steward and local preacher, *ibid.*, 8, Dec. 1894 p.25.

(50) Hutton Cranswick AOF minute book; HCRO Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit baptism register, preaching plans and records of Cranswick chapel.

(51) Lund Oddfellows minute book;

HCRO Driffield Primitive Methodist Circuit baptism register, preaching plans and records of Lund chapel. Driffield Wesleyan Circuit baptism register and preaching plans.

(52) HCRO Keyingham Foresters' contribution books; HCRO Patrington Primitive Methodist Circuit baptism books and circuit plans; HCRO DDPK 18/5; Religious census returns 1851; Inscriptions Keyingham Methodist Church.

(53) Cranswick Foresters' minute books; Religious census returns 1851.

(54) Lund Oddfellows' minute book

(55) Middleton Foresters' minute book

(56) HCRO Elloughton Oddfellows minute book 1 1875-93; In 1932 Scrowston noted in the lodge minutes 'the secretary Bro.J.W.Scrowston said he was sorry he would not be able to get to the Church Parade on Sunday 25 September as it was the Harvest Festival at the Primitive Methodist Chapel next door, and of course his own church comes first' HCRO Elloughton Oddfellows' minute book 4. In 1931 the Primitive Methodist Minister was initiated into the order and in the same year 'Sister' Hattersley, an active Primitive Methodist, became the first woman to be initiated into the lodge with the full ritual. *ibid.*

(57) PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 2 Rules of Driffield Union Society; *ibid.*, Yorks 16 Rules of Howden Friendly Society; *ibid.*, FS 1/797A Rules of Howden Union Society.

(58) Sheahan and Whellan, p.603; e.g. Rev.Richard Allen, incumbent of Driffield 1798-1833, see Mss.Diaries in possession of Mr.Gamble, Scarborough, 1972.

- (59) D. Neave, ed., South Cave, 1984, pp.37,44
- (60) M. Sadleir, Archdeacon Francis Wrangham, London, 1937; PRO FS 1/796
Yorks 17 Rules of Hunmanby Amicable Society 1822
- (61) D.C. Barrett, 'Ideas on social welfare 1780-1834', MA thesis,
Nottingham, 1961, pp.4-5
- (62) Rev. J. Filkes, A sermon on behalf of those useful and benevolent
institutions called friendly societies, London, 1804 quoted in
D.C. Barnett, p.45
- (63) *ibid.*; Lund IOOF minute book 1839-59; Middleton AOF minute book
1839-85 and account book 1861-1923; Cranswick AOF minute book 1839-63;
Hull Advertiser 12/6/1840, 20/5/1842, 21/6/1844, 28/12/1849; Beverley
Guardian 22/6/1861, 29/11/1862; Driffield Times 22/6/1861; Foresters'
Miscellany 1842, pp.131-132; HCRO DDBD 68/53 East Riding Savings' Bank
depositors' book c1840; Rules of the Etton Amicable and Friendly
Society, 1850 HCRO QDC/2/5, 1862 Hull Central Library.
He appears to have been genuinely liked and when in 1854 a subscription
was being raised to present him with a piece of plate Lund Oddfellows
gave a guinea and a half. On his death it was said 'Few men have
descended to the grave more generally beloved and sincerely lamented
than the late rector of Middleton'. Beverley Guardian 29/11/1862 see
above p.140 Henry Dacre Blanchard, son and successor became a benefit
member in 1868 (as did his curate a little later) of Middleton Foresters
- in 1892 he received £8 on the death of his wife, and the following
year on remarrying he paid a 5s fee for his second wife. When he himself
died in 1904 the death benefit of £10 was paid. He did act seconding
two proposals in 1879 one for adding 1s the quarterly to the
contributions and another 'that a ballance sheet be drawn up and
printed at the end of each year and that each member be presented with a
copy'. Middleton AOF account book 1861-1923; proposition book 1839-
;minute book 25/7/1879
- (64) J.J. Blunt, The acquirements and principal obligations and duties
of the parish priest, London, 4th ed., 1861, pp.199,214
- (65) Anon., The parish and the priest, London, 1858, pp. 256, 261-72
- (66) *ibid.*, p.271
- (67) M. Fuller, West Country friendly societies, pp.49, 60, 101, 112-14
- (68) J.F. Wilkinson, Mutual Thrift, London, 1891, p.173
- (69) C.F. Rogers, Principles of parish work, London, 1905, pp.108-109; A
few years later he wrote that by joining as a benefit member the
clergyman would 'get in touch with men of a different class from that
to which he belongs, far more effectively than by starting workmen's
clubs, where it is impossible to avoid an air of patronage'.
ibid., Charitable relief, London, 1908, p.148
- (70) Beverley Guardian 7/6/ 1884
- (71) J. Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society p.89
- (72) Hull Advertiser 31/5, 21/6, 2 + 30/8/1839, 24/7/1840, 28/5,
13/8/1841, 15/7/1842, 14 + 28/7/1843, 3/5, 26/7/1844, 4/7/1845,
14/6/1850, 9/5/1851, 6/5/1853; Yorkshire Gazette 1 + 22/6/1839;
Driffield Times 22/6/1867, 13/6/68, 13/6/74, 29/5/75; Eastern Counties
Herald 8/7/69.
- (73) Cranswick Foresters' minute book; Hull News 19/6/1886; Beverley
Guardian 26/6/75, 26/6/86
- (74) Lockington AOF minute book
- (75) Oddfellows Magazine vol.4, 1837 p.47; Hull Advertiser 21/6/39;
Foresters Miscellany 1841 p.144.
- (76) Stamford Mercury 22/5/46
- (77) E. Yeo, 'Culture and constraints', p.158.
- (78) Borthwick Bp.V. 1865/Ret.
- (79) Borthwick Bp.V. 1894/Ret.

- (80) Mss.diary of Rev.F.J.Lundy, 1851, typescript copy in possession of D.Neave
- (81) e.g. The rules of the Beverley Brotherly Society of 1828 allowed a guinea for the sermon, 10s to the organist, 10s 6d to the singers, and 2s each to the ringers, clerk, sexton and vergers. PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 7
- (82) Lockington AOF minute book 1840-85
- (83) The Druids' Monthly Magazine vol.1, 1838, p.163
- (84) For the impact of the temperance movement by the 1870s see B.Harrison,Drink and the Victorians, pp.297-347
- (85)Foresters' Miscellany, vol.14, 1884, pp.412-413.
- (86) *ibid.*, pp.419-421. In the four years he calculated that temperance courts had increased 18% from 678 to 801, while public-house courts had decreased 2% from 3,367 to 3,325. The membership of temperance courts had risen nearly 24% and their funds 37% but public-house courts had only a 7% rise in membership and 16% rise in funds. The average membership of temperance courts in England in 1884 was 176 compared to 139 for all courts in England.
- (87) see appendix 1
- (88) PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 326; 1/826B Yorks 1017; The Howden Wesleyan Benefit Society founded in 1843 was dissolved in 1859, North Frodingham Primitive Methodist Local Preachers opened 1856 closed 1873.
- (89) Lockington AOF minute book 25/1 and /2/1886.
- (90) ex.inf.secretary Lockington AOF court, 1980
- (91) Elloughton IOOF MU District minute book 27/12/1856; 26/12/1863; 29/6/1867
- (92) ex.inf Mr.Wilson, secretary N.Ferriby IOOF MU lodge, 1980
- (93) E.Yeo 'Culture and constraint in working-class movements, 1830-1855', in E.+ S.Yeo, eds., Popular culture, pp.159-163
- (94) Northern Star, 22/8/1840 quoted in E.Yeo 'Culture and constraint', p.162
- (95) *ibid.*, p.161 ; Yeo gives the date of Bradford temperance hall as 1838 but Harrison reproduces an illustration with date 1837. B.Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, p.191 and plate 18.
- (96)Hull Advertiser 17/5/1839; Yorkshire Gazette 25/5/1839; As early as September 1838, Loyal Sovereign lodge, IOOF MU at Grimsby purchased land for a hall though this might not have been built until 1841.T.H.Storey, 'The Oddfellows' Hall, Grimsby, and its place in the social life of the town', Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, vol.12, 1977, pp.49-51; A temperance hall was opened in Grimsby in 1840, ex.inf. Rex Russell.
- (97) The foundation stone of the hall was laid by 'Brother' Robert Denison of Kilwick Percy, the lord of the manor of Pocklington and principal landowner. He was also chairman of the Board of Guardians. The opening of the hall in October 1839 was accompanied by a service at All Saint's parish church, the service being read by the vicar 'and a beautiful anthem was prepared and executed by the rev. gentleman's lady in a most excellent style', and an 'impressive' sermon was given by the vicar of Wilberfoss. At the hall, which 'was spendidly decorated by Brothers Proudlock and Weymes (gardeners to R.Denison, esq.) with evergreens, &c, from that gentleman's estate', Denison presided with the vicar in the vice-chair. Eulogies on Oddfellowship were given by Brothers Powell[solicitor], Clement[doctor], Dixon[farmer], and Sheridan[schoolmaster].Hull Advertiser 17/5, 25/10 + 1/11/1839; Yorkshire Gazette 25/5/1839; D.Neave,Pocklington 1660-1914, 1971, pp.23,41; Easton's Directory of Pocklington, Pocklington, 1845.; The similarly influential Oddfellows' lodges in Beverley planned, c1840, an impressive classical hall but it was seemingly never built.HCRO front elevation of proposed Oddfellows Hall, Beverley c1840.

- (98) Independent Order of Rechabites, Directory, 1890; G.Poulson, History of Holderness, 1840, vol.1, p.456
- (99) e.g. North Cave where Primitive Methodism was introduced in 1819 and a chapel built in the same year. W.Garner, Life of William Clowes, London, 1868, pp.228-231; J.Hall, History of South Cave, Hull, 1892, p.84; and Driffield where the chapel erected in 1821 was opened within two years of Primitive Methodism arriving in the town. H.B.Kendall, History of the Primitive Methodist Church, vol.2, n.d., pp.93-95.
- (100) HCRO Keyingham AOF records, cash book.
- (101) This was not an untypical plan for a friendly society hall which was to be used by the club at most once a month. The Oddfellows Hall at Winterton, Lincolnshire has a large meeting room with cottages below.
- (102) Long Riston Oddfellows' minute book, June 1863; April 1869.
- (103) Report of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, 3rd report, 1873, p.208. I owe this reference to E.Gillett.
- (104) ex. inf. S.Edmond, court secretary, Cranswick, 1980. The court in fact was suspended in July 1894 'for refusing to form a subsidiary benefit fund and for refusing to supply printed balance sheets', and expelled in 1898 for failure to change rates of contributions. Hutton Cranswick AOF minute book.
- (105) Lund Oddfellows, Lodge account book 14/8/1924 by then it had become a temperance hall; Cranswick Foresters also considered buying the Wesleyan chapel in May 1862, Hutton Cranswick AOF Minute book 31 May 1862.
- (106) Elloughton Oddfellows' lodge, minute book 24/7/1875; At Welton in 1851 the Primitive Methodists were meeting in the Foresters' hall. PRO Religious census returns 1851.
- (107) The Keyingham Oddfellows' lodge purchased the old school in 1876 for 80. HCRO SBM Keyingham school board minutes 3/2/1876
- (108) Driffield Times 18/5 and 13/7/1861.
- Nafferton Shepherds' Hall is now the village hall. A hall once purchased or built was of limited direct use to the friendly society members; attendance at monthly meetings was often limited and the only time that a village club would effectively make use of such a large building was on the annual feast day - and then it might be too small. The provision of a meeting place on the scale of the purpose built halls gave village communities an important amenity. The Oddfellows' hall at Cranswick was used by the Salvation Army in 1896, as a rifle range in 1909 and a village reading room in 1912-16 and the Foresters' hall was the scene of village dances. At Keyingham the Foresters' hall at the turn of the century hosted Liberal party meetings, a Primitive Methodist Bazaar, and gatherings in support of the 'passive resisters' against the Education Act. Some societies such as the Cranswick Foresters and the Lund Oddfellows still do own halls and the latter was still holding its monthly meetings there in 1980. Others have become private houses, village halls, and a billiard club. The greatest reversal in use has occurred with Cranswick Oddfellows' hall which started life as a Wesleyan chapel; it is now a betting shop! For a full account of the part played by a friendly society hall in the social life of a Victorian town see T.H.Storey, 'The Oddfellows' Hall, Grimsby, and its place in the social life of the town', Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, vol.12, 1977, pp.49-55; Hull News 7 + 28/11/1903; Elloughton Oddfellows' Hall was regularly used by the Primitive Methodists for public teas, bazaars, and Sunday school. Elloughton IOOF MU minute book 24/7/1875; 24/3/1906; 25/6/1920; At Hedon and Pocklington the Oddfellows' Hall housed the Mechanics' Institute. J.Popple, 'The Mechanics' Institutes of the East and North Ridings and of York, 1837-1887', Vocational Aspects, vol. p.33; D.Neave, Pocklington, p.34

(109) Parish Magazine July 1897, p.15

(110) ibid., March 1905, p.6, August 1905 p.190; see also ibid. July 1907, p.174. Following a cessation of the feast in 1904 he successfully pressed for its return in 1905 and in his report of the revived event he again stresses its importance as a 'recruitment day' for new members. 'Young men are drawn in and become members by the attraction of the feast'. When he died in 1932 he bequeathed to Bishop Burton church the income from £2,750 stock to provide annual payments for various purposes including £1 1s and 4s expenses for an annual sermon to be given by a 'preacher (a layman if possible) chosen by the vicar to preach on Thrift preferably to the Ploughboy's Refuge Lodge of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows'. Charity board, Bishop Burton church; The Oddfellows Magazine, July 1939, p.504 . Pearman as an active Liberal had wide interests in all social welfare issues and he had spoken as early as 1891 on 'the Old Age Pension scheme' at a meeting of Beverley District Oddfellows. Parish Magazine June 1905, p.142; Pearman's father-in-law was Sir Alfred Billson, Liberal M.P. and owner of the Liverpool Daily Post, Mercury and Echo, 'one of the greatest organs of the Liberal party in the North of England', ibid., September 1907; Beverley Guardian 4/7/1891

There is no evidence to show that Pearman held office in the Oddfellows but other local Anglican clergy did hold office in the affiliated orders at the end of the century. The Rev.Vernon Daltry, curate of Burton Agnes, 1886-93, acted as secretary to the St.Quintin lodge of the United Ancient Order of Druids for at least two years and the Rev.Ernest J.Barry, curate of Beverley Minster was successively minute secretary, Vice-Grand and Noble Grand of the Rising Star lodge of Oddfellows, MU, at Beverley in 1889-90. DDX 61/12 Letter of thanks to Rev.V.Daltry from M.Rosenbaum, Hull on behalf of UAOD board of directors 6 Sept. 1893; Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley, Minute book of Rising Star lodge; the Rev.W.H.Abraham, vicar of St.Augustine's Hull was a benefit member of the AOF. W.H.Abraham, The studies of a Socialist Parson, Hull, 1892, p.122. Nationally in 1896 there were fifteen clergy who were treasurers of Foresters' courts and two who were secretaries. The secretaries were in Hampshire and Herefordshire, counties which had in addition four and two clerical treasurers respectively. AOF Directory 1896

(111) see footnote 7 above; C.Booth, The aged poor in England and Wales, London, 1894, p.405 The clergyman was vicar of 'Hartby' (pseudonym of a large agricultural parish near Lincoln) 1829-62.

Plate 6 : Posters advertising Hull and East Riding District of Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society annual procession and gala 1859 and 1860

Keyingham Foresters attended with banner, regalia and band

HULL ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

THE ANNUAL PROCESSION & GALA

OF THE HULL & EAST-RIDING DISTRICT OF ANCIENT FORESTERS

FORESTERS

WILL TAKE PLACE ON
MONDAY, JUNE 6TH, 1859.

UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE OF
BRO. JAMES CLAY, ESQ., M.P.;
JOSEPH HOARE, ESQ., M.P.;
THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR,
MARTIN SAMUELSON, ESQ.;
ALDERMAN BLUNDELL, ESQ.;
ALD. ANT. BANNISTER, ESQ.;
AND
ALDERMAN FOUNTAIN, ESQ.,
GOVERNOR OF THE POOL.

SPECIAL CHEAP TRIPS FROM ALL PARTS.

The MEMBERS of the Order will meet at their respective Courts at Half-past One o'Clock, and proceed to Osborne-street, forming a PROCESSION at Two o'Clock, in the following order:—

THE FORESTERS'
JUVENILE DRUM AND FIFE BAND;
THE JUVENILE FORESTERS' BUD OF HOPE SOCIETY,
With their new and splendid BANNER; the
KINGSTON COTTON MILLS BRASS BAND;
FORESTERS IN COSTUME,
With the numerous and magnificent

FLAGS AND BANNERS OF THE ORDER;
Also accompanied by
THE JUNCTION FOUNDRY BRASS BAND;

And will proceed to the ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS, through
Osborne street, Porter street, Adelaide street, Passage street, Castle street, Over Mytongate Bridge, Mytongate, Market place, Lowgate, Salthouse lane, High street, Over the Bridge to Winclemise, New George st, Francis street, Charles street, Bond street, Savile street, Waterworks st, and Chariot street, Cavillie street, Prospect street, to the Gardens.

In the Gardens will be exhibited the entirely new, extensive, and highly-interesting **TYPIRAMA OF**

LUCKNOW

THE CELEBRATED
CAMERA OBSCURA

Amongst the Attractions of the Gardens will be found the INTERESTING
COLLECTION OF ANIMALS, BIRDS, &c.
Comprising Beasts of various species: Wolves, Hyenas, Foxes, Badgers, Monkeys, Bramin Bull, Deer, Goats, Pelicans, White and Black Swans, Adjutant, Storks, Cormorant, and other Waterfowl; Macaws, Cockatoos, Parrots, Eagles, Vultures, Horned Owl, Herons, &c., &c., &c.

ARCHERY FETES!!!

FIRST PRIZE, A SPLENDID FORESTERS' EMBLEM, BEAUTIFULLY FRAMED;
SECOND PRIZE, a substantial & useful Copper TEA KETTLE.
THE TARGETS WILL BE PITCHED AT 5 O'CLOCK. ENTRANCE, THREEPENCE.

CONUNDRUM CONTEST!

FIRST PRIZE, AN ELEGANT & COSTLY SET OF CHINA;
SECOND PRIZE, A SUPERIOR COPPER TEA KETTLE.

The Prize Consistencies will be read from the Firework Gallery, by one of the Judges, at Half-past Seven o'Clock.
THE JUDGES WILL BE CHOSEN IN THE GARDENS.

Each Competitor to purchase a Whiff of Snuff, and receive a Prize Stamp with the Consistency, also to forward his proper name and address in a sealed Envelope, directed to the Committee, with a note or receipt, corresponding to the one attached to the Consistency, which Envelope will not be opened until after the Fetes have been decided.

To be followed by a GRAND

SPORTS & PASTIMES,

WALKING THE PIRATE'S PLANK FOR A LEG OF MUTTON,
CLIMBING THE GREASY POLE FOR A SPLENDID NEW HAT & A LEG OF MUTTON.

FIREWORKS.

ADMISSION TO THE GARDENS
ADULTS, 6d.; Children under Twelve, 3d.

HULL ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

THE ANNUAL PROCESSION & GALA

OF THE HULL & EAST-RIDING DISTRICT OF ANCIENT FORESTERS

FORESTERS

WILL TAKE PLACE ON
MONDAY, JUNE 11TH, 1860.

UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE OF
JAMES CLAY, ESQ., M.P.;
JOSEPH SOMES, ESQ., M.P.;
JOSEPH HOARE, ESQ.;
AND
CAPTAIN BANNISTER,
(East York Rifle Volunteers.)

The MEMBERS of the Order will meet at their respective Courts at Half-past One o'Clock, and proceed to Osborne-street, forming a PROCESSION at Two o'Clock, in the following order:—

THE HULL DRUIDS' BRASS BAND;
THE JUVENILE FORESTERS' BUD OF HOPE SOCIETY,
With their splendid BANNER;
FORESTERS IN COSTUME,
With the Numerous and Magnificent
FLAGS & BANNERS OF THE ORDER
Also accompanied by
THE BRUNSWICK BRASS BAND;

And will proceed to the ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS, through
Osborne street, Porter street, Adelaide street, Passage street, Castle street, Over Mytongate Bridge, Mytongate, Market place, Lowgate, Salthouse lane, High street, Over the Bridge to Winclemise, New George st, Francis street, Charles street, Bond street, Savile street, Waterworks st, and Chariot street, Cavillie street, Prospect street, to the Gardens.

In the Gardens will be exhibited the entirely new, extensive, and highly interesting **TYPIRAMA OF**

A GRAND PROMENADE CONCERT

From Seven to Nine o'Clock in the Evening, by
FIRST-CLASS LOCAL ARTISTES.

In the Gardens will be exhibited the entirely new, extensive, and highly interesting **TYPIRAMA OF**

THE CITY OF PEKIN.

Amongst the Attractions of the Gardens will be found the interesting
COLLECTION OF ANIMALS, BIRDS, &c.
Comprising Beasts of various species: Wolves, Hyenas, Foxes, Badgers, Monkeys, Bramin Bull, Deer, Goats, Pelicans, White and Black Swans, Adjutant, Storks, Cormorant, and other Waterfowl; Macaws, Cockatoos, Parrots, Eagles, Vultures, Horned Owl, Herons, &c., &c., &c.

CANTELLO'S INCUBATOR,

OR, CHICKEN-HATCHING BY STEAM. Believed to be the only one in successful operation in England.
THE MODEL (built to correct water) OF THE STEAM SHIP,
"GREAT EASTERN."
This Model excited much curiosity and interest during the last two Seasons.

THE CELEBRATED CAMERA OBSCURA

Has been re-fitted, and will be shown during the day.

The Amusements will be attractive and varied, formed to combine utility, pleasure, and recreation, and will comprise

ARCHERY FETES!!

FOR A FORESTER'S SPLENDID EMBLEM, BEAUTIFULLY FRAMED.
The Targets will be Pitched at Five o'Clock. Entrance, Threepence.

SPORTS & PASTIMES

INCLUDING
WALKING THE PIRATE'S PLANK FOR A LEG OF MUTTON.

The whole to conclude with a Magnificent Display of

FIREWORKS

ADMISSION TO THE GARDENS
ADULTS, 6d.; Children under Twelve, 3d.

Chapter 9

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AND RURAL POLITICS IN THE EAST RIDING 1885-1912

Following the passing of the third Reform Act in 1884, and the enfranchisement of the rural working class, village and small town friendly societies took on a significant political role and they became increasingly the focus of attention of parliamentary candidates and constituency agents. The act changed the whole nature of rural politics; no longer could a member or candidate reach a major portion of the electorate by speaking, or appearing, at a few agricultural meetings in the local market towns.(1) The farmers' political power diminished as that of the rural labourer and artisan increased. The focus of rural politics shifted from the town to the village.(2) Soon after the passing of the act J.W.Lowther wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote complaining, 'every petty hamlet expects its member or members to pay annual visits in person as well as contribute to its local charities, etc., etc.'. (3) This pursuit of candidates for subscriptions to local charities and organisations was also complained of by Rider Haggard who contested Norfolk East as a Unionist in 1895 - 'From the moment a candidate appears in the field he is fair game, and every man's hand is in his pocket. Demands for "your patronage and support" fall on him, thick as leaves in Vallombrosa'.(4) The candidates became fair game for the friendly societies who sought both their financial support and their attendance and speeches at the feast days. In return the candidates needed the feast day as possibly the only occasion when he would reach the bulk of the newly enfranchised rural householders.

Friendly societies in parliamentary boroughs had long been courted by M.P.s and parliamentary candidates; societies in Beverley and Hull regularly received subscriptions from M.P.s in the late 18th and early

19th centuries.(5) Both local societies and affiliated branches, judging by their rules, eschewed political discussion during their meetings but it is clear that some of the borough societies were not averse to overtly displaying their political affiliations. In Beverley the lodges of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity were dominated, throughout the mid-Victorian period, by members of the town's leading Liberal family, the Crosskills, whose agricultural engineering firm was the largest employer in the borough.(6) On receiving a donation of £5 from John Townley, the Liberal member for Beverley, in September 1841 the Beverley District unanimously elected him an honorary life member of the Oddfellows' order.(7) In 1858 the Kingston Unity Oddfellows' lodges in Beverley feted the Liberal-Conservative candidate E.A. Glover after his release from prison where he had been placed for falsely claiming the property qualification when he had been elected M.P. in March 1857.(8)

Village and small town societies were never likely to become so openly partisan but after 1884 the annual feast days contain a definite political element. The Rev.A.N.Cooper recalled the following incident which occurred when he was preaching a club sermon at Kilham, probably in 1886:

A general election was on, and in the midst of the sermon the bandsmen were beckoned out of church and soon the strains of 'See the conquering hero comes' told us the Liberal candidate had entered the village for the club dinner. As the Conservatives of the club had paid their share towards the band, they were furious at its being used for party purposes.(9)

Members of Parliament and parliamentary candidates soon began to take over the role that had previously been the preserve of the clergy and local farmers by becoming the principal guests and chief speakers at the dinner on the feast days. Friendly societies vied with each other to

secure their attendance as well as that of other influential local figures, and their speeches became one of the highlights of the day.

(10) The politicians' interest in attending what were by far the largest working-class organisations in the countryside was particularly noticeable when elections were pending or where the difference between the support for the parties was minimal. The Local Government Act of 1888 added county councillors to the ranks of the local politicians and they began to attend feast days. In 1890 Hutton Cranswick Foresters' feast was presided over by the vicar supported by two fellow clergymen and three county councillors, one of whom was also the local Liberal agent.(11) As well as attending the club feast politicians and others showed their support with donations and annual subscriptions and at the end of the century these sums were important additions to the club funds. Middleton Foresters were receiving £4-£5 in donations on the feast day at the end of the century.(12) As the political importance of the friendly societies increased so did their ability to recruit honorary members who although contributing substantially to the club funds had no say in its management. In 1896 the Loyal Percy lodge of Oddfellows at Pocklington had seven honorary members including four active Conservatives, one Liberal, an Anglican clergyman and the local newspaper proprietor. Two of them were vice-presidents of the town's Conservative club; one, Thomas Robson, solicitor, was the Conservative agent for Howdenshire, clerk to the rural district council and the poor law guardians, vice-president of the cricket club and floral and horticultural society and a churchwarden, the other, Henry Sydney Powell, another solicitor, also held these last three positions and was secretary of the Primrose League and a member of the Urban District Council. (13)

Nationally few friendly societies equalled the total of 41 honorary members amassed by the Garden of Eden lodge of the National United Order

of Free Gardeners at Driffield by 1912. They included tradesmen, doctors, solicitors, clergy, Hull Brewery Company and two Members of Parliament. (14) These two M.P.s, Sir Luke White and Mark Sykes, were probably the politicians who most actively cultivated the friendly society interest in the East Riding in the years before the First World War.

Mark Sykes (1879-1919) was the son of Sir Tatton Sykes II (1826-1913) the leading landowner in the East Riding with an estate of over 30,000 acres centred on the family seat at Sledmere.(15) Sir Tatton's brother Christopher was Conservative M.P. for the East Riding 1868-85 and then for the Buckrose division 1885-92. From 1907 to 1911 Mark Sykes was the Unionist candidate for Buckrose before being elected for Central Hull in the latter year. He succeeded to the Sledmere estate and baronetcy in 1913.(16) The background of Luke White (1845-1920) was in stark contrast to that of his much younger political opponent. The son of an engine-driver, from Deighton near York, he was largely self-educated. At the age of 14 he was working as an assistant-cum-errand boy in a provision shop in York when he obtained a position in the office of a leading solicitor in the city. By hard work and 'natural ability' he became a much respected clerk in the firm and in 1868 he was appointed managing clerk to George Hodgson, a Driffield solicitor. He was taken on as an articled pupil and on the death of his employer six years later, soon after White had qualified, he took over the practice. White was a member of the local board of health 1877-94, being chairman for the last six years, and in 1889 he was returned as one of the county councillors for the town. Three years later he became a county alderman but had to retire from this post when he successfully stood for the position of County Coroner in 1896. He was an active nonconformist and was closely involved in the political life of the Bridlington-Driffield area. On the creation of the Buckrose parliamentary division in 1885 White became the

Liberal agent and was instrumental in the election of W. MacArthur by one vote in 1886. Christopher Sykes however petitioned against this result and MacArthur was subsequently unseated and Sykes declared the victor by eleven votes. In the two following elections, in 1892 and 1895 the Liberal Angus Holden, with White as his agent, was returned. At the 1900 election White himself stood and against strong opposition successfully held the seat for the Liberals by 91 votes. Six years later he increased his slender majority to 1602 in defeating Lord Garnock.(17)

White's strong position was threatened in February 1907 when Mark Sykes declared his intention of standing as the Unionist candidate for Buckrose at the next election.(18) Up until this time White had had the advantage over his previous opponents for he was a local man with strong support from the dominant nonconformist interest in the small towns and larger villages of the constituency.(19) Sykes, albeit a Roman Catholic, also had great influence in the area, and his personality and family connections won him wide support and posed a real threat to the Liberal position. A period of intense political activity began and throughout the four years 1907-10 Sykes and White competed vigorously for the votes of the local populace. In the forefront of each man's campaign was attendance at the annual feasts of the friendly societies. These gatherings gave the candidates their best opportunity of reaching many of the rural working class voters and they were also aware of the value of the publicity in being seen to support such important institutions.

White had an advantage in that he had long been involved with the friendly society movement in the area. As early as 1875, at the commencement of his political career, he had become an honorary member of the Nafferton Shepherds and he had paid frequent visits to their annual feasts and those of other societies. (20) This involvement was intensified in the summers of 1908-10 although White's commitments at House of Commons gave him fewer opportunities than Sykes of attending

the feasts. In 1908 Sykes received invitations to at least 23 friendly society feasts in the Buckrose division. The invitations usually came directly from the lodge or court secretary a few weeks or even days before the event and Sykes usually responded in the affirmative and enclosed with his reply a half guinea donation whether or not he was able to attend. In May-June 1908 Sykes attended the feasts at North Frodingham, Filey, Foxholes, Foston, Burton Fleming, Middleton, Hutton Cranswick, Wold Newton, Hunmanby, Leavening and Rillington. White was present at two of the above and sent apologies on at least two other occasions. In August Sykes also gave a lecture on friendly societies at a meeting at Helperthorpe arranged by the vicar to promote a branch of the National Deposit Friendly Society.(21)

In the early summer of 1909 Sykes accepted invitations to 22 feasts and attended 17, White attended at least nine and sent apologies to others. On seven occasions they appeared together with White, as the sitting member, taking precedence at the table and in the speeches.(22) The importance that White attached to attendance at the club feasts is evidenced by the lengths which he took to get to them. On one occasion he reached Middleton church just in time for the morning feast-day service having taken part in a division at the House of Commons at midnight.(23) On other occasions two feasts were visited in one day, and Mark Sykes spoke three times at the different dinners of the Rillington friendly societies on the same day in June 1909.(24)

The speeches in 1909 were often on topics of interest to friendly societies such as old age pensions and national insurance although Sykes usually dealt with the Territorial Forces as well. There are few clues in the newspaper reports to the political opinions of the leading figures in the friendly societies but in general the sympathies seem to have been with White and the Liberals. In 1895 it was reported of Angus Holden, the Liberal candidate for Buckrose, that his 'nomination papers

have been signed respectively by leading members of the friendly societies, by the temperance party, and by the Liberal executive'.(25) Enthusiastic responses to White's appearances at club feasts are recorded while Sykes often only gets a passing reference. Sometimes support was more openly given as is shown by the following extract from the report of Foston on the Wolds feast in 1909 at which both Sykes and White were present.

In submitting the toast of 'The Houses of Parliament' the chairman, Marmaduke Sellers, [a local farmer], congratulated Sir Luke White, whose name was coupled with the toast, on the honour of knighthood. He had thoroughly earned the title 'and long may he continue to be our member' said Mr Sellers 'I am sure' he added 'we shall never get a better' (applause). (26)

The campaigns of White and Sykes culminated in the two elections of January and December 1910 both of which White won with majorities of 218 and 237 respectively. Sykes's supporters attributed his comparatively narrow defeat to the 'Nonconformist difficulty'.(27) Sykes was eventually returned as Unionist M.P. for Central Hull in July 1911 and the first person to welcome him, on his entry into the House of Commons, was Sir Luke White. Later in the day Sykes took part in his first division which coincidentally related to friendly societies and he was pleased to note that he and White entered the same lobby together: 'Luke had sworn to help them'.(28)

The later nineteenth century provided the members of rural friendly societies increasing opportunities to become involved in local politics. Forster's Education Act of 1870 which led to the establishment of School Boards saw many working men elected to local government positions for the first time. The third Reform Act of 1884 gave them the right to vote in parliamentary elections and that was followed by the Local Government Act of 1888 which established county councils and the act of 1894 which set up parish and district councils. A man who had held an

administrative position in a branch of an affiliated order would have both the expertise and connections that would make him an ideal candidate for membership of a school board or parish councils and many of the early members of these bodies were such men. Amongst the members of Cranswick School Board were William Duke, shoemaker, secretary of the Oddfellows' lodge and Singleton Bowes, blacksmith, long serving Chief Ranger of the Foresters' Court.(29) At Keyingham Henry Clark, shoemaker and grocer, and Richard Westmorland, shoemaker, chairmen and members of the school board, were both past officers and trustees of the Foresters' court.(30)

Membership of a parish council, by an active member of a friendly society, was seen by the orders nationally as beneficial to the movement. In May 1894 the monthly journal of the National United Order of Free Gardeners contained an article entitled 'Friendly societies and parish councils' in which village branches were urged to interest themselves in the new form of government. Members 'possess a certain amount of practical experience, which they have acquired in the administration of the funds of their society, which should prove of considerable value to the community on whose behalf it is exercised.' The member pressing for improved sanitation and water supply through the parish council would materially benefit the society.(31) Wesleyan Methodists were similarly urged to seek membership by their monthly magazine for 'among our local preachers, class-leaders, and Sunday-schoolteachers there are many who possess sufficient local knowledge, general intelligence, and power of expression to qualify them for honourable service in the village parliament'.(32)

Both Methodism and the affiliated orders could claim to have been the breeding ground for the new village politicians and many examples of parish councillors with backgrounds in these movements can be cited. William Duke of Cranswick, mentioned above, secretary of the Oddfellows

and a Primitive Methodist Local Preacher headed the poll in the first parish council election. His fellow school board member the Forester Singleton Bowes who was also a Primitive Methodist served as a parish and district councillor and poor law guardian.(33) At Lund, Donald Barker, secretary to the Oddfellows' lodge and James Teal, lodge treasurer and Past Provincial Grand Master, were elected to the parish council in 1894. Barker came second in the poll. His predecessor as lodge secretary for forty years, William Petch, wheelwright and Primitive Methodist local preacher was elected parish councillor for Middleton as was Robert Witty, farmer, who had held office in the village Foresters.(34) At Lockington, John Wood, miller a former secretary of the Foresters and John Ireland, blacksmith, a former court treasurer and Chief Ranger were chosen members of the first council and at Elloughton Richard Taylor, Vice-Grand, 1894, and Noble Grand, 1895, of the Oddfellows lodge, came top of the poll.(35)

The thirty years before the First World War saw the rural friendly societies reach a peak in their political and social importance; they were the representatives of the working and artisan class and they knew it. Their membership was rarely sectarian for although Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist were probably in the majority, active Anglicans frequently played an important role in their administration. The changing role of the feast day from a recruiting day for a benefit club to the whole community's principal social event underlines the way that the affiliated branches had broadened their role since the early meetings of groups of labourers and craftsmen in the village alehouse. In 1908 the feast day invitation sent to Mark Sykes by Middleton Foresters was accompanied by a covering letter from the 'squire', Captain Brooksbank of Middleton Hall, who commented to Sykes that his attendance would give him 'a good opportunity to get to know the people of Middleton'.(36)

The political role of the societies, however, was not just passive; they were aware of their power and the way that they were the most representative working class organisation. Nationally this was demonstrated in their involvement by the Government in the discussions and schemes for state benefits and on a local level the societies and individual members sought membership of committees, boards and councils to put the working-class case. In 1892 the friendly societies of Bridlington were urged to 'get themselves to work now and get some working men picked out to be their representatives on the Board of Guardians'. Already a united committee of the town's friendly societies had managed to get the Chief Ranger of the Foresters elected on to the local hospital committee.(37) Officials of village friendly societies were particularly successful when they sought membership of school boards and parish councils, from their position in the societies they could count on many votes and their administrative experience made them valuable members of any representative body.

As will be discussed in the next chapter the financial benefits provided by the friendly societies were not as vital to the working-class economy by the First World War. This in conjunction with the decline of their social role eroded their political importance and after the war they were no longer courted by the politicians.

(1) For the political importance of the market ordinary and the agricultural society meeting before 1880 see R.J.Olney, Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885, London, 1973, pp.66-72, 228-30.

(2) R.J.Olney, 'The Politics of Land', in G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, London, 1981, vol.1, p.67

(3) Salisbury (Hatfield) Papers, Lowther to Northcote, 20 November 1884 quoted in Olney, 'The Politics of Land', p.67. After 1885 'those aspiring to be members for Lincolnshire divisions had to do more than merely attend a few markets and speak at a few ploughing meetings. Local politics were now a matter of village meetings, of travelling the length and breadth of an awkwardly shaped constituency to make full-length speeches to tiny audiences ... During the 1892 election campaign the

Liberal candidate for the Louth division, R.W.Perks, drove nearly three hundred miles in ten days and spoke in nearly seventy villages.'

R.J.Olney, Rural society and county government in nineteenth century Lincolnshire, Lincoln, 1979, p.156

(4) H.Rider Haggard, The Days of My Life, vol.ii, London, 1926, p.115 quoted in H.Pelling, Social geography of British Elections 1885-1910, London, 1967, p.11. Lord Francis Hervey, a former M.P. for Bury St.Edmunds 1885-92 detailed these charitable subscriptions to his nephew, the prospective candidate, in 1904: 'The major things were in the nature of capital expenditure I think - a mission hall to be erected; church repaired; organ provided; important alterations to hospital; minor things, ordinary contributions to football and cricket club; sports at the Grammar School ...; prizes to schools £1 a year or in small cases 10/-; Friendly Societies and their outings ... Then there would be a certain number of eleemosynary subscriptions ...' *ibid.*

(5) e.g. HCRO DDBV/57/21 receipt of 8s 3d half year contribution of John Wharton, M.P. to Beverley Friendly Society 1792; Hull Advertiser 20/5/1852 M.Ps subscriptions to Hull Good Samaritan Lodge IOOF KU.

(6) William Crosskill (1801-88) the founder of the firm, was an 'advanced Liberal' and was for over 20 years a Liberal councillor in Beverley alongside his brother-in-law Daniel Boyes who controlled the Liberal interest in the town. Crosskill was Grand Master of Beverley District of IOOF MU in 1851 and secretary of the District in 1878, he was also examining officer for IOOF MU in Beverley. Laws of Beverley District Branch IOOF MU, Beverley, 1851 also signed by John Crosskill, PPGM; Rules of Beverley District Branch IOOF MU, Beverley, 1878; Directory and list of lodges, IOOF MU, 1850, 1868; J.Markham, Nineteenth-century Parliamentary elections in East Yorkshire, East Yorkshire Local History Series, 37, 1982, pp. 31-32; Beverley and Market Weighton Star 19 + 26/1/1984; John Crosskill was a district trustee 1851-58 and examining officer 1835-58. James Gawan Crosskill, (1823-81) manager of Crosskill's ironworks, also served as Provincial Grand Master of Beverley District, and Grand Master and trustee of Rising Star lodge. Minute book of Rising Star lodge, Oddfellows Hall, Beverley.

(7) Hull Advertiser 10/9/1841

(8) Beverley Guardian 21/6/1890

(9) A.N.Cooper, Tales of my tramps, London, 1913, p.27; Parish Magazine, August 1886.

(10) The presence of M.Ps. and their speeches are aspects of the feasts well remembered by older inhabitants:

'In the afternoon the M.P. for the district and all these big men used to come and make speeches ... They'd come about three o'clock and make speeches for anyone to go into the marquee ...' George Noble, Pocklington (Warter feast) recorded 1979 by D.Neave.

(11) Beverley Guardian 21/6/1890

(12) Middleton Foresters' cash book

(13) Robson was also chairman of the choral and orchestral society and president of the rugby football club. Pocklington Weekly News 2/11, 7/12, 21/12/1895; 8/2, 15/2, 29/2, 14/3, 28/3, 11/4, 24/10/1896; D.Neave, Pocklington 1660-1914, Beverley, 1971, p.45.

(14) National United Order of Free Gardeners, Annual returns, directory and reference book, 1913

(15) B.English, 'On the eve of the Great Depression: The economy of the Sledmere estate 1869-78', Business History, vol.25, no.1, 1982, p.24

(16) R.Adelson, Mark Sykes: Portrait of an amateur, London, 1975;

S.Leslie, Mark Sykes: His life and letters, London, 1923; C.Sykes, Four studies in loyalty, London, 1946, pp.11-39 for Christopher Sykes.

(17) Hull News 21/8/1920; Hull Daily Mail 18/8/1920; Beverley Guardian 21/8/1920; Pocklington Weekly News 14/6/1919; F.W.S.Craig, British

Parliamentary Elections 1885-1918, London, 1974, p.424

- (18) S.Leslie, p.208
- (19) White it would seem was a Congregationalist, for his funeral was conducted by a Congregational minister, but he was accepted by all the nonconformist groups. e.g. In October 1887 he was present when his wife laid the foundation stone for Watton Primitive Methodist chapel. H.Woodcock, p.109; Hull News 21/8/1920
- (20) Beverley Guardian 21/6/1890; Hull News 9/7/1909; Parish Magazine August 1889, August 1890 and August 1897.
- (21) HUL DDSY(2) 2B Mark Sykes correspondence 1 April-1 October 1908; Parish Magazine July 1908, pp.181, 184-5, 188, 194, 201; August 1908, pp.215, 224, 227.
- (22) Hull News 29/5, 5/6, 12/6, 19/6, 26/6, 3/7, 10/7/1909; Pocklington Weekly News 3/7/1909; HUL DDSY(2) 2/3 Mark Sykes engagement diary 1909.
- (23) Hull News 12/6/1909; Pocklington Weekly News 3/7/1909.
- (24) *ibid.*
- (25) Hull News 13/7/1895
- (26) Hull News 29/5/1909, White was knighted in 1908 partly in recognition of his work in establishing a scheme for widows and orphans.
- (27) S.Leslie, p.216; Between the two elections Sykes attended 15 friendly society feasts and presided over an Oddfellows' conference at Malton. HUL DDSY(2) 2/4 Mark Sykes pocket book 1910.
- (28) S.Leslie, p.216. Sir Luke White remained member for Buckrose until 1918 when he resigned following a mental breakdown consequent upon it being discovered that for fifteen years he had been embezzling his clients' funds to pay for his parliamentary life. White died in 1920 in Driffield workhouse. Pocklington Weekly News 14/6/1920; Hull News 21/8/1920.
- (29) see above pp. 236 & 239
- (30) see above pp. 237-38
- (31) National United Order of Free Gardeners, The Monthly Journal, May 1894, pp.154-155
- (32) E.Salt, 'Parish councils and village Methodism', The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1894, p.693; R.J.Olney, 'The Politics of land', pp.67-68.
- (33) see above pp. 236 & 239
- (34) Beverley Guardian, 8/12, 22/12/1894; see above pp. 235-6
- (35) Beverley Guardian, 8/12, 22/12/1894.
- (36) HUL DDSY(2) 2B Captain A.H.Brooksbank to Mark Sykes 26 May 1908
- (37) Bridlington Gazette 10/12, + 17/12/1892.

VICTORIA LODGE

377

No. 479,

United Ancient Order of Druids Hull District.

Held at the British Workman, Potter Hill, Beverley.

NOTICE.

To the Public, and especially to those who are desirous of providing for themselves and their families in time of sickness and at death. The wisest plan is to join a Friendly Society that is founded on a sound financial basis, and of such is the United Ancient Order of Druids. This Lodge is open to admit strong and healthy young men at the following very low scale of initiation:—

	£	s	d.
From 18 Years of Age and under 30...	0	2	6
" 30 "	33...	0	5 0
" 33 "	35...	0	7 6
" 36 "	40...	1	0 0

The scale of Contribution is Tenpence per Fortnight, which includes the Surgeon's Fee. The scale of Benefits is as under:—

In Sickness—10s. per week for 26 weeks.
" 7s. 6d. " 26 weeks.
" 5s. " 52 weeks.

And then it is left to the discretion of the Lodge, providing it does not exceed 4s. per week.

SCALE OF BENEFITS AT DEATH.

	£	s	d
A Member	12	0	0
Member's Wife... ..	10	0	0
Member's Second Wife	5	0	0

All Members are free to receive Sick and Death benefits at the expiration of Six Months, providing they have paid their entrance fees. There is one special advantage to persons becoming members, viz., Three Months to pay their Entrance Money in, and still be free to receive all benefits.

The Victoria Lodge, No. 479, U.A.O.D., is a Branch of the Hull District, numbering at the present time 4,000 Members, and belongs to one of the best Orders in the United Kingdom. It is established throughout England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Australia, and America.

There is no Over-age Money paid in this Lodge, and no Graduated Scale in force. All Members pay alike and all receive the same benefits. Lodge Meetings are held every alternate Saturday night, at the British Workman. It is Registered pursuant to the Friendly Societies Act, 1875.

There is also a District Distress Fund, whereby any member through misfortune being incapacitated from following his trade or calling, will receive the sum of £15, to enable him to start some business. This gift is given after all benefits have been received. There is a Board Fund too, whereby a Lodge, when it cannot pay its members in full during sickness, it will receive means to meet its liabilities, and keep it so until it becomes Financially strong.

For further information apply to the following Officers and Brothers:

- P.A. Anthony Hunt, Becksid, Beverley.
- P.A. J. Marshall, Grovehill, "
- P.A. E. Binnington, Well Lane, "
- P.A. T. Wood, Keld Gate, "
- P.A. R. Walgate, Tailor, Mkt. Place "
- Bro. F. W. Tomlinson, Sigston St., "

Fig. 19 : Poster publicising the Victoria Lodge, United Ancient Order of Druids, Beverley c1880

Chapter 10

BENEFITS OF MEMBERSHIP

There are many questions raised by the subject of friendly societies that have not been, or cannot be, answered in this thesis but there are two that really require some treatment for they are fundamental to the topic: 'What were the financial benefits of joining a friendly society, particularly a branch of an affiliated order? and to what extent were these benefits of assistance to the rural working class?'

The benefits received by members of affiliated order friendly societies in return for their contributions and special levies were of four main types:

- a) financial relief when unable to work through sickness,
 - b) a lump sum on the death of member and members' wife generally known as the funeral benefit,
 - c) medical aid for members,
- and d) a travelling allowance when seeking work.

Although it has been stated that Foresters' courts required lower contributions than Oddfellows' lodges and therefore were more popular amongst agricultural labourers there is no evidence for markedly different contribution rates between the orders or individual branches in the East Riding. The contributions and benefits of affiliated branches were surprisingly uniform but they could vary considerably from those of local societies and generally were in advance of the sums charged or granted by the latter in the years before the arrival of the orders. The contributions paid by members of twelve East Riding local societies in the years 1822-32 ranged from 8d a month in the case of

Beverley Independent society to 1s 3d a month for members of the Kilham Union and Driffield Union societies, while up to the mid-1850s the sum required weekly by the affiliated branches was 4d-5d per week.(1) In addition the orders did sometimes make levies for funeral funds and frequently had separate contributions for the medical fund.

The differences between local societies and affiliated branches in one market town are detailed in the Statistical Society report on Malton in 1844. The report tabulates the contributions and benefits of 15 friendly societies in the town, three of which were local societies and the rest affiliated branches comprising five Oddfellows' lodges, three Shepherds' lodges, two Gardeners' lodges, a Foresters' court and a gorsedd of the Ancient Druids. The three local societies, two of which required 12d a month and one 14d in contributions, paid 7s a week sickness benefit for 6 months then it was reduced to 3s. The affiliated branches however all required 16d a month contribution in return for 10s a week sick pay for 6 months, then 5s for a further 6 months and 3s thereafter. Two of the local societies only gave £2 10s funeral gift, the other gave £7, while the affiliated branches uniformly gave £10.(2) The rule books of East Riding societies indicate a similar pattern of benefits. Thirteen local societies in the years 1820-34 paid sickness benefits of from 5s to 8s per week for a year then from 2s 6d to 3s 6d, and an average funeral benefit of £6. Twelve lodges and courts of seven different orders for the years 1851-70 had a standard sickness benefit of 10s per week for the first six months reducing to 5s-7s 6d for the following six months then 3s 6d-5s for the next six months, a year or indefinitely. Four of the branches used their discretion on the rate after 18 to 24 months. The funeral benefit ranged from £10-£12.(3) The individual sums paid on sickness and death hardly changed from the late 1830s to the First World War but with increased actuarial experience the chief orders introduced graduated scales of initiation fees and contributions relating to age,

or age on joining, from the 1850s.(4) In 1853 the IOOF MU first adopted graduated scales of contributions which were amended in 1866.(5) The Foresters initially attempted reforms in 1847 by introducing over-age payments for entrants between 37 and 45 years and in 1863 the admission of anyone over 40 was prohibited. It was not until January 1872 that the order adopted compulsory graduated contributions but even then many courts were unwilling to implement them and when the measure was enforced in 1885 it resulted in the suspension of 52 courts.(6) Even though nationally the Foresters lagged behind the Oddfellows in introducing compulsory graduated scales there was often very little difference in the scales in force in local branches. For example the following tables were in force for a Beverley Foresters' court and Long Riston Oddfellows' lodge in 1859-60:

Table 75 : Tables of contributions and benefits
IOOF MU and AOF branches 1859-60
IOOF MU Farmers' Refuge Lodge, Long Riston 1860

Age at admission	Initiation Fee			Weekly Contribution	Additional Contribution		
	£	s	d		£	s	d
18-21	0	5	0	4d	0	0	0
22-23	0	5	0	4d	0	0	0
24-26	0	7	6	4d	0	2	0
27-29	0	10	0	4d	0	3	4
30	1	0	0	4d	0	4	3
31	1	2	6	4d	0	4	3
32	1	5	0	4d	0	4	5
33	1	7	6	4d	0	5	8
34	1	10	0	4d	0	6	7
35-38	1	12	6	4d	0	7	6

A contribution of 2d (monthly) required from each member to defray necessary expenses of management. Benefits: Sickness - First 26 weeks 10s per week, second 26 weeks 7s 6d per week and remainder of illness 3s 6d per week; At the death of a member £12, member's wife £10, second wife £3.(7)

AOF Court Beverley, Beverley 1859

Age at admission	Initiation Fee			Weekly Contribution	Additional Contribution		
	£	s	d		£	s	d
18-21	0	5	0	4d	0	0	0
22-24	0	5	0	4d	0	0	6
25-29	0	7	6	4d	0	1	0
30	0	10	0	4d	0	2	6
31	0	10	0	4d	0	3	0
32	0	10	0	4d	0	3	6
33	0	10	0	4d	0	4	0
34	0	10	0	4d	0	4	9
35	0	12	6	4d	0	5	6
36	0	12	6	4d	0	6	3
37	0	12	6	4d	0	7	0
38	0	12	6	4d	0	8	0
39	0	12	6	4d	0	9	0

Benefits: Sickness - First 26 weeks 10s per week, second 26 weeks 6s per week and third 26 weeks 3s per week ; At the death of a member £12, member's wife £10, second wife £6.(8)

In the case of the Oddfellows' lodge a member was free to receive sickness benefits at the end of six calendar months after the whole of the initiation fee had been paid and funeral money after twelve calendar months. But with the Foresters' court the situation was reversed and it was the funeral money that was obtainable after six months and the sickness benefit after twelve months.

Potentially the benefits were very great. For example a married agricultural labourer who joined Long Riston Oddfellows at the age of 22 on 1 January 1859 would probably pay into the lodge funds about £2.40p during his first two years membership. If however he was, through illness, incapable of work from 1 January 1860, and on 1 March his wife died and he himself died after a year long illness then he would have received, including the funeral gift to his nearest relative, at least £44-10p plus free medical attention in the two years. Fortunately for

the branches such an occurrence would be very unusual but the following case studies from Lund Oddfellows do give examples almost as damaging to the lodge funds.(9)

Case studies

The entries in the early contribution and cash books of St.Peter's lodge, IOOF MU, Lund provide illuminating case studies of the contributions paid and financial benefits received by individuals in the 19 years from September 1839 to August 1858. Twenty-one individual cases have been randomly selected for study and their contributions and benefits are tabulated below.

Table 76 : Lund Oddfellows - individual members contributions and benefit payments 1839-58

Name	Occupation	Period of membership	Contributions	Benefits
1. Ben. Cobb	Publican	9/1839-12/1853	£14-25p	£53-68p
2. Dan.Dickinson	-	11/1839-8/1843	£3-02p	nil
3. Wilson Ward	Ag.lab.	2/1840-8/1858	£18-80p	£1-92p
4. Wm.Johnson	Ag.lab.	1/1840-4/1845	£4-87p	nil
5. David Keith	Ag.lab.	12/1839-2/1841	£1-13p	nil
6. Rbt.Holdenby	Ag.lab.	11/1839-8/1858	£19-15p	£12-50p
7. John Robinson	Schoolmstr.	9/1839-8/1858	£18-94p	£1-17p
8. Joseph Wade	-	7/1840-9/1854	£14-37p	0-50p
9. Robert Smith	Ag.lab.	10/1840-2/1841	0-27p	nil
10.Edward Bowser	Ag.lab.	2/1841-8/1858	£17-97p	£9-00p
11.Francis Taylor	Ag.lab.	3/1841-2/1852	£10-63p	£2-50p
12.William Woodall	Ag.lab.	3/1841-8/1858	£18-15p	nil
13.John Ullyott	Shoemaker	5/1841-8/1858	£17-76p	£8-50p
14.Wm. Farmery	Farm servt.	4/1841-8/1843	£1-25p	nil
15.Thomas Cross	Ag.lab.	4/1841-8/1848	£6-33p	£1-92p
16.Wm.Sleights	Ag.lab.	4/1841-2/1852	£10-47p	£13-33p
17.Geo.Blakeston	Ag.lab.	4/1841-1/1849	£7-08p	£3-08p
18.John Ward	Ag.lab.	4/1841-8/1849*	£7-73p	£13-00p
19.Stabler Woodall	Ag.lab.	4/1841-12/1850	£9-02p	£53-75p
20.Thomas Arnott	Bricklayer	5/1841-8/1858	£18-41p	£2-42p
21.Richard Vary	Wheelwright	5/1841-8/1858	£18-05p	£1-75p
Total:			£237-65p	£179-02p

*died

Source: Oddfellows' Hall, Lund: St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU Contribution books 1839-56, 1856-69; Cash book 1839-58.

Of the 21 eight were still members in August 1858, one had died, one had drawn clearance and the other eleven had either been expelled for being arrears or their membership had lapsed. These eleven included three who received more in benefits than they paid in contributions during their membership. Two, Benjamin Cobb and Stabler Woodall, did exceptionally well and their membership was certainly beneficial to them. Cobb, the publican of the Wellington Inn, was a founder of the lodge and it met at his house. He was already in his early fifties when the lodge opened and it was in September 1845 that he first received sickness benefit. In 1845 he received £4 from the lodge in eight consecutive weekly payments of 10s and then again in 1850 £4 10s in consecutive payments. A long term illness commenced at the end of December 1850 and for six months Cobb was granted 10s a week, then a further six months at 7s a week, and finally over 80 weeks at 3s 6d per week. During this latter period his wife died and he received £10 funeral benefit for her and by mid-July 1853 he had received a total of £53 13s 6d from the lodge and contributed less than £14. Cobb notwithstanding his position as founder and initial host of the lodge was seemingly not popular and the minute books have frequent references to his case. In March 1851 he had to forfeit one week's sick gift as well as pay a fine of 5s on a charge of being tipsy when in receipt of relief. Five months later it was proposed, though not carried, that Cobb be suspended from all benefits of lodge for breaking some unnamed rule. The same proposal was made in April 1853 and finally on 18 July of that year it was 'unanimously agreed ... that Brother Benjamin Cobb be struck off from his sick gift'. Cobb took his case to the annual district meeting in December 1853 which decided in his favour, but the lodge appealed to the Grand Master and Board of Directors of the Order. On 9 May 1854 the village wheelwright and lodge treasurer, Past Provincial District Grand Master Richard Vary appeared before the appeal committee in Manchester but the outcome of

the case is not recorded. However by this date Cobb's membership of the order had lapsed through non-payment of his contributions. There may have been some understandable grievance at Cobb drawing substantial sick pay while still receiving income as publican. However this may not have been so for in the 1851 census he is described as 'late publican' and in August 1853 he went to live at South Dalton.

Stabler Woodall was seemingly a far more deserving beneficiary although he only paid £9 in contributions and received £53 75p in sickness benefit in his nine year membership of the lodge. Woodall, an agricultural labourer from Holme on the Wolds, was only 22 when he started receiving sick pay in 1844 which continued until May 1850. His sickness was probably a result of an accident for the following year he was in Hull infirmary. In June 1846 he went, with £5 from the lodge, to Cawood, near Selby, seeking the attention of a medical specialist. This visit was short lived but in March 1848 he was at Pocklington under the care of Dr. Thomas Wilson 'for his arm'. In March 1850 Woodall proposed to withdraw himself from the lodge in return for his funeral gift but this was not accepted and the following month the Oddfellows passed the following resolution:

that Bro.S.Woodall providing he can find employment to watch the cattle in the lanes of Lund still be required to do so; and that his pay shall cease when so employed which he is at present in receipt of weekly - and that after Michaelmas if again out of any employment he shall again be in receipt of his sick gift.

Woodall received his last sickness benefit on 4 May 1850 and was noted to have begun 'tenting' two days later. He made his last contribution to the lodge funds in December 1850 and was excluded for being in arrears the following year. An elderly one-armed Stabler Woodall is still remembered as living in Lund at the beginning of this century.(10)

The third principal beneficiary of the lodge, William Sleights,

agricultural labourer, was a member for eleven years during which time he contributed £10-47p and received £13-33p. He received sick pay for only 40 days and the bulk of the benefit was the £10 he received when his wife died of cholera at Hedon in August 1849.(11) Similarly it was the benefit for his wife's funeral that made up the bulk of Robert Holdenby's £12-50p that he received from the lodge during the years 1839-58. The other major recipient John Ward had only two weeks sick pay in 1842 during the eight years he contributed before dropping down dead in the harvest field in September 1849 when his family received £12 funeral gift.

In the case of eight whose membership lapsed through non-payment their contributions exceeded the benefits they received by £27-8p. Francis Taylor an agricultural labourer of Lund and Bracken was a member for over eleven years and he contributed regularly until 15 February 1852 from which date he made no more contributions. He had paid in £10-63p and received 40 days sick pay of £2-50. Willian Johnson received nothing for the £4-87 he paid in before emigrating to America in 1845. Another agricultural labourer Thomas Cross also went to America, in 1848, having paid in £6-33 and received £1-92 and the lodge secretary John Robinson noted: 'A Ranter Parson and left me in debt for money paid to lodge Bad Chap Trumpt up a packet of lies'. However it was from such defaulters as Thomas Cross that the lodge gained important income that helped pay for the increased call upon the funds by those who remained members for the rest of their lives.

The greatest expenditure of the orders was on sickness benefit and for this reason the granting of sick pay and the behaviour of the recipient was strictly controlled by the branches.(12) The rules and regulations relating to the actions of members who were 'on the box' is one aspect of the management that is well remembered and often criticised. (13)

When a member fell ill and wished to claim sick pay he had to give notice to his court or lodge with an accompanying certificate from the branch doctor. On receiving the notice from the member he was then visited by a branch officer, usually a visiting officer or sick steward, if resident within a reasonable distance, usually three miles, of the lodge or court house. The steward then had to visit the sick member at least once a week afterwards to pay him his benefit and check on his condition. Branches with a large membership often appointed a number of stewards serving those villages where the members were most numerous.(14) The steward, or any other member was supposed to report to the court or lodge if the person on sick benefit broke any of the branch rules relating to working or leisure pursuits. All the orders had similar rules to the following:

That no member whilst he is receiving sick pay from this lodge shall be allowed to do any kind of work, or take any violent exercise to aggravate his disease; he shall not be allowed to attend any feast, fair, or races, or be out after 6 o'clock in the evening, in the winter season, or before 9 o'clock in the morning, (that is from September 21st to March 21st), nor later than 9 o'clock in the summer, (that is from March 21st to September 21st), nor before 6 o'clock in the morning, any members violating this rule shall be fined to any amount not exceeding 1s, or not less than 2s 6d, as a majority of the lodge may think proper; and further, shall he be known to be intoxicated whilst he is receiving the sick benefits of this lodge, he shall be fined or expelled as a majority of the lodge may think fit.(15)

No member shall receive any relief when suffering from any hurt or illness caused by fighting, except standing in his own defence, or any unlawful games, exercises, or pursuits, or from the venereal disease or its effects, or from intoxication, nor unless he be in the United Kingdom, and which relief shall be withheld if he be out later than eight o'clock at night from the first of October to the first of April, and nine o'clock the remaining part of the year. No member, when upon the sick list, shall be allowed to do any kind of work whatever (except giving verbal orders, signing his name to receipts,

&c.) nor frequent gaming houses, or get intoxicated, nor leave the town or village in which he resides without the consent of the C.R., but the C.R. may demand a certificate if required. Any member violating this rule, shall be fined five shillings for the first offence, for the second ten shillings, and be excluded from all future benefits during that illness.(16)

That no brother, while receiving the gift of his Lodge, shall be allowed to go a greater distance than three miles from his residence, without a notice from his doctor. (17)

Much ill feeling was engendered by the way that men on sick pay were closely watched but it was seen to be in the interests of every member to keep the expenditure on benefits down to the minimum. Many members turned informer on their fellow villagers, even on members of their own family, in compliance with rules such as the following:

Any member of the Lodge knowing any member, whilst receiving the sick gift, doing any kind of work that is injurious to his health, or receiving any remuneration towards getting a livelihood, he shall immediately inform one of the Visiting officers, who shall bring the same before a committee; or knowing any member that is liable to a fine and not declaring it immediately shall pay the amount of fine himself, as a penalty.(18)

Branch minute books abound in cases of people charged with offences in relation to their receipt of sick pay. In 1846 Lund Oddfellows ordered that James Teale, blacksmith, of Lund should forfeit the 15 shillings sick pay he claimed because it was reported that he had been seen driving his cow. There were also other reports of him driving a horse and cart carrying pigs towards Beverley on Midsummer fair day and that he had bought and sold pigs there. William Robson stated that 'Brother Teale is when well in the habit of jobbing Pigs or any thing else whereby he considered he was following a part of usual business'. Teale denied the charges but admitted that he 'was at Weighton Market on Wednesday and Driffield Market on Thursday but did not enquire how pigs

sold at either of the Markets nor did no business whatever and did not order Iron or any thing else'.(19) John Shaw, of Lund, had to return one week's sick gift and was fined five shillings when he was seen taking up potatoes and was also reported as having been out after hours and to have been to Beverley and Scarborough.(20) W.H.Beilby of the Duke of Cumberland IOOF MU lodge, North Ferriby was fined 15s in 1868 'for disgraceful conduct in being at a public house until 11 o'clock p.m. whilst receiving sick relief.(21)

In March 1868 William Machen, visiting officer of Long Riston IOOF MU lodge, charged John Whitting, of Skirlaugh, with absenting himself from his residence and walking ten or eleven miles to a sale at Hatfield Grange when lame and that such activity was injurious to the complaint he was then claiming sick relief for. He was also charged with breaking other lodge rules by being absent in the evening and starting work while still claiming relief. The latter charge was made following a report from a witness James Rogerson who at 12 o'clock had seen a few sticks chopped in a heap in garden and when he passed in the evening there was a great deal larger heap. A lodge arbitration committee found Whitting guilty and he was fined 1s and was suspended for three months from all benefits. Unfortunately for Whitting his wife died during those three months and so he did not receive the £10 funeral benefit which was due.(22)

Restrictions on freedom of movement were sometimes lifted if it was thought that it would benefit the member's health and so shorten his time on sick pay. In August 1865 James Blackstone applied to Lund Oddfellows' lodge for leave to go to Bridlington and was refused but when in 1871 he applied to be allowed to go out for a week or two for the benefit of his health it was agreed to. Similarly in June 1874 when he was in the asylum at Beverley he was given permission to go to

Scarborough for his health 'providing his medical adviser deem it prudent and advisable'.(23)

The prohibition of any type of work when on 'club pay' was particularly restrictive and harsh on the elderly or anyone incapacitated from having a full time job who being in long term receipt of benefit only received two or three shillings. Charles Booth in The aged poor in England and Wales gives a number of examples of elderly men receiving club pay in the 1890s. One was a 79 year-old agricultural labourer in a Lincolnshire village, who was quite well except having one arm palsied. He had been a member of a benefit club since he was a boy.

He and his wife, almost as old as he and an invalid, who died some years ago, lived on their savings, and when these were run through he went on the parish, getting 3s a week, preferring this and odd jobs to appealing to the club, on which he thought he had no claim, not being sick. But the club volunteered to put him on the list, so now he is off the parish and receives 8s a week, to be reduced in 6 months to 6s, and after another 6 months lower. Being on the club, he now may not work - not even pick up sticks on the road, he says. So when the club pays only 3s or 4s the parish pay may seem a better bargain.(24)

Few clubs, particularly the affiliated branches, made any special provision for those who were not sick but were too old to work. Some however were considered as if they were sick and given long term relief. In the 1880-90s Lockington Foresters granted a pension of 3s a week to its oldest members and was not averse to them earning a little if they could and receiving parish relief but this does not seem to have been general practice. However if the pensioner was obtaining parish relief he had to use the parish doctor or pay for one out of his own pocket and could not make use of the court doctor.(25) Presumably this was to release the court doctor from what might be his most costly and time consuming patients.

Affiliated branches saw medical treatment as an important way of reducing the amount of sick and funeral benefit and soon after their establishment it was usual for them to make contracts with local doctors for the medical care of their members. For this service members usually paid a fixed sum per year additional to their weekly contributions.

Medical attendance

Court and lodge minute books contain considerable information on the provision of medical treatment. Much discussion took place about which doctor to take out a contract with and how much to pay him. Complaints concerning the doctor's treatment or lack of it were also dealt with. In most branches a contract was taken out with a local doctor annually and if he was not found suitable his contract was not renewed the following year. In May 1841 six months after its opening the members of Court Wellington AOF at Lockington decided to appoint a court surgeon and the secretary was asked 'to make neighbouring surgeons acquainted with the proposition in order that they may furnish the Court with proposals and terms &c of attending'. The following month two doctors were proposed; John Wood of Middleton and William Bulmer of Lund. Wood was unanimously elected on the terms of:

2/6d pr member pr annum for members residing in the townships of Lockington, Lund, Middleton, Holme, South Dalton, Scarborough, Beswick, Aike, Kilnwick and Bracken and 1s per mile for attending on any member residing out of the above mentioned towns to be computed from the nearest of the above towns.

Wood, a leading Primitive Methodist, had already become the doctor to Middleton Foresters and Lund Oddfellows and he had joined the former as a benefit member. For some reason however Wood did not suit and the following year Lockington Foresters chose Mr. Sandwith of Beverley as

their surgeon and he retained this position until 1855. He was followed by Mr.Brereton of Beverley in 1856-57, Dr.Foster of Lockington 1858-59, then Brereton again 1860-67, and Mr.Hartley 1868-79. The death of Hartley opened up the whole question of a court surgeon; he was intially replaced by a Dr.Stephenson in 1879-80 and then a Dr.Appleton in 1881. In January 1882 a ballot was held between the two, Appleton receiving 38 votes and Stephenson 14. At the end of the year a further ballot was held this time on the proposal:

That each member elects his own Dr. providing that he does not go beyond a certain limit of his residence and that the same amount be paid as now, and that if the money paid by members is not sufficient each member makes up the balance of his own account.

This was passed by 29 to 20 votes and from then on this was the policy of the court.(26)

The minute books of Lund Oddfellows provide more details of contracts taken out with the doctors. In 1841 Dr.Wood undertook to find medicines and treat every sick or lame member for the sum of 2s 6d per head per annum to be paid by every member at the end of each year. If the doctor had to travel over three miles from the lodge he was to have one shilling per mile from the lodge funds. On his first visit to a sick or lame member he was, 'through the medium of a certificate printed for that purpose', to 'make a report of the state and condition of the member to one of the principal lodge officers. The following year a member charged Dr.Wood with neglect and in 1843 Dr.Bulmer was elected surgeon by a great majority. His contract was for members within 5 miles of lodge and he was to provide, in addition to medicines, six leeches for each member if needed. All medicine bottles were to be returned or 1½d to be paid for each bottle retained unless broken by accident. The medical treatment did not cover any venereal disease or 'hurt by

fighting or drunkenness'.(27)

The amount paid per member to the doctor varied from branch to branch but 2s 6d to 3s was the normal sum although in 1875 Long Riston Oddfellows agreed to pay Dr. Calvert of Brandesburton 5s per member.(28) Although being a club doctor was not necessarily lucrative it could form the mainstay of a practice. As the clubs grew in size and medical men became more numerous the competition for club contracts in the towns became quite intense with doctors under cutting each other.(29) Nationally this caused great disquiet and the British Medical Association and the medical press, particularly the British Medical Journal and The Lancet, waged what was termed the 'battle of the clubs' from the late 1860s up to the introduction of National Insurance.(30) In 1868 the British Medical Association listed four main grievances with the system:

the clubs included many persons whose social position was above that of the class for whose benefits they were intended; the amount of services in illness demanded of a doctor was frequently out of all proportion to the real necessities of the case; the wages of labourers had increased rapidly in the past years without any corresponding rise in the remuneration of club doctors; and no arrangement was made for protracted cases of illness or those requiring special and constant attention.(31)

They pressed for at least 5s per head per year, 2s 6d for medical certificates of admission and a scale of fees for special cases. There were attempts over many years in local areas to encourage doctors to combine together to raise the fees. In Hull in the 1890s the local professional medical society, with the backing of 90% of local doctors, got an agreement amongst its members not to accept club appointments below 4s. One doctor however entered into a secret agreement with local friendly societies to work for less and immediately he secured a very

large increase in club patients. This led other doctors to abandon their demands and payments dropped to 2s 6d and the campaign failed.(32) Elsewhere attempts at a professional monopoly similarly failed and in a number of towns the doctors' campaigns led to friendly societies combining to establish medical institutes where they employed their own doctors and provided medical attention for whole families.(33) This service was of little use to isolated rural branches which generally continued to make contracts with local doctors until the coming of National Health Insurance. Rural branches were also seemingly little concerned with a third type of relief that the affiliated orders saw as a major service for their members that was the provision of allowances for unemployed members travelling in search of work.

Travelling relief

Trade unions had long provided travelling relief and it was a necessary feature of the relief granted by the chief affiliated orders.(34) The rules of the IOOF MU stated that one of its objects was 'for assisting members when compelled to travel in search of employment' and the laws of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows stated more specifically that it had 'the purpose of enabling them [members], when out of employment, to travel in search of work at the expense of the society'.(35) The rules of the GUOOF laid down that any person who had been a member for twelve months and was unemployed, through no fault of his own, could apply for a travelling card which would be issued at the discretion of the lodge or lodge officers. As well as a card the member would be given a number of cheques, previously purchased by the lodge from the national headquarters, which were to be cashed by the district branches in the towns to which the member travelled. The cards were usable for six months. If the member refused any suitable work his card would be

stopped.(36) Similar schemes existed in the Independent Order of Oddfellows MU, Ancient Order of Foresters, United Ancient Order of Druids and the National United Order of Free Gardeners. The IOOF MU issued a card and the current travelling password which had to be given to the examining officer of the district where the member sought relief and the AOF provided a licence and a number of pre-paid cheques.(37) The allowances laid down in the 1878 rules of the NUOFG were 1d per mile between each relieving office plus a bed for not more than 4d. On Saturday 1s extra was given and provision for a bed for Sunday night.(38)

Minute books of East Riding village Oddfellows' lodges and Foresters' courts that have been consulted rarely contain mentions of the granting of travelling cards or licences but they were not uncommon in Beverley.(39) In February 1842 the Hull Advertiser recorded that a large number of members, as many as 20 a day, of the Beverley district of IOOF MU were applying for travelling allowances of 1s 6d a day to go looking for work.(40) The minute book of the Rising Star lodge, IOOF MU, Beverley shows that seven travelling cards were granted in the years 1859-64.(41) A travelling card issued on 25 September 1869 to John Hepton, a 32 year old smith, of the Loyal Triumph Lodge, IOOF MU, Beverley, records that he received relief at Beverley on 27 September, Hull on 11 October, Newcastle-on-Tyne on 14 October, North Shields on 15 October, Sunderland, Bishop Wearmouth and Middlesbrough on 16 October, Middlesbrough again the following day, Stockton and Thirsk on 18 October and finally at Malton on the 19 October 1869. He usually received 6d from each examining officer.(42)

The issue of travelling licences or cards was never very great and fluctuated with the state of the economy. Generally, as with trade unions, the number of licences issued by the affiliated orders declined as the century progressed.(43) Quinquennial figures are available for

the IOOF MU for the years 1848-72 and the number of cards granted declined from an annual average of 944 in the years 1848-52 to 441 in 1868-72.(44) In the three years 1873-75 the Oddfellows issued 466 cards and the Foresters 781 licences.(45) The number of men travelling each year constituted a very small proportion of total membership, for example in 1895 when the orders' membership was 577,156 only 220 travelling licenses were issued by the AOF in England, 52 of them in Staffordshire.(46)

Travelling cards, licences and diplomas ensured that a traveller if he fell sick on his journeys or if he died would receive the benefits to which he was due. In May 1839 a young Oddfellow from Osmotherly fell ill at Nafferton in the East Riding and as the Hull Advertiser recorded:

A stranger and far from his home, he found brothers with hearts ready to administer relief in the hour of necessity, and funds to administer both to his temporal and spiritual wants; his last remains, when consigned to the silent tomb, were attended by the brothers of Nafferton and Drifffield lodge.(47)

The importance of the elaborate public display of the affiliated order funeral has been described above and clearly the ensuring of a decent burial was one of the principal motives for joining a friendly society and the so called 'funeral benefit' was for many the principal and sometimes only benefit they received in return for many years contributions.

Funeral benefits

The horror of a pauper funeral led the majority of the working class to make provision in some way to avoid this eventuality as Samuel Smiles reported in Thrift:

The desire to secure respectable interment for departed relatives, is a strong and widely-diffused feeling among the labouring population; and it does them honour. They will subscribe for this purpose, when they will for no other. The largest of the working-men's clubs are burial clubs. Ten pounds are usually allowed for the funeral of a husband, and five pounds for the funeral of a wife. As much as fifteen, twenty, thirty, and even forty pounds, are occasionally expended on a mechanic's funeral, in cases where the deceased has been a member of several clubs, on which occasions the undertakers meet and 'settle' between them their several shares in the performance of the funeral. It is not unusual to insure a child's life in four or five of these burial clubs; and we have heard of a case where one man had insured payments in no fewer than nineteen different burial clubs in Manchester!(48)

The numerous burial clubs provided more than adequate funeral benefits for a modest monthly subscription or occasional collection on the death of a member. The usual £10 funeral benefit would provide a moderately lavish funeral especially in rural areas. The friendly societies, both local and affiliated, provided much more. The subscriber to a burial club may have had the usual funeral trappings of horse drawn hearse, oak coffin, mutes and the black crepe bedecked undertaker's men but he still could go to the grave virtually unaccompanied but the funeral of friendly society member would be attended by many of his fellow members who if belonging to an affiliated order would wear solemn regalia and go through an elaborate ritual.

The £10 or £12 paid by most affiliated branches on the death of a member and the £6 to £10 on the death of his wife were clearly for defraying 'the expense of the burial' but when the normal cost of a burial in the mid to late nineteenth century is considered this sum should have provided also important financial relief for the bereaved.(49) In 1843 the average expense of the funeral of an adult of the 'labouring class' was about £4 and in 1874 £8 15s would cover the cost of a funeral with

the following items.

Hearse and pair of horses; mourning coach and pair; velvet covering for carriages and horses; strong elm coffin, covered with fine black, plate of inscription, lid ornaments, three pairs of cherub handles and grips, and finished with best black nails, mattress, pillow and side sheets; use of silk velvet pall; two mutes with gowns, silk hat bands, and gloves; four men as bearers, and two coachmen with cloaks, hatbands, and gloves; four men as bearers, and two coachmen with cloaks, hatbands, and gloves; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band.(50)

In Hull in 1885 undertakers advertised funerals at £2.90p for which a superior hearse, two mourning coaches and a coffin fully trimmed and covered with cloth were provided. (51) In rural areas where there was not the extravagance of the undertakers paraphernalia the costs would have been less.(52) The burial book of a Long Riston joiner records costs ranging from £1.70p. for the coffin of an elderly widow in 1862 to £15 for the lavish burial of the wife of a wealthy farmer in 1872.(53)

If the friendly society funeral benefit was all spent at the time of burial a considerable amount must have been spent on the funeral feast. The Independent Order of Rechabites ruled that one-third of the funeral allowance would be forfeited if his widow or representatives knowingly provided intoxicating drink at the funeral. The society stewards also had to 'see that a good and sufficient coffin is provided,' and they had to attend the funeral 'to see that it is conducted with propriety and decorum'.(54)

Although it can be demonstrated that the funeral benefit of the affiliated orders was clearly sufficient for securing a 'decent internment' it is not as simple to demonstrate the value of the sickness benefit and answer those historians who have questioned its adequacy.(54) Once again surprisingly little has been written on the

benefits and it is only touched on in Gosden's two works.(55) Michael Anderson in his study of the family structure of Preston in the mid-nineteenth century makes a comment that 'the benefits of friendly society membership, though important, were limited', and Pamela Horn discussing the care of the elderly in Oxfordshire writes of the 'tiny weekly amount' allowed by an Oddfellows' lodge to an old agricultural labourer.(56) The size of the benefits were limited and often the actual sums were small but their significance lies not in comparing them with modern welfare benefits but in contrast to the mid-nineteenth century alternatives of the workhouse or meagre out-relief. There were indeed many friendly society members who after paying into a club for many years failed to get any benefit because either they defaulted on their contributions through neglect or hardship or the club 'broke up', but for the hundreds of thousands of working men who were life-long subscribers to well managed affiliated branches the benefits were often substantial and in the mid-nineteenth century the sick pay constituted a high proportion of the normal weekly wage of most town and rural labourers.

Agricultural wages and benefits

In 1834 the Rev. Joseph Carter, rector of Bainton, carried out a survey of the households in his parish and recorded in a notebook, amongst other things, the income of the head of the household and whether or not he belonged to a friendly society.(58) Of the 34 households for which he provides sufficient details 12 were members of benefit societies. Four labourers earning six, seven, eight and twelve shillings per week respectively were members of Drifffield Union club which under its 1831 rules allowed members seven shillings a week sick benefit for a year which was then reduced to three shillings and sixpence.(59) Two other

labourers earning eight and nine shillings a week subscribed to Etton Amicable and Friendly society the 1832 rules of which provided for eight shillings and ninepence per week in sickness benefit for one year reducing again to three shillings and sixpence. (60) Thus in all but one of these six cases the sickness benefit almost equalled or exceeded the average weekly wage.

Wages rose in the mid-1830s but the increased provision made for sick pay by the early affiliated branches constituted a high proportion of the average weekly wage of the East Riding agricultural labourer well into the 1850s. When wages were at the most 12s-15s a week the sickness benefit of 10s for the first six months illness accounted for up to 83 per cent of the wage.(61) For the second six months it was 7s 6d., up to 62 per cent of the wage, and after a year it was reduced to 3s 6d, 29 per cent. Although barely providing enough to survive on these were by no means insignificant sums particularly if the illness did not exceed six months. The initial benefit also compared well with what was likely in out-door poor relief if obtainable. In 1837 Beverley Guardians set the scale of out-relief for every male pauper eating with his family at 4s per week, plus 2s for his wife and 1s 6d for each child.(62) This allowance was generous compared with the sums of 2s-2s.6d per week being paid in out-relief to old people in the 1890s.(63)

With rises in wages the value of the basic sickness benefit declined but the rise in wages was not great. Edward Wilkinson reporting in 1892 on the agricultural labourer in the Drifffield Poor Law Union for the Royal Commission on Labour found that 'The usual wages are 15s for ordinary weekly men, or 16s if doing Sunday work. Day men seem generally to get 3s. now, though in some parishes only 2s 6d.' (64) By 1912 wages were a little higher but the man's weekly wage in the four East Riding families included in Rowntree's How the labourer lives only ranged from 15-18s.(65) Throughout the period 1830-1912 the unchanged sickness

benefit gave at least half-pay for six months. Those earning more in agriculture or other occupations had two alternatives in order to improve their benefits; they could either join more than one affiliated order or friendly society or, after 1866 in the case of the IOOF MU they could increase their contributions in order to get increased benefit.(66) If the member was sick for six months or less the friendly society benefit was adequate but for the long term invalid and the infirm the benefits available after one year usually from two shillings and sixpence to four shillings a week were far from adequate and did require supplementing by parish relief which was facilitated in 1894 with the passing of the first Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act. This act left it to the discretion of Boards of Guardians as to whether or not friendly society benefits should be taken into account when awarding outdoor relief.(67) This rather unsatisfactory measure was superseded by the 1904 Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, promoted by the National Conference of Friendly Societies which allowed an individual to receive up to 5s per week from a friendly society and still be eligible for full parish relief.(68) Parish relief was rarely more than the friendly society benefit but it did take into account other members of the family and allowed more freedom of movement and employment.(69)

Inadequacies in the friendly society benefits which had not been so evident in the mid-nineteenth century became more apparent in the years 1890-1910 as the number of elderly members rapidly increased and wages rose and, as has been chronicled by Gilbert and Treble, it was this awareness of their precarious financial situation that changed the affiliated orders' attitudes to state benefits.(70) Generally the strong opposition of the 1890s, mostly voiced against contributory pensions, was changed to qualified support for non-contributory pensions by 1902.

Soon after the passing of the Old Age Pensions Act the larger societies realised that it had potentially great advantages for them and provided a basis for ending sickness benefits at seventy. Under the act however the societies lost the concessions gained in 1904 and friendly society benefits were taken into account when calculating an applicant's income for pension purposes. This reversal heightened the desire of the affiliated orders to enter early into the discussions concerning national health insurance which began in the autumn of 1908 straight after the passing of the Old Age Pensions Act. By becoming actively involved in the proposals the affiliated orders hoped to protect their interests, but other than being seen from the beginning as an agency through which the national health insurance scheme would be administered, the friendly societies were unsuccessful in securing any distinctive privileges for their members. Their dominant role in the provision of sickness and medical relief was totally undermined by the success of their opponents, the industrial insurance companies and the medical profession, in wresting important concessions from Lloyd George. However as Gilbert has commented:

Although in the struggle attending the passage of Lloyd George's programme for national health, the societies lost their veto power over social legislation, they provided the nineteenth-century embryo from which evolved the structure of twentieth-century social insurance.(71)

The indebtedness of the state schemes of pensions and national insurance to the long established provisions made by the branches of the affiliated orders is clearly indicated by the similarities of the benefits provided.

The state old age pensions when they were introduced were little different to the sickness benefit or 'pensions' granted by affiliated

branches to elderly members. The full old age pension available from 1 January 1909 for all over 70 and having an income of less than eight shillings per week was only five shillings, not noticeably more than the 'tiny weekly amount of 4s.10d' that John Blake of Charlton, Oxfordshire, aged 79, received from the Oddfellows friendly society in 1903.(72) Similarly the sickness benefits provided under the National Insurance Act from 1913, of 10s a week for 26 weeks with a reduction then to 5s a week, were seemingly based on benefits that had been granted by the affiliated orders for over 70 years. Even the employees' weekly contribution of 4d to the scheme was the same as the basic contribution of most societies.(73)

The benefits of national insurance however were not initially always as obvious as the benefits of friendly society membership. For some workers the introduction of national health insurance was marked by a reduction in wages. Rowntree and Kendall cite the example of an East Riding agricultural labourer with wife and five children who found himself 1s 7d per week worse off from July 1912, a drop of eight per cent in the family income.

Mr. Atkinson earns 18s. weekly, and they have a quart of old milk allowed a day. His hours are from 6.30 a.m. to 6 p.m., with an hour for dinner. He also works on Sundays, going at 7 a.m. and again at 3 p.m. to 'fodder t' cattle'. For this Sunday work he was previously paid a shilling, which made the wage 19s. weekly. But the shilling has been docked since the Insurance Act came into operation, and his weekly fourpence is docked also. There is no extra money whatever, save at harvest-time, when he gets 27s. a week for four weeks, instead of 18s. The surplus money is generally 'warded on shoes'. Mrs. Atkinson herself earns £4 yearly for the care of the schools. She has to provide all her own cleaning materials, to sweep and dust, to light fires in the winter, and to scrub the place out about five times a year. She also has to pay her weekly insurance of 3d.(74)

Atkinson also paid fourpence a week into a benefit club which, like the

majority of his fellow agricultural workers, he had probably done since he was around 18, some 25 or more years before. If he kept up his payments he would derive reasonable benefit from his membership but from 1912 there was little incentive for any young agricultural worker to join a friendly society. The whole nature of friendly society benefits changed and an increasingly complex scale of contributions and benefits was introduced which transformed many branches into what were virtually combinations of collecting, deposit and insurance societies as well as being state agencies for health insurance. The man who had joined a village Oddfellows' lodge before 1853 was still able to pay his fourpence a week contribution and receive 10s a week sickness benefit and a funeral benefit of £12 but an eighteen year agricultural labourer joining in 1912 had a choice of seventeen basic scales to which he could contribute from 3d to 4s 9d a month in addition to his 4d a week for state benefits. If a member continued to pay into his lodge sixpence a week to cover both society and state benefits he could receive, when sick, his state benefit of 10s a week for 26 weeks plus 2s from the society in addition to the death benefit of £12. The sickness benefits ceased at 70 years.(75) From July 1912 the financial benefits of membership of a friendly society became largely supplementary to state benefits and no longer played such an important role in the economic life of the working man. This erosion of the importance of the benefits was accompanied by the rapid decline of the social and political significance of the societies and although many affiliated branches continued and the orders generally increased in wealth and solvency 1912 saw the termination of their *raison d'etre*.

(1) Rule books: Hunmanby Amicable 1822, Etton Amicable 1832, Howden Friendly 1831, Flamborough Fisherman's Fund 1832, Kilham Union 1831, Nafferton United 1832, Market Weighton Friendly 1829, North Cave Friendly 1829, Howden Union 1831, Driffield Union 1831, Driffield New 1831, South Cave Friendly 1825, and Hunmanby Royal 1824. for location see bibliography below.

(2) D.J.Salmon, ed., Malton in the early nineteenth century, Northallerton, 1981, p.55

(3) Rule books: IOOF MU Beverley 1852, Hessle 1852, Lund 1858, Bp.Burton 1860; AOF Beverley 1859, Pocklington 1851; NUOFG Beverley 1870; UAOD Beverley 1865; LOAS Fulford 1862; GUOOF Cottingham 1864; IOOF KU Beverley 1860: for location see bibliography below.

(4) Rules of Hutton Cranswick Foresters' Friendly Society, Driffield, 1899; Rules of Court Hotham, Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society, Hutton Cranswick, Driffield, 1906; Rules of the Keyingham Friendly Society, Hull, 1905; Rules of Court Friendship, Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society, Keyingham, Hull, 1875 and 1918; Rules of Court Foresters' Mount, Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society, Hessle, Hull, 1880; Rules of the Loyal St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU Friendly Society, [Lund], Beverley, 1880; and Rules of the Loyal St.Paul's Lodge, IOOF MU Friendly Society, [Hutton Cranswick], Driffield, 1884.

(5) Rules of the Loyal Triumph Lodge, Beverley, IOOF MU, Beverley, 1911, pp.24-25

(6) Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' friendly society for 1896, Dundee, 1896, pp.xxx-xxxiii, 634

(7) Rules of the Loyal Farmers' Refuge Lodge, IOOF MU, Long Riston, Beverley, 1860

(8) Rules of Court Beverley, AOF, Beverley, Beverley, 1859

(9) The following case studies are compiled from the minute, contribution and cash books of St.Peter's lodge, IOOF MU, Lund 1839-58 in Oddfellows' Hall, Lund, 1980

(10) ex inf. E. Woodall, Lund, 1980

(11) During the summer and autumn of 1849 1,834 people died of cholera in Hull. The town had the highest death rate in the country.

K.J.Allison, ed., Victoria County History, York East Riding vol.1 Hull, London, 1969, p.234. This epidemic was a severe drain on urban friendly society funds and the Hull district of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity, suffered particularly and it had to make nine special levies in addition to quarterly ones of 1d per member. As a result Brunswick Lodge, Beverley had its funds reduced to £10 so it chose to leave Hull District and form a district on its own. National Conference of Friendly Societies, Souvenir Handbook, Hull, 1915, n.p.; Beverley Guardian, 3 August 1895.

(12) In 1865 the IOOF MU spent £205,077 on sick pay and £60,426 on funeral benefits and the AOF £153,540 and £50,837 and generally the amount paid out for sickness was three times that paid for deaths. F.G.P.Nelson, 'Some statistics of the affiliated orders of friendly societies', Statistical society journal, vol.40, 1877, pp.74-75. In 1875 the expenditure was: IOOF MU sickness benefits £307,630, funeral benefits £102,296; AOF sickness benefits £282,166, funeral benefits £98,561.

(13) ex.inf. W.Lawson, Walkington, 1980 and G.Noble, Pocklington, 1979

(14) Long Riston Oddfellows' lodge had sick officers for Riston, Skirlaugh, Leven and Watton, lodge minute book 1859-78; Keyingham Foresters' had sick stewards for Thorngumbald, Burtswick, Hull, Burton Pidsea, and Keyingham in 1879, HCRO Keyingham AOF steward's account books.

(15) HCRO DDX 254/17 Rules of the Beverley and East Riding District of

the National United Order of Free Gardeners Friendly Society n.d. c1870. On the subject of exercise the Newbald Benefit Society had the following comment: 'As exercise is allowed to be conducive to health, by putting the different organs of the body in proper action, they will be allowed to walk about, providing they do not take too violent exercise, such as running, leaping, or the like, but take all necessary measures for the recovery of their health, which we trust every Member of this Society will observe and do.' Rules of Newbald Benefit Society, Beverley, 1850. p.9.

(16) Rules of Court Beverley of the Order of Ancient Foresters Friendly Society, Beverley, 1859, p.11.;

The rule relating to verbal orders etc was common in the earlier local societies, e.g.: 'He will be permitted to give verbal orders and directions to his servants and domestics, to sign his name to receipts, deeds, or other instruments in writing.' Rules ... of the Union Society, ... Howden, 1830, p.11. In 1861 Past Grand Thomas Cass, wheelwright, of Lund claimed 10 shillings sick pay having been incapacitated by a fall. This was objected to by Past Vice James Teal who stated that Cass was tipsy at the time he met with the accident. A summoned meeting of members decided by a large majority that Cass should not receive the sick pay. IOOF MU Lund minute book 15 Sept. and 12 Oct. 1861. Cass's brother in law, Past District Grand Master William Petch, spoke up in his favour saying that he saw him fall and that 'the Pudlock fell that he was standing on'. For Cass and Petch see above pp.235-6.

(17) Rules of the Ploughboys' Refuge Lodge of the IOOF, MU [Bishop Burton] Beverley, 1860, p.10

Lund Oddfellows' had the following additional rule restricting movement: 'Any member receiving sick pay having occasion to walk out for the benefit of his health, must at all times leave word at his residence where he may be found, or be fined five shillings.' Rules of the Loyal Saint Peter's Lodge IOOF MU [Lund], Beverley 1858, p.13

(18) Rules of the Loyal Farmers' Refuge Lodge, Long Riston, IOOF MU Beverley, 1860, p.14; In 1863 Henry Thurlow brought a charge, to Middleton Foresters' court, against Thomas Thurlow for working while receiving sick benefit. AOF Middleton minute book 7 January 1863.

(19) Lund IOOF MU minute book July-October 1846

(20) *ibid.*, 8 June 1863

(21) Elloughton District IOOF MU minute book 27 June 1868

(22) Long Riston IOOF MU minute book 28 March and 25 April 1868.

(23) Lund IOOF MU minute book 12 Aug. 1865, 13 May 1871, and 6 June 1874. Victory lodge, IOOF MU, Elloughton let William Padget in 1877 and 'Brother' Taylor in 1881 go to the seaside for the good of their health. Minute book 23/6/1877, 24/9/1881.

(24) C.Booth, The aged poor in England and Wales, London, 1894, pp.405-6

(25) Court Wellington, AOF, Lockington minute book 2, 4/10/1886, 28/11/1887, 31/12/1889, 29/6/1891, 11/5/1892, 26/10/1894.

(26) Court Wellington AOF, Lockinton minute books in hands of court secretary 1980. The annual sums paid by the court rose as membership increased - in 1868 the court paid the surgeon £12 18s 6d, in 1870 £15 13s, in 1875 £20 14s and in 1891 £50 16s.

(27) St.Peters' Lodge IOOF, Lund minute books in Oddfellows' Hall, Lund 1980.

Wood's son and successor who was the lodge surgeon in the 1860s was also charged with neglect and non-attendance in 1868 but at the next meeting was re-elected to his post.

Some branches made additional arrangements concerning medical treatment for their members. In December 1848 Hutton Cranswick Foresters voted 36 to 4 in favour of a proposal to purchase for 10 guineas 'Mr Halse's Galvanic Apparatus' for the use of Foresters and their wives. When the galvanising machine arrived in February 1849 it was put in the care of

two members John Hodgson and William Denton who were to receive 14 shillings a week between them 'for their labours for the next month'. The following month it passed to two other members and then in April to George Spink who undertook to pay one guinea for the use of it and to 'keep her in good repair and any of the Foresters have ackses to it for paying 6d each time for 12 months to April 21 1850'. Spink retained it the following year for 10s. The initial enthusiasm for the machine soon passed and for four years it is not mentioned in the minute book until in 1854 it was proposed that it be sold on the feast day to the highest bidder. The machine however was not sold and the final reference to it is in July 1855 when it was proposed and seconded 'that John Hodgson bring forward the Galvanic Appratus or give us a satisfactory answer where the Galvanic Appratus is or be suspended until he comply before this day Month'. Court Hotham, AOF, Hutton Cranswick minute books in Foresters' Hall, Cranswick 1980.

(28) Farmers' Refuge Lodge, IOOF MU Long Riston, minute books in hands of secretary, 1978; Victory Lodge, Elloughton IOOF MU minute books in HCRO.

(29) D.G.Green, 'Doctors versus workers', Economic affairs, vol.5, no.1, Oct.-Dec.1984, supplement p.iv.

(30) ibid., pp.iv-vi; Ruth G.Hodgkinson, The origins of the National Health Service, London, 1967, pp.602-610; R.W.Harris, National Health Insurance in Great Britain 1911-1946, London, 1946, pp.147-152; Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.147-48.

(31) Hodgkinson, p.608.

(32) Green, p.vi

(33) ibid., p.v

(34) for the travelling system and allowances of trade unions see E.J.Hobsbawm's essay on 'The tramping artisan', Labouring men, London, 1968, edn., pp.34-63, and R.A.Leeson, Travelling brothers, St.Albans, 1979.

(35) Rules of the Loyal St.Peter's Lodge Lodge, IOOF MU, Beverley, 1858, p.3; Laws for the government and guidance of the friendly society called the Grand United Order of Odd-Fellows, Leeds, 1865, p.1.

(36) ibid., pp. 28-32.; J.Thornley, History of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, 1911-13, pt.3, pp.40-51 - Travelling system.

(37) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp. 76-77, 221. The AOF travelling allowance was 1s 3d per day. Lists of IOOF lodges and AOF directories had lists of district examining or relieving officers with their addresses to assist travellers, quite a number lived at public houses. e.g. Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society and Almanack 1868-9, Wolverhampton, 1868, pp.250-255 list at least 46 relieving officers at public houses.

(38) HCRO DDX 254/21 Rules of the National United Order of Free Gardeners 1878, Oldham, 1879 p.40. Travelling 'diplomas' not to be granted in case of a turn-out. cf.similar IOOF MU rule re strikes Gosden, op.cit., p.221 ; DDX 61/11 UAOD Constitutional rules, Hull, 1891, p.50 - travelling relief.

(39) Only one reference was found in a search through ten branch minute books.

St.Peters' Lodge, IOOF MU , Lund minute book 2, 6 Oct.1865 Past Grand Cass granted travelling card which he returned 4 Nov. In May 1841 Hutton Cranswick AOF paid 'Brothers with travling certifat 2s Od' and in Feb. 1842 paid 'to a Brother Forestre in his travil 3s Od'. Court Hotham, AOF, Hutton Cranswick minute and proposition book 1839-69

(40) Hull Advertiser 18/2/1842. I owe this reference to Philip Brown.

(41) Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley, minute book of Rising Star Lodge, IOOF MU, 1856-67.

(42) ibid., IOOF MU Triumph lodge, travelling card of John Hepton, 1869.

(43) Hobsbawm, 'The tramping artisan', pp.42-43

(44) F.G.P.Nelson, 'Some statistics of the affiliated orders of friendly societies', Statistical society journal, vol.40, 1877, p.79

(45) ibid.

(46) Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society for 1896, Dundee, 1896, pp.618, 622; This directory records the number of travelling licenses issued in each English, Scottish, and Welsh county and as Hobsbawm rightly commented in reviewing R.A.Leeson, Travelling brothers, 'tramping data from friendly societies might perhaps yield more information'. Society for the study of labour history bulletin, no.40, Spring 1980.

(47) Hull Advertiser 10/5/1839.

(48) Samuel Smiles, Thrift, 1889 edition, John Murray, London, p.256

(49) Rules of the Loyal St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU [Lund], Beverley, 1858, p.3.; In 1899 Mrs.Bosanquet wrote as follows of the working-class funeral: 'The greatest festival of all is perhaps the funeral ... the poverty of the family makes no difference in their eagerness, and the little nest-egg which a man has provided to help his wife through the first months of widowhood is often lavished within a few days of his death. I have known a woman have a hearse with four horses, and a carriage and a pair, for her husband's funeral, and within two weeks apply to the Guardians to feed her children', Mrs.B.Bosanquet, Rich and poor, 1899, p.126 quoted in A.Wilson and H.Levy, Burial reform and funeral costs, London, 1938, p.75.; A number of courts and lodges also seemingly paid for the gravestones of members with the orders emblem cut on them, a collection of at least six such gravestones to Oddfellows in Old Clee churchyard, S.Humberside. In Middleton on the Wolds churchyard is a gravestone to Thomas Garrett, died Jan. 1850 aged 24 which has on it a Foresters' horn and the motto 'Unitas, benevolentia et concordia'. and the Middleton AOF court minute book has an entry on 1 Mar 1850 recording the proposal 'for the Court to bear the expence of the Foresters Arms being cut in a headstone for the late Brother Thomas Garrett'..

(50) from Cassell's household guide to every department of practical life, 1874, quoted in J.Morley, Death, Heaven and the Victorians, London, 1971, p.112. The 1843 reference comes from the same work, p.118.

(51) Hull News 4/7/1885 I owe this reference to Sue Needham.

(52) Wilson and Levy, p.89

(53) Mss.burial book of Wm.Carlill of Long Riston, joiner, in possession of Mrs.Fewson of Benningholme Grange, 1978.

(54) A short history of the chief affiliated friendly societies, p.95.

(55) John L.Halstead in a review of C.G.Hanson's essay in The long debate on poverty, asked 'What was the value of the benefit at different times in relation to needs? The benefit helped of course but how adequate was it in times of distress?' SSLH Bulletin no.26 Sept.1973 p.61

(56) The subject is only touched on incidentally by Gosden in chapters on financial reforms. Friendly societies, pp. 95-114 and Self-help, pp. 50-59

(57) M.Anderson, Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 138-9 Anderson goes on to say 'Few friendly societies paid anything for crises other than sickness and death of the insured and his wife. The payments for sickness, 6s to 13s. (usually 7s. to 10s) were only one-third to one-half of the already inadequate average wage, and even these usually only continued for about six weeks before they fell to a lower rate of (normally) half the full figure. Death benefits were up to about £10, but that was all a widow could usually expect. Thus, while these societies undoubtedly helped to alleviate the suffering of sickness and bereavement, and kept many off the Poor Law for a time, even these crises were still times of severe economic deprivation.' ; P.L.R.Horn, 'Old age and the Oxfordshire

- agricultural labourer 1870-1914', Oxoniensa, vol.38, 1973, pp.373-4
- (58) HCRO PR/898 Notebook of rector of Bainton
- (59) PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 4. Rules of Drifffield Union Society 1831
- (60) *ibid.*, FS 1/796 Yorks 19 Rules of Etton Amicable and Friendly Society 1832
- (61) Report of the Commissioners on the Poor Laws 1834, pp.592 a-b, 593 a-b, 594 a-b.; G.Legard, 'Farming in the East Riding of Yorkshire', p.125; J.Caird, English farming in 1850-51, London, 2nd edn, 1968, p.318
- (62) Hopkin, 'The Old and New Poor Law in East Yorkshire', p.85. At Pocklington in 1834 the allowance was 3s 6d per week for an able-bodied man altogether upon the parish, 2s 6d for his wife, and 10d for each child. *ibid.* p.57
- (63) Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, 1895, p.353
- (64) E.Wilkinson, 'Report on the Poor Law Union of Drifffield', Royal Commission on Labour, The Agricultural Labourer. p.55
- (65) B.S.Rowntree and M.Kendall, How the labourer lives, London, 1913, pp.116-120, 183-196, 217-226.
- (66) Rules of the Loyal Triumph Lodge, Beverley, IOOF MU, Beverley, 1911, p.25
- (67) J.H.Treble, 'The attitudes of friendly societies towards the movement in Great Britain for state pensions 1878-1908', International review of social history, 15, 1970, p.284.
- (68) *ibid.*, p.290
- (69) In 1903 William Rouse, aged 69, of Souldern, Oxfordshire, received 4s 6d. per week from his friendly society. But at the beginning of January 1904, this latter was stopped by the society, 'according to rule for 1 year', and so poor relief of 5s 6d per week was allowed to Rouse and his wife by the Bicester Board of Guardians during the interim period. P.L.R.Horn, 'Old age and the Oxfordshire agricultural labourer 1870-1914'. Oxoniensa, vol.38, 1973, pp.373-4.
- (70) B.B.Gilbert, The evolution of national insurance in Great Britain, pp. 159-232, 289-447; *ibid.*, 'The decay of nineteenth-century provident institutions and the coming of old age pensions in Great Britain', Economic history review, 17, 1964-5, pp.552-563; J.H.Treble, *op.cit.*, pp.266-299. The minute books of East Riding village friendly societies contain very little on the moves to introduce state pensions and sickness benefits. In May 1897 Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows instructed their delegate to the IOOF MU annual meeting 'to oppose any scheme of state aid that would in any way interfere with the content of the funds of friendly societies'. IOOF MU Hutton Cranswick minute book 1/5/1897. There was much discussion however of the National Insurance Act before and after it was passed. Minute books IOOF MU Elloughton district 29/6/1912, Elloughton lodge 12/1 - 8/6/1912, AOF Hutton Cranswick 20/5/1911, Lockington 8/1/1912.
- (71) Gilbert, 'The decay of nineteenth century provident institutions', p.563
- (72) Horn, 'Old age and the Oxfordshire agricultural labourer', p.373
- (73) Employers contributed 3d a week and the state 2d. Gilbert, The evolution, p.350
- (74) Rowntree and Kendall, pp.219-20
- (75) Amendments of rules and tables from 12 July 1912 of the Loyal Triumph Lodge, Beverley District of IOOF MU, Beverley, 1922. In return for 3d a month he only got £10 on death and £5 on death of first wife but for 4s 9d he received 30s per week during first 26 weeks, and 15s per week during the remainder of sickness, (these benefits ceasing at 70 years of age), £40 on death and £20 on death of first wife.

CONCLUSION

This thesis which began as an attempt to provide answers to some seemingly simple questions on the organisation and membership of friendly societies in a rural county has instead opened up a vast area of study of which this work can only be seen as a starting point. The extent and importance of friendly societies in Victorian Britain and their great relevance to the expanding field of labour history does not yet seem to have been grasped. This can partly be explained by the lack of any previous work on the original records of courts and lodges. The abundance of this material discovered and the great value of its content has been demonstrated in the foregoing pages. Official society publications, newspapers and the reports of Royal Commissions provide rather dull material for a researcher compared with the minute and proposition books of a Foresters' court or Oddfellows' lodge. The unanswered questions thrown up by the research are legion; however many of those posed by Hobsbawm in 1957 have now been answered for the East Riding.(1) We know when the affiliated orders first appeared in the locality. We know the movements in membership and funds for individual societies over long periods. We know where the orders came from and how they spread and we know how and by whom the branches were managed but most important of all we know who the members were.

The East Riding in the mid-nineteenth century was a purely agricultural county only partially influenced by the large port of Hull but its proximity to, and trading links with, the West Riding were significant factors in the rapid spread of the affiliated orders to the area. The orders which originated in Lancashire and the West Riding penetrated the adjoining rural areas a decade or more before they

reached the southern and eastern counties. Agricultural labourers and farm servants who constituted the bulk of the population of the East Riding villages were not obvious subscribers to the urban-orientated affiliated orders but the higher wages of the East Riding, and the northern counties generally, seemingly removed any economic impediment. The support shown by farm servants is surprising in the light of their annual mobility and portrayed waywardness. Independency and self-government which are important features of affiliated branches were already present in the widespread nonconformity of the county and leadership was provided by the artisans of the larger open villages.

It was in these artisan villages with many agricultural labourers and an excess of craftsmen that the affiliated orders had their greatest success. Branches were spread throughout the county but were not to be found in the small closed or estate villages or in many of the smaller family-farm dominated parishes of the Vale of York. The Oddfellows and Foresters came into the county from the west while the Shepherds, Druids and Gardeners approached from the North Riding. As the greatest expansion preceded the coming of the railway the catchment regions of market towns were more important areas of dispersal than longitudinal routeways. Although there was rivalry between the orders there appears to have been no significant difference in the contributions they required or the benefits they offered and the choice between one order or another seems to have been arbitrary though regional preferences were demonstrated; for example for the Shepherds and Druids in the north-east around Bridlington in the 1830-40s and for the Druids around Hull in the 1860-70s. Little is known of how the idea of establishing a branch came into a settlement though there are indications of 'missionaries' progressing from pub to pub and on many occasions the innkeeper is clearly the founding figure. Villages were far from being isolated from

the outside world and new ideas spread rapidly without any particular agency.

The alacrity, however, with which branches were opened all over the county in the years 1838-40 is staggering. The impetus must have been the implementation of the New Poor Law for no other factor was so current or so relevant. Once the explosion was over the fluctuations in fortunes were largely dictated by corn prices and the related wage levels and stability of employment. The crisis years 1848-52 saw many branches close and others suffer severe set backs but many of those that survived lasted at least up to 1912. A second wave of branch opening followed during the farming boom in the late 1850s and 60s. These branches were chiefly connected to newly introduced orders and they often accommodated a new generation of members who were unwilling to join the already ageing clubs founded 20 or more years before. The rest of the century saw some new foundations and some closures but rural depopulation and agricultural depression did not provide the climate for further expansion. Existing branches generally stabilised or some increased in membership with more younger labourers and servants joining and fluctuations in recruitment, membership and funds did occur during periods of economic hardship. Many of the clubs found themselves in the early 20th century paying out substantial sums in sickness and death benefit yet recruiting a fair number of young men but other clubs saw a sharp decline in membership and funds which was often accelerated by depopulation. It was these latter that closed when, or soon after, the National Insurance Act was implemented. The larger clubs which got approved status often had a temporary boom in membership, but the war and the loss of the friendly society spirit with the influx of uninterested state benefit members meant that most declined in membership and activity in the post-war years. One activity that often

ended was the club feast which for so many villages had been the chief festival of the year and the procession, brass band and sideshows involved the whole community and their far flung relatives and friends in the celebration of the society's anniversary.

The feast which was one of the elements of the friendly society that initially engendered hostility from the clergy and others of the respectable classes soon became an annual demonstration of the strength and importance of the club. The clergy and farmers willingly linked themselves with it and after 1885 and the increased enfranchisement of the rural working class it also gained a political dimension.

The clubs are now more readily remembered for the swings and speeches of the feast day than for the much appreciated benefits that were provided at sickness and death. In the early days a labourer would receive substantial proportion of his wage in sickness benefit for initially up to six months as well as medical relief. The funeral benefit paid for a respectable funeral and feast and membership of an affiliated branch meant that the deceased was accompanied to his grave by a considerable number of his brethren and given a distinctive burial.

The most significant points that have emerged from this study of East Riding friendly societies relate to the extent of agricultural labourer membership and the timing of the founding and the fluctuations in the fortunes of the affiliated branches. Both points raise important questions which would necessitate extensive research into the development of the affiliated orders nationally and particularly in the industrial areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

The extent of agricultural worker membership of affiliated branches

discovered in the East Riding far exceeded what was expected at the beginning of the research. At all periods East Riding village branches had a majority of members who were agricultural labourers or farm servants and the proportion increased towards the end of the nineteenth century by which time they constituted over 80% of the new members. Nothing that has appeared in print suggests proportions of this magnitude. Contemporary and modern commentators who have largely relied on Parliamentary reports and in particular those of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies have generally suggested little or no labourer membership. Sir George Young is largely to blame for this for in his report on the southern and eastern counties to the Friendly Societies Commission in 1872 he stated that 'with few exceptions the lodges of a society like the Manchester Unity were practically closed against agricultural labourers and other unskilled labourers'.(2) The same commission heard evidence from an official of the IOOF MU who was of the opinion that no Oddfellow earned less than 20s a week and that the membership was 'Generally the more respectable class of tradesmen and clerks; it embraces also some in a lower class, but they oftentimes retire from it by non-payment'.(3) These statements have been followed by historians without question and friendly societies have been dubbed 'the badge of the skilled worker'.(4) Tables 42 and 43 above show how by analysing the proposition and membership books of three Oddfellows' lodges for the 1870-80s these statements can be refuted for the East Riding, where some three quarters of the recruits and members were agricultural workers few of whom would be earning 20s a week. The opinion also expressed by Young that Foresters were more likely than the Oddfellows to have labourer members is not evident in comparable figures from the East Riding. (5). A later report this time of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor in 1895 provides conflicting evidence with

the national secretary of the Foresters claiming high agricultural labourer membership in the south of England while an actuary stated that the affiliated orders 'take in only a very limited proportion of the agricultural labourers'.(6) Another more reliable witness, Zacharias Walker (1843-1900), a tailor from North Creake, Norfolk, who was also a Primitive Methodist local preacher, Walsingham district secretary of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union and secretary of the Rock of Hope lodge, IOOF MU, South Creake, stated that the lodge in 1893 had 420 members of which 360 were agricultural labourers.(7) These latter statistics suggested that at least by the later 19th century, if not before, the affiliated orders throughout the country were of great significance to the rural working class. The absence of any mention of the affiliated orders in Alun Howkins' recently published Poor labouring men : Rural radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923 is unfortunate especially as Zacharias Walker and a fellow friendly society activist and witness to the Royal Commission, George Edwards, figure in the book.(8) No study of the later-nineteenth century agricultural labourer should now be made without paying attention to what was clearly the largest and most influential rural working class organisation; the friendly society. The question however that needs answering is to what extent the membership of urban affiliated branches consisted of the lower working class ?

If agricultural labourers and hired farm servants, who were amongst the bottom group of all workers in terms of wages and standard of living, were able to subscribe to affiliated friendly societies then it would seem possible for most categories of lower ranking urban workers to subscribe also.(9) But did they ? Limited evidence for urban Oddfellows' branches and Foresters' courts does suggest that some unskilled workers did subscribe, but not a high proportion. Urban

branches by their proliferation were far more likely to recruit selectively from particular sections of the community and the existence of 'artisan' and 'labourer' Foresters' courts is suggested by evidence provided by Crossick from Woolwich. In the years 1845-76 Court Star of Kent recruited 83 per cent of its 317 members from skilled occupations and only seven per cent from unskilled, but Court Mount Pleasant had 38 per cent of its 250 recruits from skilled and 49 per cent from unskilled. Court Pride of the Mill had an even higher recruitment of unskilled in 1860-76 with this category constituting 64 per cent and skilled only 26 per cent of new members.(10) An analysis by Kirk of the membership of an Oddfellows' lodge in Stockport in the 1850s-70s showed a 'strong presence of craft, skilled and lower-middle class occupations' and for a similar period Gray found that an Edinburgh Oddfellows' lodge had 'a preponderance of skilled workers, a certain amount of participation by business and white-collar groups, and under-representation of unskilled manual labour'.(11) Using Grays' categories an analysis of proposition books of a Hull AOF court and a Beverley IOOF MU lodge showed not dissimilar patterns. In the years 1838-43 the Hull Court recruited 199 members consisting of 59% skilled workers and tradesmen, including a handful of lower white-collar workers, 34% mariners and watermen, and only 7% who could be clearly classed as unskilled labour. Of the 275 recruits to the Beverley Oddfellows' lodge, in the years 1856-66, 69% were skilled workers and tradesmen and 27% unskilled labourers. (12) These isolated examples do not provide enough evidence to be clear about urban branch membership but they suggest that urban labourers were not so likely to join a friendly society as their often less well off rural counterparts. To what extent also did the urban branches exhibit similar patterns of development and what social, economic and, possibly, political factors

encouraged growth or decline at certain periods ?

'Although the origins and initial impact of some of the affiliated orders remains unclear it would appear that they emerged slowly as benefit societies in the industrial towns and villages of Yorkshire and Lancashire in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. They then 'took off' in the years 1833-37 at a time of low prices and high levels of employment. The Oddfellows and the Foresters spread rapidly in 1835-36; the year 1835 was one of high prosperity when 'every man who was able and willing to work readily obtained employment at full wages; every loom was filled, every anvil was at work' and 1836 has been described as 'a year in which economic activity in general and working-class purchasing power in particular reached hitherto unprecedented heights'.(13) The part played by economic factors was undeniably important but the expansion of the orders accelerated in both the industrial and rural areas of the north in 1837-42 at ^atime of great socio-political unrest and it is likely that it was not just coincidental that the 'explosion' of the orders coincided with the peak periods of the Anti-Poor Law movement and Chartism.(14) Links, not evident in the rural East Riding, may well be identifiable in the industrial areas and may show that factors in addition ^{to} the implementation of the New Poor Law were of importance to the growth of the orders in West Yorkshire and Lancashire. Discontent with the actions of a central ruling body was a feature that caused dissension and decline in both Methodism and the affiliated orders in the years around 1848-52 when the latter had their first major set-back. This period also saw the failure of Chartism and is considered the great 'watershed' in the history of labour. Whether the nature of urban affiliated branches changed in these years needs investigating for although recent writers

have considered the way that urban friendly societies post-1850 were an important institution related to the growth of reformism no comparative attention has been paid to the leadership and membership of the affiliated orders in the urban areas in the crucial 1830s-40s.(15) A detailed examination of the records of urban affiliated branches would provide invaluable evidence on the history of labour in the mid-nineteenth century. Local and national records will not, however, seemingly solve the contentious topic concerning the proportion of the male population of Great Britain who were members of friendly societies at the end of the nineteenth century.

The actuary, Robert Hardy, who was a witness before the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor in 1893 was asked 'Have you any idea as to the proportion of workers in this country who belong to friendly societies as compared with the number who are eligible ?' He replied

Taking the number of all the friendly societies, good, bad, and indifferent together, they include, I should think, not more than one-third or one-fourth of the workers; they certainly do not include that large mass of pure labour for whom it is most desirable that these schemes should be propounded; they do not take in the dockers and all that great mass of labour.(16)

This suggested proportion is far less than is generally considered but the figures are elusive and the subject which has exercised the minds of a number of recent writers has not resulted in a satisfactory solution.(17) Crossick rightly questions the much quoted national figure of four million friendly society members which was given in the appendix to the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, 1874, because it also included burial society members, but his view that the figure was 'thus ... a nonsense' and that membership of true friendly societies was far more restricted needs further investigation.(18) The most trustworthy attempt that has been undertaken to discover a true figure of friendly society membership was by

Rev.J.Frome Wilkinson in Mutual Thrift. Wilkinson, a critic of the reliability of the returns of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies which he showed conclusively recorded many dead societies made the following calculation for clubs which assured for sickness as well as death benefits in the late 1880s.(19)

Table 77 : Membership of friendly societies:
Great Britain c1889

Affiliated societies	2,216,160
Local benefit clubs	1,300,000
Centralized societies	300,000
Trade societies	304,000
Female societies	15,000
Juvenile societies	250,000
Others	10,000
	4,395,160

Source:J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual Thrift, p.191

This figure is somewhat less than that which was given by Brabrook, the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1892. He suggested that there were more than 3 million members in registered societies and another 3 million in unregistered societies and went on:

If you add to those the members of the trade unions who are not also members of a friendly society ... you get a very large population indeed who are members in one shape or another of a friendly society providing by their own exertions for sickness and a small sum for funeral expenses at death. It would look as if there was really merely a kind of residuum left of those who are in uncertain work or otherwise, and are not unable to insure in some shape or another.(20)

Brabrook's calculation was probably inflated by the inclusion of burial societies. It is, it appears, impossible to provide an accurate figure of friendly society membership and its proportion of the adult male population of Britain in the late nineteenth century, but a possible figure of four and a half million members in 1891 would mean some 53 per

cent of the 8,517,700 men over the age of nineteen in England, Wales, and Scotland.(21) This is an impressive figure and underlines the need for further research. In the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century this massive working class movement was a power in the land.

In 1893 Joseph Chamberlain warned the Liberals against attempting to proceed with old age pensions without the support of friendly societies.

They are in touch with the thriftily-minded section of the working class. Their criticism of any scheme would be very damaging: their opposition might be fatal. They have very great Parliamentary influence and I should myself think twice before attempting to proceed in the face of hostility from so important and so dangerous a quarter.(22)

The success, however, that the affiliated orders had in influencing the state welfare measures in their favour was limited and in the end their attempts at wielding their assumed power, to change aspects of the National Insurance Bill in 1911, ended in defeat.(23) With the implementation of the act much of the political and social prestige of the orders was immediately eroded particularly by the loss of their near monopoly in sickness benefit to the rapidly expanding commercial industrial insurance approved societies.

Two months after the beginning of contributions the industrial assurance approved societies reported their membership had passed that of the friendly society membership which had barely changed.(24) This was the beginning of the decline and thirty five years later with the coming of State insurance the societies' importance in the provision of benefits finally ended. The large affiliated orders still exist and they are very wealthy as are some of the surviving East Riding branches such as Lund Oddfellows which recently was still holding its monthly meetings in the Oddfellows' Hall with pictures of the long serving officers William Petch, wheelwright, and James Teale, blacksmith, looking down on

the proceedings.

- (1) E.Hobsbawm, 'Friendly societies'
- (2) quoted in G.Crossick, An artisan elite in Victorian society, p.181
- (3) quoted in P.Johnson, 'Credit and thrift and the working class', in J.Winter, The working class in Modern British History, Cambridge, 1983, p.163
- (4) *ibid.*, p.164.
- (5) G.Crossick, p.181; see fig.42 above
- (6) Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, 1895, p.593
- (7) *ibid.*, p.367; N.Scotland, Methodism and the revolt of the field, Gloucester, 1981, pp.232.; 'Zacharias Walker (1843-1900), Norfolk radical and agricultural trade unionist', Norfolk Archaeology, vol.37, pt.2, 1979.
- (8) A.Howkins, Poor labouring men: Rural radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923, London, 1985, pp.49-50
- (9) The urban labourer may not always have had marked economic superiority to the agricultural labourer during the initial period of affiliated order growth. Neale's figures for the earnings of highway labourers in Bath 1830-50 are only greater than that of labourers in adjoining rural areas at the end of the period. R.S.Neale 'The standard of living 1780-1844: a regional and class study' in A.J.Taylor, The standard of living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution, London, 1975, p.174; more general figures suggest an increasing superiority of urban labourers' wages from the 1820s, P.H.Lindert and J.G.Williamson, 'English workers' living standards during the Industrial Revolution: a new look', Economic history review, vol.36, 1983, p.4.
- (10) G.Crossick, pp.190-191
- (11) N.Kirk, The growth of working-class reformism, pp.198-99; R.Q.Gray, The labour aristocracy, pp.122-123.
- (12) Proposition book of Court Angel, AOF, Hull in possession of L.Salton, Hull, 1979; Minute book of Rising Star Lodge, IOOF MU, Beverley, in Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley, 1981.
- (13) G.R.Potter, The progress of the Nation, London, 1851 edn., p.543 quoted in A.J.Taylor, The standard of living, p.xxviii; *ibid.*, p.xlv
- (14) E.J.Hobsbawm, 'Economic fluctuations and some social movements since 1800' in Labouring men, pp.126-157
- (15) N.Kirk, *op.cit.*, pp.132-173, 198-99; T.R.Tholfsen, Working-class radicalism pp.288-305
- (16) Royal Commission on Aged Poor, pp.367-368
- (17) G.Crossick, pp.181-2; C.G.Hanson, 'Welfare before the Welfare State', in R.M.Hartwell, etc., The long debate on poverty, pp.118-127;
- (18) Crossick, p.181;
- (19) J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, p.189
- (20) quoted in C.G.Hanson, 'Welfare', p.122; on the same page Hanson quotes Brabrook's evidence on unregistered societies given to the Royal Commission on Aged Poor, 1893-5.
- (21) The figure of 4.5 million is based on Frome Wilkinson's figures deducting female and juvenile membership but adding c500,000 for increases in affiliated order membership and a probable underestimate in the case of local clubs. B.Gilbert gives a similar figure but this is based on figures given for registered societies, including burial clubs. B.Gilbert, Evolution, p.167.
- (22) Gilbert, Evolution, pp.184-85
- (23) *ibid.*, pp.353-383
- (24) *ibid.*, p.427

SOURCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

I. Friendly society mss records (excluding rules)

A. Individual societies

1. East Riding

Beverley:

Brotherly Society

Annual reports: 1829-30 (HCRO DDBC/22B p.633), 1831-32 (Beverley Library, pamphlets 30)

Rising Star Lodge, IOOF MU

Minute books 1856-67, 1886-1903

Trustees' minute book 1875-1914

Triumph Lodge, IOOF MU

Minute book 1900-10(Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley, 1980)

Victoria Lodge, UAOD

Minute books 1862-1900, 1900-09, 1909-29

Contributions books 1909-14, 1919-23

Nominations for payment of burial money 1866-1920

Bank books - Lodge current account 1863-92

- Juvenile fund 1885-1903

(Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley 1981 transferred to HCRO 1981)

Rising Sun Lodge, GUOOF

Nomination book for payment of burial money 1871-76

(Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley 1980)

Cottingham:

Cottingham United Society

Minute books 1853-83, 1906-26

Proposition and committee minute book 1875-1906(HCRO DDX/254)

C.H.Wilson Lodge, NUOFG

Minute book 1904-1955

Proposition books 1885-1900, 1900-1912

Contribution book - Juvenile lodge 1888-1908

(HCRO DDX/254)

Elloughton:

Victory Lodge IOOF MU

Minute books 1875-94, 1894-1906, 1906-16, 1916-33

Initiation declarations 1876-1892, 1891-1904

Resolution book 1906-16

Annual returns 1901-11, 1916-27

(Oddfellows' Hall, North Ferriby, 1980 transferred to HCRO 1981-85)

North Ferriby:

Duke of Cumberland Lodge IOOF MU
 Contribution books 1843-60, 1865-94, 1906-
 Register of members 1912
 Funeral fund account book 1848-1864 Sick pay book 1910-17
 (Oddfellows' Hall, North Ferriby, 1980 transferred to HCRO 1981-85)

Harpham:

St. Quintin Lodge, Independent Order of Druids
 Minute book 1857-69
 Correspondence and miscellaneous papers
 (HCRO DDX/61/2-18)

Hedon:

Notices and annual reports of Samaritan Society, AOF and IOOF MU
 (HCRO DDHE 30L, 32E, 32F)

Hunmanby:

Star of Bethlehem Lodge, LOAS
 Membership book 1839-98 including lodge minutes 1878-1912
 Contributions book 1893-1912
 (HCRO DDX/242)

Hutton Cranswick:

St. Paul's Lodge, IOOF MU
 Minute book 1877-1912
 Trustees' minute book 1906-18
 Proposition book 1861-88
 Contribution books 1861-82, 1883-1910
 Initiation declaration book 1890-99
 Degree book 1861-79
 Fine book 1865-76
 Annual returns 1917-58
 Valuations 1890-1933
 (W. Arnell, Drifffield, 1980)

Court Hotham, AOF
 Proposition and minute book 1839-69
 Proposition book 1868-1943
 Minute books 1873-98, 1906-28, 1928-50
 Doctor's account book 1882-98
 (Foresters' Hall, Cranswick 1980)

Keyingham:

Court Friendship, AOF
 Minute book 1912-43
 Contribution books 1858-82, 1883-89, 1890-1901, 1902-20
 Court subscription books 1869-73, 1873-77, 1877-83, 1883-92,
 1904-28, 1928-35
 Cash books 1839-69, 1907-23, 1913-30
 Treasurers' account books 1858-72, 1872-94, 1887-97

Incidental and anniversary accounts 1860-99
 Management fund cash book 1865-1904, 1904-27
 Burstwick stewards' account books 1866-76, 1900-37
 Thorngumbald stewards' account books 1870-86, 1886-94
 Hull stewards' account book 1898-1904
 Sickness registers 1853-70, 1871-74, 1874-77, 1878-83, 1884-98,
 1912-32
 Death certificates 1880s-90s
 (Foresters' Hall, Keyingham 1978 transferred to HCRO 1980)
 Court trustees 1876-1909 (HCRO DDPK/18/5)

Leconfield:

Lord Leconfield Lodge, GU00F
 Minute book 1903-13
 (R.W.Arnott, Beverley 1981)

Lockington:

Court Wellington, AOF
 Proposition and minute books 1840-85, 1885-1912
 Register book 1912
 (Court secretary, Lockington, 1980; District secretary, Grimsby,
 1984)

Lund:

St.Peter's Lodge, IOOF MU
 Minute books 1839-59, 1859-80, 1909-35
 Contribution books 1839-56, 1856-69, 1915-22
 Extra contribution book 1855-69
 Cash books 1839-58, 1861-90
 Management fund account book 1847-58, 1856-64
 Sickness register 1903, 1913-17
 Annual returns 1901-10
 Declaration book 1908-12
 Bank books: East Riding Savings Bank 1849-98
 (Oddfellows' Hall, Lund, 1980)

West Lutton:

Loyal Buckrose Lodge, GU00F
 Nomination book for payment of burial money 1892-1903
 (via N.Creaser, Wilton, N.Yorkshire 1984)

Market Weighton:

Draft notice of dissolving Market Weighton Friendly Society 1831
 (HCRO DDMT 285/290)

Middleton-on-the-Wolds:

Court Devonshire, AOF
 Proposition and minute book 1839-91
 Minute book 1912-62
 Proposition books 1885-1920, 1920-60
 Contribution books 1839-56, 1857-93, 1894-1949
 Account book 1861-1923

Cash book 1866-1920
 Fine book 1838-81
 Sick payment book 1888-93
 (Court secretary, Middleton, 1981, District secretary, Grimsby,
 1984)

Long Riston:

Farmers' Refuge Lodge, IOOF MU
 Minute book 1859-78
 Contribution and sick pay book 1868-77
 Membership book 1886-1910
 (George Copeland, Long Riston, 1978)

2. Hull

Court Foresters' Home, AOF
 Proposition and minute book 1838-52

Court Angel, AOF
 Proposition and minute book 1838-53
 (L.Salton, Hull 1979)

Morning Star Lodge, United Order of Oddfellows
 Minute book 1853-60
 (Hull Central Library)

3. Elsewhere

Ancaster, Lincolnshire

Hand and Heart Lodge, Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order of
 Oddfellows
 Minute book 1848-83
 (N.Lyons, Scawby, Brigg 1983)

Bardney, Lincolnshire

Vyner Lodge, IOOF MU
 Proposition book 1842-1920
 Degree book
 Sickness book
 Fine book
 (LAO Misc.Don. 502/1)

Brigg, S.Humberside

Philanthropic Lodge, IOOF MU
 Proposition book 1840-1860
 (Baysgarth Museum, Barton-on-Humber)

Folkingham, Lincolnshire

Court Heathcote, AOF
 Minute book 1841-58
 (LAO Misc. Don. 459)

Kirby Moorside, North Yorkshire

Agricultural Lodge, IOOF MU
 Proposition and register book 1838-1922
 Contributions book 1838-60
 Minute book 1896-1908
 (York Castle Museum)

Sheffield, South Yorkshire

Records of Amicable and Brunswick Lodges of Oddfellows 1798-1859
 (Sheffield Public Library, Beauchief Manuscripts BM 971/1-6)

B. District Records

1. Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity

a. Hull District

Minutes of Grand Quarterly Committee 1845-52
 (Hull Central Library)

b. Elloughton District

Minute book 1843-1915
 (Oddfellows' Hall, North Ferriby 1980 transferred to HCRO 1985)

2. Ancient Order of Foresters

a. Hull and East Riding District

Register book 1839-42
 (L.Salton, Hull 1979)

3. Ancient Order of Druids

a. Harpham District

Account and minute book 1846-64
 (HCRO DDX/61/1)

4. United Ancient Order of Druids

a. Hull District

Annual and Quarterly Reports 1895-1913
 (Central Library, Hull)

C. National Records

1. Ancient Order of Foresters (Headquarters, Southampton, 1980)

a. Dispensation Books 1835-58

2. Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity (Headquarters, Stockport, 1980)

a. Register of Lodges 1826-89, 1889 to present

3. Grand United Order of Oddfellows (Headquarters, Manchester, 1980)

a. Dispensation Book 1846 to present

4. United Ancient Order of Druids (Headquarters, Bristol, 1980)

a. National committee attendance book 1875-1971

II. Miscellaneous manuscript sources

A. Humberside County Record Office

QAP/9/2/17 Police recruits

QDC/2/1-29 Enrolled friendly society rules(see below)

QDE/1 Land tax returns for 1832

QSV/1 + 3 Quarter Sessions order books

DDBD/68 South Cave Savings Bank

DDX/216 Robert Sharp's Diary

Mf Microfilm of Religious Census Returns 1851

Parish records:

PE/37/18 Ottringham Funeral Brief 1842-69

PE/139/10 Lockington marriage register 1837-1971

PR/898 Notebook of rector of Bainton, 183

PR/984 Driffield churchwardens' accounts 1818-69

PR/1492 Middleton-on-Wolds marriage register 1837-67

PR/1691 'Annals of the parish of Thixendale 1868-1911'

PR/1998 Lund marriage register 1837-1937

PR/2003-4 Lund churchwardens' accounts

PR/2042 Hutton Cranswick marriage register 1837-1902

PR/3285 Keyingham church rate book 1848-1902

PR/3286 Keyingham vestry minute book 1832-71

Methodist records:

MRD Driffield Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Circuits

MRP Pocklington Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Circuits

MRW Patrington Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Circuits

School records:

SBM Keyingham school board minutes

Hutton Cranswick school board minutes

SLB School log books: Lund, Hayton, Sunk Island, Thornton,

Pocklington Wesleyan, Market Weighton National,

Nafferton National, Nafferton Infants, Londesborough,

Nunburnholme

B. Public Record Office

FS/1, 3-4 Friendly society rules (see below)

C. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York

Bp.V. 1865 Visitation returns 1865
Bp.V. 1894 Visitation returns 1894

D. Lincolnshire Archives Office

B.Cor 5 Correspondence of Bishop John Kaye

E. Beverley Public Library

Microfilm of census enumerators' returns for East Riding 1851, 1861,
and 1871

F. Hull Central Library

Microfilm of census enumerators' returns for Hull 1881

G. Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull

DDSY(2)2/3 M.Sykes Diary
DDX Notice re Brandesburton club 1831

H. School Log Books still at schools

Barmby Moor, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, Eastrington, North Newbald,
Hutton Cranswick, Middleton on the Wolds, Cherry Burton and Lockington

I. Records in private hands

Diary of Rev.R.Allen of Driffield 1828, 1830, 1832 (A.D.Gamble,
Scarborough)

Diary of Rev.Frances James Lundy 1851 (typescript D.Neave, Hull)

Burial book of W.Carlill, Long Riston, joiner, 1862-98 (Mrs.Fewson,
Benningholme Grange)

S.Cave Temperance Society minute book 1854-73 (via E.Wauldby, S.Cave)

Account book of Henry Lawson, Walkington, wheelwright, 1861-87
(Walter Lawson, Walkington, 1980)

Account books of Robert Lamb, Rillington, tailor and draper, 1857-79
and William Lamb, Rillington, shoemaker, 1850-51 (William Lamb,
Lund, 1980)

III. East Riding friendly society rule books

A. Local Societies

Beverley

Brotherly Society

1801 Beverley Library Beverley Pamphlets
 17 March 1813 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 7
 20 September 1815 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 7
 3 April 1828 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 7

Independent Society

1831 Beverley Library Beverley Pamphlets
 1866 HCRO DDX/16/84

Loyal Victory Lodge Sick Fund

8 October 1811 PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 15

Free Gift

1816 Beverley Library P.108A

Beverley Friendly Funeral Brief

1843 HCRO DDX/16/78

New Friendly Society

January 1828 PRO FS 1/802 Yorks 76
 April 1830 PRO FS 1/802 Yorks 76

Beverley Friendly Society

1866-67 HCRO DDX/16/84-85

Brandesburton

Benevolent Society

1814 photocopy D. Neave 1984

Bridlington

Union Society

1803 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 8
 7 October 1828 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 8
 2 August, 7 September + 5 October 1830 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 8

North Cave

Friendly Society

1829 photocopy D. Neave 1984

South Cave

Friendly Society

1802 Hull Central Library - typescript copy
 7 April 1825 PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 71

Cottingham**Friendly Society**

9 January 1798 PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 68

n.d. PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 68

Driffield**Union Society**

1 April 1794 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 2

1803 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 2

9 January 1826 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 4

4 January 1831 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 4; 1831 HCRO QDC 2/29

16 February 1836 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 2

29 July 1845 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 2

New Club or Provident Society

4 October 1831 PRO FS 1/803 Yorks 90

Working Man's Friendly Society

1865 PRO FS 1/867 Yorks 2635

Escrick**Ouse and Derwent Friendly Society**

13 April 1861 PRO FS 3/431 Yorks 1009

(see Riccall below)

Etton**Amicable and Friendly Society**

6 October 1794 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

5 March 1827 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19; Beverley Library YE 334.7

18 June 1832 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

24 February 1834 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

6 August 1835 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

14 November 1837 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

11 November 1840 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

26 May 1845 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19

19 November 1849 HCRO QDC 2/5

19 May 1862 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19; Beverley Library

Female Friendly Society

26 May 1841 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 328

1842 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 328

1853 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 328

Etton Mutual and Equitable Benefit Society

14 February 1850 PRO FS 1/824 Yorks 698

Flamborough**Fishermen's Fund**

25 August 1832 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 1

28 May 1842 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 1

North Frodingham

Friendly Society

August 1836 PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 25

Hedon

The Union Society

n.d. c1800? PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 22

n.d. c1809 Hull Central Library

Samaritan Society (formerly The Union Society)

13 October 1838 PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 22

August 1872 PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 22

1 August 1896 PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 22

Howden

Friendly Society

13 April 1831 PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 16

Union Society

14 January 1794 PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 2429

October 1830 PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 24 1831

photocopy D.Neave 1984

Women's Friend Society

1 July 1831 PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 67

Wesleyan Benefit Society

1843 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 326

Hunmanby

Amicable Society

29 April 1794 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 17

26 October 1822 PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 17

Royal Union Society

1824 (Amended 1828) PRO FS 1/802 Yorks 77

Kilham

Unanimous Society

January 1800 PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 28

Union Society

16 December 1831 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 330

Market Weighton

Friendly Society

29 April 1794 PRO FS 1/797B Yorks 38

Sept.1829 PRO FS 1/797B Yorks 38

Nafferton

United Society

17 October 1814 PRO FS 1/797B Yorks 35

20 February 1832 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 329

North Newbald

Benefit Society

1850 photocopy D.Neave 1984

Patrington

Amicable Society

c1794 PRO FS 3/423 Yorks

1822 Local History Library, Hull Central Library

1840 Beverley Library YE Pat

Pocklington

Union Society

9 March 1816 PRO FS 1/804 Yorks 106

Royal Brotherly Society

22 September 1794 PRO FS 1/805 Yorks 113

1803 HCRO QDC 2/12

1806 PRO FS 1/805 Yorks 113

15 December 1812 (amended) PRO FS 1/805 Yorks 113

Riccall

Ouse and Derwent Friendly Society

1851 PRO FS 3/431 Yorks 1009

(see also Escrick above)

Sledmere

Sledmere Poor Man's Society

1871 PRO FS 3/443 Yorks 3274

Staxton

Staxton Friendly Society

Scarborough 1893 photocopy D.Neave 1984

Wansford

Provident Society

7 October 1794 PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 105

Michaelmas 1815 PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 105

B. Affiliated Orders

Beverley

Loyal Olive Branch Lodge IOOF MU no.2572
1852 PRO FS 3/429 Yorks 649

Loyal Triumph Lodge IOOF MU no.952
1911 D.Neave

Court Forester's Delight AOF 768
1851 PRO FS 1/826A Yorks 969

Court Beverley AOF 653
1859 Beverley Library P.114

Loyal Brunswick Lodge IOOF Kingston Unity
1862 PRO FS 1/864 Yorks 2268

Rising Sun Lodge IOOF Kingston Unity
1862 PRO FS 1/865 Yorks 2285
1867 HCRO DDX/16/85

Victoria Lodge, UAOD 479
?1865 PRO FS 1/867 Yorks 2608

Primrose Lodge, United Order of Free Gardeners no.949
1870 HCRO DDX 254/19

Royal Standard Lodge, Independent Order of British Workmen
1875 PRO FS 1/874 Yorks 4005

Bishop Burton

Ploughboys' Refuge Lodge IOOF MU 2545
1860 Photocopy D.Neave 1984

Bridlington

Bridlington Branch of the Belper Primitive Methodist Local Preachers
Provident Institution
26 January 1857 PRO FS 1/826B Yorks 1017

Cottingham

Rose of Cottingham Lodge, GUOOF no.620.
14 June 1864 PRO FS 1/867 Yorks 2596

United Lodge, NUOFG
1917 HCRO DDX/254/24

C.H.Wilson Lodge, NUOFG
1917 HCRO DDX/254/23

Eastrington

Court Havelock AOF No.2955
1874 PRO FS 3/447 Yorks 3855

North Frodingham

Drifffield Branch of the Belper Primitive Methodist Local Preachers
Provident Institution
17 May 1856 PRO FS 1/828 Yorks 1213

Fulford

Rose of England Lodge, Ancient Order of Shepherds, A.U. no.333
1863 PRO FS 1/865 Yorks 2360

Harpham

St.Quintin Lodge, Independent Order of Druids
1865 HCRO DDX/61/6

Hedon

Loyal Good Samaritan Lodge IOOF MU no.1454
1881 Photocopy D.Neave 1984

Loyal Oddfellows' Good Samaritan Friendly Society
1903 Photocopy D.Neave 1984

Hessle

Loyal Vine Lodge IOOF MU no.1249
1852 PRO FS 1/828 Yorks 1207

Court Foresters' Mount AOF no.634
1880 photocopy D.Neave 1984

Hutton Cranswick

St.Pauls Lodge, IOOF MU no.4989
1884 D.Neave
c1912 W.Arnell, Drifffield

Court Hotham, AOF
1906 Foresters' Hall, Cranswick

Hutton Cranswick Foresters
1899 Foresters' Hall, Cranswick

Keyingham

Court Friendship AOF 765
1875 Photocopy D.Neave 1984 HCRO
c1884 Photocopy D.Neave 1984 HCRO

Keyingham Friendly Society
1905 HCRO

Court Friendship AOF 9370
1918 Copy D.Neave 1984

Langton

Loyal Norcliffe Benevolence Lodge of Ancient Shepherds
n.d. HCRO DDX 65/22

Leconfield

Lord Leconfield Lodge, IOOF, Kingston Unity
1862 PRO FS 1/865 Yorks 2284

Long Riston

Loyal Farmers' Refuge Lodge, IOOF MU no.1102
1860 Beverley Library P.116

Lund

Loyal St.Peter's Lodge IOOF MU no.1884
1858 Photocopy D.Neave 1984
1880 Photocopy D.Neave 1984

Pocklington

Court True Freedom AOF 600
1851 PRO FS 1/825 Yorks 872

Loyal Byron Lodge IOOF MU
1859 PRO FS 3/435 Yorks 1496

Rudston

Rudston Lodge, Independent Order of Ancient Shepherds
1865 reprinted in H.L.Day, My life with horses, (Cherry Burton, 1983)
pp.12-19

IV.District rules

Ancient Order of Foresters
Rules for the Hull and East Riding District of Ancient Foresters Hull,
1838

Rules for the Pocklington and Bishop Wilton District AOF
1851 (PRO FS 1/823 Yorks 628)

Grand United Order of Oddfellows
District and Funeral Laws of the York City District of the Grand United
Order of Oddfellows, York, 1861
Rules of Beverley District Juvenile Society, Grand United Order of
Oddfellows 1870 (Beverley Library P.117)

Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Kingston Unity
Rules of Beverley District IOOF Kingston Unity 1860 (PRO FS 1/863
Yorks 2058)

Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity
Laws for the Government of the Beverley District Branch IOOF MU
 Beverley, 1851
Rules of the Beverley District Branch IOOF MU Beverley, 1878; 1914
Rules of the Pocklington District Branch IOOF MU 1859 (PRO FS 1/838
 Yorks 1495)
Laws for the Government of the Hull District IOOF MU Hull, 1856

National United Order of Free Gardeners
Rules of the Kingston upon Hull District of United Order of Free
Gardeners Friendly Society 5th ed. 1871 (HCRO DDX 254/20)
Rules of the Beverley and East Riding District of the NUOFG n.d. (HCRO
 DDX 254/17)
Rules of the Cottingham District of NUOFG 1917 (HCRO DDX 254/22)

The Order of Sons of Temperance
Rules of the Grand Division No.9 and its Subordinate Divisions Hull,
 1929

United Ancient Order of Druids
The Hull District Laws and Regulations Hull, 1841
Constitutional Laws of the United Ancient Order of Druids and Rules for
the Government of the Hull District Hull, 1861 (HCRO DDML/12/10)

V. National rules

Ancient Order of Foresters General Laws Dewsbury, 1840; London, 1925;
 London, 1938; London; 1954

Grand United Order of Oddfellows Laws for the government and guidance of
the friendly society called the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, 1865

Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Kingston Unity General Rules Hull,
 1858

Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity Laws and regulations
of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows , Manchester, c.1835

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity Laws for the
Government of the IOOF, MU 1849-63 Manchester 1849-63

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity Rules Manchester 1909;
 Manchester 1935

Independent Order of Rechabites Regulations, 1843, 1880

National United Order of Free Gardeners Rules Oldham, 1879 (HCRO DDX
 254/21)

United Ancient Order of Druids Constitutional Rules 1891 (HCRO DDX
 61/11)

VI. Lecture books and formularies

Independent Order of Odd Fellows MU

The Purple Lecture; or Past Grand's Degree, Manchester, 1842

Lectures used by the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. 1834, Manchester 1839

The Lectures used by the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, Sanctioned and Approved by the Bristol A.M.C., June, 1846
London 1846

ibid. Stockport 1881

Supplement to the Lecture Book, of the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Manchester 1834

ibid. Huddersfield 1862

ibid. Huddersfield 1886

ibid. Huddersfield 1912

Ritual and Lectures of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows Friendly Society Huddersfield 1924

Ancient Order of Foresters

Sub-Chief Ranger's Duty in the Ceremony of Initiation; and the Lectures, of the Ancient Order of Foresters. Adopted at the High Court Meeting 1847, London, 1847

Sub-Chief Ranger's Duty in the Ceremony of Initiation n.d.

Formularies and Lectures of the Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society Adopted pursuant to the Resolution of the Bristol H.C.M. 1857, Huddersfield 1858

ibid., Amended at the Sheffield H.C., 1879, 1906

National United Order of Free Gardeners

Lecture Book of the United Order of Free Gardeners. The Journeyman's Degree, Rochdale, 1868

Lecture Book of the National United Order of Free Gardeners' Friendly Society. The Apprentices' Degree and Lecture, Goole, 1907

Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds

Lectures, Charges, &c. of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds. Ashton, 1835.

Lecture, Charges, &c., of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds. Part Second. Ashton 1843

Druids

Loyal Order of Druids, The Rites and ceremonies used in the opening and closing of Gorsedds, the installation of officers, the initiation of members and the consecration of new Gorsedds of the Loyal Order of Druids, Bolton, 1848 (Castle Museum, York)

VII. Affiliated friendly society journals

Ancient Order of Foresters

The Ancient Foresters' Miscellany 1841-43

Foresters' Miscellany and Quarterly Review 1858-85

Grand United Order of Oddfellows

Magazine 1858-79

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity
Quarterly Journal Oct.1878

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity
The Odd Fellows' Magazine 1828-1870

Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity
The Rechabite Magazine 1840-45
The Rechabite and Temperance Magazine 1872, 1880.

Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity
Monthly Magazine

National United Order of Free Gardeners
Quarterly Journal Oct.1879-Dec.1891
Monthly Journal Jan.1892-Oct.1897, 1902, 1913

Order of Ancient Shepherdesses, Kingston Unity
Quarterly Magazine Vol.1, no.1, Jan.1850 (Hull Central Library)

Sons of Temperance
The Pioneer : An official quarterly magazine and record of the Order of the Sons of Temperance Friendly Society Hull Grand Division No.9, 1892-1913 (Hull Central Library)
The Son of Temperance : Organ of the National Division of Sons of Temperance of Great Britain and Ireland, 1884-91, 1893-1916, 1919-21, 1923-39

United Ancient Order of Druids
The Druids Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal vols.1-2, 1838-39
Quarterly Magazine Sept.1897-Dec.1903
United Druids Monthly Magazine Jan,1904- Dec.1940

VIII. Affiliated order directories

Ancient Order of Druids
Introductory Book London, 1889

Ancient Order of Foresters
Directory 1840, 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1868-69, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958, 1978, 1982

Grand United Order of Oddfellows
Directory 1869
Almanack and General Reference Book 1880, 1883.
Directory and General Reference Book 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926
Directory of Branches 1980

Independent Order of Odd Fellows Manchester Unity
Directory and List of the Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930 1940, 1968, 1970, 1978

Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity
The Rechabite Almanack for 1865
Annual Directory and General Reference Book, 1888, 1890, 1898-1900,

1910-11, 1919-20

Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity
Guide and Directory 1890, 1923-24, 1947-48

National United Order of Free Gardeners
Annual Returns, 1851, 1857, 1859, 1861, 1867-72, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890
Annual Reports of Board of Management and General Reference Book 1895,
1900.
Annual Returns, Directory and Reference Book 1905, 1911, 1913, 1921
Directory Sandbach, 1979.

The Order of Druids
Almanack Manchester, 1859, 1864.
Directory Manchester, 1914

United Ancient Order of Druids
Directory and diary for 1938 (Hull, 1937)

General
Friendly societies almanack and diary (Hull, 1895)

IX. Affiliated order reports

Ancient Order of Foresters
Quarterly Reports of the Executive Council 1834-49

Grand United Order of Oddfellows
Quarterly Reports 1848-49, 1856-79

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Kingston Unity
'Minutes of Biennial Moveable Conference' October 1976 typescript

Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity
Quarterly Reports 1839-64

Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity
Reports of the Annual Moveable Committee 1837-44, 1851-2, 1857, 1859-69
(meetings alternate years)

Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity
Reports of Annual Meetings 1839-79

National United Order of Free Gardeners Quarterly Reports 1879-1882
Minutes of Annual Meeting of Deputies of the NUOFG, Dudley May 1880
Oldham, 1880 (HCRO DDX 254/29)

United Ancient Order of Druids, Hull District
Quarterly, Half-Yearly and Annual Reports 1895-1912

X. Affiliated order histories

Askew, F., 'Rise and revival of the United Ancient Order of Druids',
United Ancient Order of Druids Magazine, vol.2, 1899-1901, pp.228-233,
272-277, 322-327

Brooks, R.S., Essay on the friendly societies in England (United Ancient Order of Druids, n.d.)

Campbell, R., The Rechabite juvenile manual (Independent Order of Rechabites, Manchester 1909)

Campbell, R., Rechabite history: a record of the origin, rise and progress of the Independent Order of Rechabites Salford Unity (Manchester, 1911)

Campbell, R., Provident and industrial institutions (Manchester, n.d. [c1925])

Cooper, W.G., The Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society 150 years 1834-1984 (Southampton, 1984)

Crew, E., Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Friendly Society A.U.: Centenary Souvenir 1826-1926 (Manchester, 1926)

Fierke, F.W., 'The rise and progress of friendly societies in Hull' in Souvenir Handbook of The National Conference of Friendly Societies, (Hull, 1915)

Fierke, F.W., ed., The Order of the Sons of Temperance Friendly Society Hull Grand Division Jubilee Souvenir 1865-1915 (Hull, 1915)

Finch, H.T., History of the Order (National United Order of Free Gardeners, Dudley, 1900)

'Forestry in Hull and neighbourhood' Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters 1890, pp.xlv-xlvi

Hague, D., Historical sketch (The Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity) Friendly Society, 1967)

Hardwick, C., The history, present position, and social importance of friendly societies (3rd edition, London, 1893)

Hight, R., Rechabite history (Independent Order of Rechabites (Salford Unity), Manchester, 1936)

Independent Order of Odd Fellows Manchester Unity Friendly Society 1810-1975, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester, 1975

Moffrey, R.W., 'Rise and progress of the Manchester Unity 1810-1904' in E.L.Jones and D.Hudson, Souvenir Manchester A.M.C., Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity Friendly Society(Manchester,1904) pp.31-109

Moffrey, R.W., A century of Oddfellowship (Manchester, 1910)

National United Order of Free Gardeners Friendly Society Short History (Sandbach, n.d.)

Potter, W., and R.Oliver Fraternally yours: A history of the Independent Order of Foresters (London, 1967)

Shaw, J.W., Historical notes on the Order of Druids, Order of Druids, (Manchester, 1936)

Sons of Temperance of Great Britain and Ireland Friendly Society 1855-1955, Sons of Temperance, 1955

Spry, J., History of Odd-Fellowship (London, 1867)

[Stead, T.B.,] A short history of the chief affiliated friendly societies (Leeds, 1880)

Thornley, J., History of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows (Manchester, 1911-13, 3 vols.)

Walford, C., 'Friendly societies', in Insurance Cyclopaedia (London, 1870-8) vol.iv, pp.379-616

Wilkinson, J.F., The Friendly Society Movement (London, 1886)

Wilkinson, J.F., Mutual Thrift (London, 1891)

XI. Newspapers and periodicals

Beverley Guardian

Beverley Independent

Beverley Recorder

Bridlington Free Press

Bridlington Gazette

Driffield and Buckrose Mail

Driffield Observer and Literary Journal

Driffield Times

Eastern Counties Herald

Eastern Morning News

Goole and Marshland Gazette

Goole Times

Hull Advertiser

Hull Daily Mail

Hull News

Hull Rockingham

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury

Malton Gazette

Malton Messenger

Northern Star

Pocklington Weekly News

Scarborough Gazette

Scarborough Mercury

Selby Advertiser

York Courant

Yorkshire Gazette

Parish Magazine Union, Driffield, 1881-82, 1884-86, 1889-92, 1897-1902, 1905-8, 1912-13

Tracts for Odd Fellows and Social Reformers, No.2, May 1849

Green's Beverley Almanack 1883-85, 1890-99

Ward's Beverley Almanack 1860-62, 1906-9

SECONDARY WORKS

- Abraham, W.H., The studies of a socialist parson (Hull, 1892)
- Adelson, R., Mark Sykes: Portrait of an amateur (London, 1975)
- Ambler, R.W., ed., Lincolnshire returns of the census of Religious Worship 1851 (Lincoln Record Society, vol.72, 1979)
- Anderson, M., Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971)
- Arch, J., Joseph Arch: the story of his life (London, 1898)
- Armstrong, A., Stability and change in an English county town: A social study of York 1801-51 (London, 1974)
- Ashby, M.K., Joseph Ashby of Tysoe 1859-1919 (London, 1974)
- Baernreither, J.M., English associations of working men (London, 1889)
- Bailey, P., Leisure and class in Victorian England (London, 1978)
- Barugh, W., Master and man (Driffield, 1854)
- Bellamy, J., and J.Saville, eds., Dictionary of labour biography, vols.1-7, (London, 1972-84)
- Best, G., Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75 (London, 1971)
- Birch, R.C., The shaping of the Welfare State (London, 1974)
- Booth, C., The aged poor in England and Wales (London, 1894)
- Booth, C., ed., Life and labour of the people in London, vol.3 (London, 1892)
- Brabrook, E.W., Provident societies and industrial welfare (London, 1898)
- Bruce, M., The coming of the Welfare State, 4th ed.(London, 1968)
- Brundage, A., The making of the New Poor Law 1832-39 (London, 1978)
- Bushaway, B., By rite: custom, ceremony and community in England 1700-1880 (London, 1982)
- Caird, J., English agriculture in 1850-51 (London, 1852)
- Carter, I., Farmlife in Northeast Scotland 1840-1914 (Edinburgh, 1979)
- Charlesworth, A., Social protest in a rural society: the spatial diffusion of the Captain Swing disturbances of 1830-31 (Historical Geography Research Series, no.1., October 1979)
- Charlesworth, A., ed., An atlas of rural protest in Britain 1548-1900 (London, 1983)

- Christian, G., ed., A Victorian poacher: James Hawker's journal (Oxford, 1978)
- Clark, P., The English alehouse: A social history 1200-1830 (London, 1983)
- Cole, G.D.H., and R.Postgate, The Common People 1746-1946 (London, 1961)
- Cooper, A.N., Tales of my tramps (London, 1913)
- Cooper, T.L., Brass bands of Yorkshire (Clapham, 1974)
- Corrigan, E., Ups and downs and roundabouts (Drifffield, 1973)
- Craig, F.W.S., British Parliamentary election results (London, 1974)
- Crossick, G., An artisan elite in Victorian society (London, 1978)
- Cunningham, H., Leisure in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1980)
- Currie, R., Methodism divided (London, 1968)
- Davis, P., The old friendly societies of Hull (Hull, 1926)
- Day, H.L., My life with horses (Cherry Burton, 1983)
- Deane, P., and W.A.Cole, British economic growth, 2nd. ed. (Cambridge, 1967)
- Diprose, J., and J.Gammon, Reports of law cases affecting friendly societies (Manchester, 1897)
- Donajgrodzki, A., ed., Social control in nineteenth century Britain (London, 1977)
- Drage, G., The problem of the aged poor (London, 1895)
- Dunbabin, J.P.D., Rural discontent in 19th century Britain (London, 1974)
- Eddowes, J., Martinmas musings (Drifffield, 1854)
- Eddowes, J., The agricultural labourer as he really is (Drifffield, 1854)
- Eden, F., The state of the poor (London, 1797)
- Edsall, N.C., The anti-Poor Law movement 1834-44 (Manchester, 1971)
- Epstein, J., and D.Thompson, The Chartist experience: studies in working class radicalism and culture 1830-1860 (London, 1982)
- Evans, E.J., ed., Social policy 1830-1914 (London, 1978)
- Evans, G.E., The pattern under the plough (London, 1966)
- Everitt, A., The pattern of rural dissent: the nineteenth century (Leicester University Department of English Local History Occasional Papers 2nd.series no.4, 1972)

Extracts from the minutes of the Holderness Agricultural Society 1795-1850 (Hull, 1883)

Firth, G., and K.Laybourn and J. O'Connell, Yorkshire labour movements 1780-1926: a guide to historical sources and their uses (Leeds, n.d.)

Foster, J., Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution (London, 1977)

Fuller, M., West Country friendly societies (Reading, 1964)

Gay, J.D., The geography of religion in England (London, 1971)

Gayer, A.D., W.W.Rostow, and A.J.Schwartz, The growth and fluctuation of the British economy 1790-1850, vol.1, (Oxford, 1953)

Gilbert, A.D., Religion and society in industrial England: Church, chapel and social change 1740-1914 (London, 1976)

Gilbert, B.B., The evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain (London, 1966)

Gorman, J., Banner bright (London, 1973)

Gosden, P.H.J.H., The friendly societies in England 1815-1875 (Manchester, 1963)

Gosden, P.H.J.H., Self-help: Voluntary associations in nineteenth-century Britain (London, 1973)

Goss, C.W.F., A descriptive bibliography of the writings of George Jacob Holyoake (London, 1908)

Gray, R.Q., The labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford, 1976)

Green, S.G., The working classes of Great Britain: their present condition, and the means of their improvement and elevation (London, 1850)

Gregory, B., Side lights on the conflicts of Methodism (London, 1899)

Groves, R., Sharpen the sickle!: The history of the Farm Workers' Union (London, 1949)

Hardy, T., Tess of the d'Urbevilles (London, 1967)

Harris, R.W., National Health Insurance in Great Britain 1911-1946 (London, 1946)

Harrison, B., Drink and the Victorians : The temperance question in England 1815-1872 (London, 1971)

Harrison, B., Dictionary of British temperance biography (Society for the Study of Labour History, 1973)

Harrison, B., and B.S.Trinder, Drink and sobriety in an early Victorian country town: Banbury 1830-1860 (English Historical Review Supplement, 1969)

- Harrison, J.F.C., Learning and living 1790-1960 (London, 1961)
- Harrison, J.F.C., Early Victorian Britain 1832-51 (London, 1979)
- Hartley, M., and J.Ingilby, Life in the moorlands of north east Yorkshire (London, 1972)
- Hasbach, W., A history of the English agricultural labourer (London, 1920)
- Hastings, R.P., Essays in North Riding history 1780-1850 (North Yorkshire County Record Office publications no.28, Northallerton, 1981)
- Hattersley, A.F., The British settlement of Natal (Cambridge, 1950)
- Hay, J.R., The origins of the Liberal welfare reforms 1906-1914 (London, 1975)
- Hebden, C.D., The Trustee Savings Banks of Yorkshire and Lincoln (The Trustees Savings Bank of Yorkshire and Lincoln, 1981)
- Herbert, G., Shoemaker's window (Chichester, 1971)
- Hobsbawm, E.J., Labouring men: studies in the history of labour (London, 1968)
- Hobsbawm, E.J., Primitive rebels, 3rd ed. (Manchester, 1971)
- Hobsbawm, E.J., Worlds of labour (London, 1984)
- Hobsbawm, E.J., and T.Ranger, The invention of tradition (Cambridge, 1983)
- Hobsbawm, E.J., and G.Rude, Captain Swing (Harmondsworth, 1973)
- Hodgkinson, R.G., The origins of the National Health Service : The Medical Services of the New Poor Law 1834-1871 (London, 1967)
- Hole, J., An essay on history and management of literary scientific and mechanics' institutes (London, 1853)
- Hole, S.R., The memories of Dean Hole (London, 1892)
- Holyoake, G.J., Sixty years of an agitator's life 2 vols. (London, 1892)
- Horn, P., Labouring life in the Victorian countryside (Dublin, 1976)
- Horn, P., The rural world 1780-1850 (London, 1980)
- Horne, H.O., A history of savings banks (London, 1947)
- Howard, C., A general view of the agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1835)
- Howkins, A., Poor labouring men: rural radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923 (London, 1985)

- Howkins, A., Whitsun in 19th century Oxfordshire (Oxford, 1973)
- Hudson, D., Munby: Man of two worlds (London, 1972)
- Hunt, E.H., Regional wage variations in Britain 1850-1914 (Oxford, 1973)
- Hyslop, R.M., The centenary of the temperance movement 1832-1932 (London, 1931)
- Jones, D.J.V., The last rising: the Newport insurrection of 1839 (Oxford, 1985)
- Jones, E.L., Seasons and prices (London, 1964)
- Keating, P., ed., Into unknown England 1866-1913 (London, 1976)
- Kenyon, R. Ll., Abstract of the orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, vol.iv, 1840-89 (Shropshire County Records, n.d.)
- Kightly, C., Country voices: life and lore in farm and village (London, 1984)
- Kingsley, C., Alton Locke (London, 1890)
- Kirk, N., The growth of working class reformism in mid-Victorian England (London, 1985)
- Kussmaul, A., Servants in husbandry in early modern England (Cambridge, 1981)
- Lawson, J., Letters to the young on the progress in Pudsey during the last sixty years (Stanningley, 1887)
- Leeson, R.A., United we stand: An illustrated account of trade union emblems (Bath, 1971)
- Leeson, R.A., Travelling brothers (St.Albans, 1980)
- Leslie, S., Mark Sykes: His life and letters (London, 1923)
- Longmate, N., The water-drinkers (London, 1968)
- MacDougall, I., A catalogue of some labour records in Scotland, Scottish Labour History Society (Edinburgh, 1978)
- Mackay, T., A history of the English Poor Law, vol.3 (London, 1899)
- MacLaren, A.A., ed., Social class in Scotland: Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1976)
- Malcolmson, R.W., Popular recreations in English society 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973)
- Martin, E.W., ed., Country life in England (London, 1967)
- Matthews, R.C.O., A study in trade-cycle history (Cambridge, 1954)
- Matthews, R.D., Friendly societies and their origins (Leeds, 1935)

- Meller, H.E., ed., Nottingham in the eighteen eighties (Nottingham, 1971)
- Memoir of Joseph Smith, of South Holme, late of Huggate and Riseborough, Wesleyan Local Preacher (Malton, 1900)
- Mills, D.R., Lord and peasant in nineteenth century Britain (London, 1980)
- Mills, D.R., ed., English rural communities (London, 1973)
- Mingay, G.E., Rural life in Victorian England (London, 1979)
- Mingay, G.E., ed., The Victorian countryside, 2 vols. (London, 1981)
- Moffat, J., History of the Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons No.294 Beverley (Beverley, 1968)
- Morley, J., Death, heaven and the Victorians (London, 1971)
- Moore, R., Pit-Men preachers and politics: The effects of Methodism in a Durham mining community (London, 1974)
- Morris, F.O., The present system of hiring farm servants in the East Riding of Yorkshire, with suggestions for its improvement (Driffield, 1854)
- [Morris, F.O.], Possibilities in a parish by a Yorkshire clergyman (London, 1850)
- Morris, M.C.F., The British workman (Cambridge, 1928)
- Morris, R.J., Class and class consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850 (London, 1979)
- Moyes, W.A., The banner book (Newcastle, 1974)
- Musson, A.E., British trade unions 1800-1875 (London, 1972)
- Neale, R.S., ed., History and Class: Essential Readings in Theory and Interpretation (Oxford, 1983)
- Newby, H., The deferential worker (Harmondsworth, 1977)
- Obelkevich, J., Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875 (Oxford, 1976)
- Oliver, G., A dictionary of symbolical Masonry (London, 1853)
- Olney, R.J., Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885 (London, 1973)
- Olney, R.J., Rural society and county government in nineteenth century Lincolnshire (History of Lincolnshire, vol.x, Lincoln, 1979)
- Orwin, C.S., and E.H.Whetham History of British Agriculture 1846-1914 (Newton Abbot, 1971)

The parish and the priest: colloquies on the pastoral care and parochial institutions, of a country village (London, 1858)

Payne, M.W., The origin and development of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes (London, 1973)

Peacock, A.J., and D.Joy, George Hudson of York (Clapham, 1971)

Pelling, H., Social geography of British elections 1885-1910 (London, 1967)

Perkin, H., The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (London, 1969)

Piggott, S., The Druids (Harmondsworth, 1974)

Pratt, J.Tidd, Suggestions to the promoters and members of friendly societies (London, 1852)

Preston, W., Illustrations of Masonry (16th ed., London, 1846)

Prothero, I., Artisans and politics in early Nineteenth-Century London (London, 1981)

Razzell, P.F., and R.W.Wainwright, The Victorian working class: selections from letters to the Morning Chronicle (London, 1973)

Redford, A., Labour migration in England 1800-50 (Manchester, 1926)

Roberts, J.M., The mythology of secret societies (St.Albans, 1974)

Rogers, C.F., Principles of parish work (London, 1905)

Rogers, C.F., Charitable relief (London, 1908)

Rose, M.E., The relief of poverty 1834-1914 (London, 1972)

Rostow, W.W., British economy of the nineteenth century (London, 1948)

Rowntree, B.S., Poverty - a study of town life (London, 1922)

Rowntree, B.S., Poverty and progress (London, 1941)

Rowntree, B.S., and M.Kendall, How the Labourer Lives (London, 1913)

Russell, A., The clerical profession (London, 1980)

Russell, J.F., and J.H.Elliot The Brass Band Movement (London, 1936)

Russell, R.C., The 'Revolt of the Field' in Lincolnshire (Lincolnshire County Committee, National Union of Agricultural Workers, 1956)

Russell, R.C., Friendly societies in the Caistor, Binbrook and Brigg area in the 19th century (Nettleton, 1975)

Salmon, D.J., ed., Malton in the early nineteenth century (North Yorkshire County Record Office publications 26, Northallerton, 1981)

- Samuel, R., ed., Village life and labour (London, 1975)
- Saville, J., Rural depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951 (London, 1957)
- Scotland, N., Methodism and the Revolt of the Field (Gloucester, 1981)
- Sigsworth, E.M., The brewing trade during the Industrial Revolution: the case of Yorkshire (Borthwick Papers no.31, York, 1967)
- Skinner, J. Facts and opinions concerning statute hirings (London, 1861)
- Slingsby, H., and sons, Catalogue of Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, registered emblematical regalia, collars, sashes, aprons, jewels, chains, banners (Nuneaton, c1900)
- Slingsby, H., and sons, Illustrated list of presentation jewels, recognition badges and regalia novelties (Nuneaton, c1900)
- Smelser, N.J., Social Change in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1959)
- Smiles, S., Thrift (London, 1889)
- Smith, F.B., Radical artisan: William James Linton 1812-1897 (Manchester, 1973)
- Snell, H., Men, movements and myself (London, 1936)
- Snell, K.D.M., Annals of the labouring poor: social change and agrarian England 1660-1900 (Cambridge, 1985)
- Storch, R.D., ed., Popular culture and customs in 19th century (London, 1982)
- Sturt, G., The wheelwright's shop (Cambridge, 1963)
- Sykes, C., Four studies in loyalty (London, 1946)
- Taylor, A.J., ed., The standard of living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1975)
- Taylor, A.R., Brass bands (London, 1979)
- Thane, P., The origins of British social policy (London, 1978)
- Thane, P., The foundations of the welfare state (London, 1982)
- Tholfsen, T.R., Working-class radicalism in mid-Victorian England (London, 1976)
- Thompson, E.P., The making of the English working class (Harmondsworth, 1968)
- Tooke, T., and W.Newmarch, A history of prices, vol.v, (London, 1928)
- Tuttill, G., [Catalogue of friendly society regalia] (London, 1895)

Tylecote, M., The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (Manchester, 1957)

Vincent, D., Testaments of radicalism: memoirs of working class politicians (London, 1977)

Vincent, D., Bread, knowledge and freedom: a study of 19th century working class autobiography (London, 1984)

Wald, K.D., Crosses on the ballot: patterns of British voter alignment since 1885 (Princeton, 1983)

Walton, J.K., and J. Walvin, eds., Leisure in Britain 1780-1939 (Manchester, 1983)

Wearmouth, R.F., Methodism and the struggle of the working classes 1850-1900 (Leicester, 1954)

Webb, S. and B., English poor law policy (London, 1910)

Webb, S. and B., The history of trade unionism (revised ed., London, 1926)

Weir, C., Village and town bands (Princes Risborough, 1981)

Williams, G.P. and Brake, G.T., Drink in Great Britain 1900-1979 (London, 1980)

Wilson, A., and H. Levy, Burial reform and funeral costs (London, 1938)

Wilson, A., and H. Levy, Industrial assurance (London, 1937)

Winter, J., ed., The working class in modern British history (Cambridge, 1983)

Woodcock, H., Piety amongst the peasantry (London, 1889)

Woolley, J.G. and W.E. Johnson, Temperance progress of the century (Toronto, 1903)

Wray, W., ed., The autobiography of Thomas Laughton (n.d.)

Yeo, E. and S., ed., Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914 (Sussex, 1981)

Yeo, S., Religion and voluntary organisations in crisis (London, 1976)

LOCAL STUDIES

Allen, J., The stranger's guide to Ferriby, Welton, Elloughton and South Cave (Hull, 1841)

Allison, K.J. The East Riding of Yorkshire landscape (London, 1976)

Barley, M.W., ed., History of Driffield (Hull, 1938)

- Bedell, E.W., An account of Hornsea in Holderness (Hull, 1848)
- Bulmer, T., History, topography and directory of East Yorkshire (Preston, 1892)
- Clarke, T., History of Howden (Howden, 1850)
- Cortis, W.S., Guide to Filey (Filey, 1861)
- Craven, M.T., A new and complete history of the borough of Hedon (Drifffield, 1972)
- Gutch, Mrs., Examples of printed folk lore concerning the East Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1912)
- Harris, A., The rural landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850 (London, 1961)
- Hinderwell, T., The history and antiquities of Scarborough (Scarborough, 1798)
- Howorth, P., Drifffield: A Country Town in its setting 1700-1860 (privately printed, n.d.)
- Hudleston, N.A., Rillington (Scarborough, 1955)
- Hull and East Riding Red Book (Hull, 1898)
- Johnson, H., A tale of two villages (Hutton Cranswick) (Hutton, 1980)
- Morrell, W.W., The history and antiquities of Selby (Selby, 1867)
- Neave, D., Drifffield: a town trail (Beverley, 1981)
- Neave, D., Howden explored (Hull, 1979)
- Neave, D., Pocklington 1660-1914 (Beverley, 1971)
- Neave, D., ed., South Cave: a market village community in the 18th and 19th centuries (2nd.ed., Howden, 1984)
- Nicholson, J., Folk lore of East Yorkshire (Hull, 1890)
- Noble, M., Change in the small towns of the East Riding of Yorkshire c1750-1850 (Hedon Local History series no.5, 1979)
- Owston, L.M., Hunmanby, East Yorkshire (Hunmanby, 1948)
- Park, G.R., History of Hedon (Hull, 1895)
- Poulson, G., History and antiquities of Holderness (Hull, 1840-1, 2 vols)
- Ross, F., Contributions towards a history of Drifffield (Drifffield, 1898)
- Sheahan, J.J., and Whellan, T., History and topography of the city of York; the Ainsty wapentake; and the East Riding of Yorkshire(vol.2, Beverley, 1856)

Steel, D.I.A., A Lincolnshire village: the parish of Corby Glen in its historical context (London, 1979)

Strickland, H.E., General view of the agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1812)

Turner, M., The Beverley guide (Beverley, 1830)

White, W., History, gazeteer, and directory of the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire (Sheffield, 1840)

Woods, M., ed., Heckington in the eighteen seventies (Heckington, n.d.)

ARTICLES

Anderson, M., 'Sociological history and the working-class family: Smelser revisited', Social History 3, 1976 pp.317-334

Armstrong, W.A., 'The flight from the land', in G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside, vol.1, (London, 1981) pp.118-135

Banks, J.A., 'The contagion of numbers', in H.J.Dyos and M.Wolff, The Victorian city, vol.1, (London, 1973) pp.105-122

Behagg, C., 'Secrecy, ritual and folk violence: the opacity of the workplace in the first half of the nineteenth century', in R.D.Storch, ed., Popular culture and custom in 19th century England (London, 1982), pp.154-179

'Benefit societies', The Church of England magazine, vol.iv, no.100, April 21, 1838, pp.241-243

Bowley, A.L., 'The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years: Pt.1. Agricultural wages', Royal statistical society journal, vol.61, pp.702-22 and vol.62, pp.565-70

Brabrook, E.W., 'Friendly societies and similar institutions' Statistical society journal, vol. 38, 1875, pp.185-206

Brabrook, E.W., 'The relation of the state to thrift; ten years statistics of friendly societies and similar institutions' Statistical society journal, vol.48, 1885, pp.21-44

Brabrook, E.W., 'The progress of friendly societies and other institutions connected with the Friendly Societies Registry Office during the ten years 1884-94', Royal statistical society journal, vol.58, 1895, pp.286-302

Brabrook, E.W., 'On the progress of friendly societies and other institutions connected with the Friendly Societies Registry Office during the ten years 1894-1904' Royal statistical society journal, vol.68, 1905, pp.320-342

Brabrook, E.W., 'On the progress of friendly societies and other provident institutions during the ten years 1904-1914' Royal statistical society journal, vol.78, 1915, pp.414-433

Bright, S., 'Cornet, clarionet and big trombone', in Hunmanby 1874-1965 (Hunmanby, 1965)

Brown, S.J., 'Friendly societies and their symbols and ritual', Group for regional studies in museums journal no.10 , Oct.1982, pp.7-11

Carter, I., 'Agricultural workers in the class structure: a critical note' Sociological review, 22, 1974, pp.271-9

Carter, I., 'Class and culture among farm servants in the North-East 1840-1914' in A.A.MacLaren(ed.) Social class in Scotland: Past and present, (Edinburgh, 1976) , pp.105-127

Carter, J., 'The Lubenham story - 15' Lubenham newsletter, vol.3, no.11, Nov. 1982, pp.[1-3]

Counce, S., 'East Riding hiring fairs', Oral history, vol.3, no.2, autumn 1975, pp.45-52

Chaloner, W.H., 'The Reminiscences of Thomas Dunning (1813-94)' Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire antiquarian society vol.lix, 1947, pp.85-130

Chatres, J.A., 'Country tradesmen' in G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside, vol.1, pp.300-313

Chatres, J.A., and G.L.Turnbull, 'Country craftsmen' in ibid., pp.314-328

Currie, R., 'A micro-theory of Methodist growth', Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, vol.36, 1967, pp.65-73

Digby, A., 'The labour market and the continuity of social policy after 1834: The case of the Eastern Counties', Economic history review, 2nd series 28, 1975, pp.69-83

Digby, A., 'The relief of poverty in Victorian York: attitudes and policies' in C.Feinstein (ed.) York 1831-1981 (York, 1981) pp.160-185

Dunbabin, J.P.D., 'Labourers and farmers in the late nineteenth century - some changes', Bulletin of society for for study of labour history, no.11, 1965, pp.6-9

Dunbabin, J.P.D., 'The incidence and organization of agricultural trades unionism in the 1870s', Agricultural history review, 16, 1968, pp.114-141

English, B., 'Patterns of estate management in East Yorkshire c1840-c1880', Agricultural history review, 32, 1984, pp.29-48

Erickson, A.B., 'The cattle plague in England 1865-67', Agricultural history, 35, 1961, pp.94-103

Everitt, A., 'Nonconformity in country parishes' in J.Thirsk, ed., Land, church and people (Reading, 1970), pp.178-199.

Faherty, R., 'The memoir of Thomas Martin Wheeler, Owenite and Chartist 1811-62', Bulletin of the society for the study of labour history, 30, spring 1975, pp.11-13

Fletcher, T.W., 'The Great Depression of English agriculture 1873-96', Economic history review, 13, 1960-61, pp.417-432

Foster, J., 'Some comments on "Class struggle and the labour aristocracy, 1830-60"', Social history 3, 1976, pp.357-366

Gilbert, B.B., 'The decay of nineteenth-century provident institutions and the coming of Old Age Pensions in Great Britain' Economic history review 17, 1964-65, pp.551-563

Girling, E.M., 'Village tyrants' The Treasury, vol.3, 1904, pp.448-452

Gray, R.Q., 'Thrift and working-class mobility in Victorian Edinburgh', in A.A.MacLaren(ed.) Social class in Scotland: Past and present (Edinburgh, 1976) , pp.128-142

Gray, R.Q., 'Styles of life, the 'Labour Aristocracy' and class relations in later nineteenth century Edinburgh', International review of social history, vol.18, 1973, pp.428-452

Green, D.G., 'Doctor versus workers', Economic affairs, vol.5, no.1, Oct-Dec. 1984, supplement, pp.i - xii.

Gurden, H., 'Primitive Methodism and agricultural trade unionism in Warwickshire 1872-5', Bulletin of the society for the study of labour history no.33, 1976, pp.4-5

Hagerty, J.M., 'Bradford friendly societies in the 1790s', The Bradford antiquary, 1976, pp.45-64

Hanham, H.J., 'Liberal organisations for working men 1860-1914', Bulletin of the society for the study of labour history no.7, 1963, pp.5-7

Hanson, C.G., 'Welfare before the Welfare State', in R.M.Hartwell and others The long debate on poverty, (London, 1972), pp.113-139

Harber, J., 'Labour archives in the Calder Valley', History workshop vol.5, 1978, pp.147-154

Haynes, M.J., 'Class and class conflict in the early nineteenth century: Northampton shoemakers ' Literature and history, vol.5, 1977, pp.73-94

Hobsbawm, E.J., 'Friendly societies', The amateur historian, vol.3, 1957, pp.95-101

Hobsbawm, E.J., and J.W.Scott, 'Political shoemakers', in E.J.Hobsbawm, Worlds of labour, (London, 1984), pp.103-130

Holderness, B.A., '"Open" and "close" parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', Agricultural history review, vol.20, 1972, pp.126-139

Horn, P.L.R., 'Old age and the Oxfordshire agricultural labourer', Oxoniensa 38, 1973, pp.373-80

Horn, P., 'Labour organizations', in G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside, vol.2, pp.580-590

Howkins, A., 'The taming of Whitsun: the changing face of a nineteenth-century rural holiday' in E. and S.Yeo (eds.) Popular culture and class conflict 1590-1914, (Sussex, 1981) pp.187-207

Jackson, E., 'The origin and promotion of brass band contests', Musical opinion nos.226, 228, 230, 232, and 234, July 1896- March 1897

James, R.L.M., 'The records of friendly societies', Archives, vol. 6, 1964, pp.223-4

Johnson, P., 'Credit and thrift and the working class', in J.Winter, ed., The working class in modern British history, (Cambridge, 1983), pp.147-170

Jones, E.L., 'The agricultural labour market in England 1793-1872', Economic history review 2nd series, 17, 1964-5, pp.322-338

Kusmaul, A.S., 'The ambiguous mobility of farm servants', Economic history review 2nd series, 34, 1981, pp.222-235

'Labour archives: a guide to their location and preservation', Society for the study of labour history bulletin, 36, 1978, pp.3-6

Lindert, P.H., and J.G.Williamson, 'English workers' living standards during the Industrial Revolution: A new look', Economic history review, 36, 1983, pp.1-25

'Lodges, benefit-clubs, Odd-fellows, &c.', The Christian miscellany and family visiter, vol.I, 1846, pp.146-148

Maltby, H.J.M., 'Early Bradford friendly societies', The Bradford antiquary, new series, part xxi, 1921, pp. 17-28.

Marshall, J.D., 'The rise and transformation of the Cumbrian market town, 1660-1900', Northern history, vol.XIX, 1983, pp. 128-209

Moulton, J.E., 'Ungodly associations exposed', Wesleyan Methodist magazine, 1841, pp.302-305

Musson, A.E., 'Class struggle and the labour aristocracy, 1830-60', Social history 3, pp.335-356

Neave, D., 'The local records of affiliated friendly societies', The local historian vol.16 no.3, 1984, pp.161-169

Neave, D., 'Victorian self-help and the local community', Local history no.1, July 1984, pp.10-11

Nelson, F.G.P., 'Some statistics of the affiliated orders of friendly societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', Statistical society journal vol.40, 1877, pp.42-89

- Newby, H., 'Agricultural workers in the class structure', Sociological review 20, 1972, pp.413-39
- Olney, R.J., 'The politics of land', in G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside (London, 1981), vol.1 pp.58-70
- Orwin, C.S., and B.I.Felton 'A century of wages and earnings in agriculture', Royal agricultural society journal, vol.XCII, 1931, pp.231-57
- Peacock, A.J., 'Chartism in York', York history, no.3, n.d., pp.118-146
- Peck, R., 'Farm labour in mid-nineteenth century Warwickshire', Local population studies, no.31, autumn 1983, pp.42-51
- Popple, J., 'The Mechanics' Institutes of the East and North Ridings of York 1837-87', Vocational aspect, 10, 1958, pp.29-46
- Prichard, M.F.Ll., 'Friendly societies in Norfolk 1700-1850' Notes and queries vol.201, pp.401-404; vol.206, pp.252-254
- Reid, C., 'Temperance, teetotalism and local culture', Northern history, vol. XIII, 1977, pp.248-264
- Reid, D., 'The decline of Saint Monday, 1766-1876', Past and present no.71, 1976, pp.76-101
- Rose, M.E., 'The allowance system under the New Poor Law' Economic history review, 2nd series, 19, 1966, pp.607-20
- Rose, M.E. 'The Anti-Poor Law movement in the North of England' Northern history, vol. I, 1966, pp.70-91
- Russell, D., 'Popular musical culture and popular politics in the Yorkshire textile districts, 1880-1914' in J.K.Walton and J.Walvin (eds.) Leisure in Britain 1780-1939 (Manchester, 1983) pp.99-116
- Russell, R.C., 'Methodist friendly societies in Lincolnshire - the need for research on these', Journal of the Lincolnshire Methodist history society vol.3, no.6, spring 1983, pp.123-125
- Salt, E., 'Parish councils and village Methodism', The Wesleyan Methodist magazine, 1894 pp.692-3
- Sheppard, J.A., 'East Yorkshire's agricultural labour force in mid-nineteenth century', Agricultural history review, vol.9, 1961, pp.43-54
- Shiman, L.L., 'The Birstall temperance society', Yorkshire archaeological journal, vol.46, 1974, pp.128-139
- Smiles, S. [Anon], 'Workmen's benefit societies', Quarterly review, vol.116, 1864 pp.318-350
- Storey, T.H., 'The Oddfellows Hall, Grimsby, and its place in the social life of the town', Lincolnshire history and archaeology, vol.12, 1977, pp.49-54

Stratton, J.Y., 'Farm labourers, their friendly societies and the poor law', Royal agricultural society journal, 31, 1870, pp.87-119

Stratton, J.Y., 'Friendly societies, state action, and the poor law', Royal agricultural society journal, 43, 1882, pp.153-86

Thane, P., 'The working class and state 'welfare' 1880-1914', Bulletin of the society for the study of labour history no.31, 1975, pp.6-8

Thompson, D.M., 'The churches and society in nineteenth-century England a rural perspective', in G.J.Cuming and D.Baker, eds., Popular belief and practice (Cambridge, 1972), pp.267-276

Thompson, F.M.L., 'Free trade and the land', in G.E.Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside, vol.1, (London, 1981), pp. 103-117

Thompson, R.H., and A.J.Wager 'The purpose and use of public-house checks' The British numismatic journal, vol.52, 1982, pp.215-233

Treble, J.H., 'The attitudes of friendly societies towards the movement in Great Britain for state pensions 1878-1908', International review of social history, 15, 1970, pp.266-299

Turner, J.J., 'The growth and development of friendly societies in Cleveland and Teesside c1835-1914: A preliminary research note', Cleveland and Teesside local history society bulletin, 48, spring 1985, pp. 22-36

Wilson-Fox, A., 'Agricultural wages in England and Wales during the last half century', Royal statistical society journal, 66, 1903, pp.273-348

Yeo, S., 'Working-class association, private capital, welfare and the state in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in N.Parry, M.Ruston and C.Satyamurti, Social work, welfare and the state, London, 1979, pp.48-71

Young, J.D., 'Images of rural 'idiocy' and labour movements' Bulletin of the society for the study of labour history no.24, 1977, pp.34-37

THESES

M.G.Adams, 'Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: An economic and social history' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1977)

D.C.Barnett, 'Ideas on social welfare, 1780-1834, with special reference to friendly societies and allotment schemes' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1961)

Sherridan Brown, 'The development of the friendly society' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Dialect and Folk Life Studies, University of Leeds, 1976)

W.T.Bushrod, 'The development of the great affiliated friendly societies from their humble and often obscure origins in the 18th century' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1924)

G.J.Crossick, 'Social structure and working-class behaviour: Kentish London 1840-1880' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976)

P.H.J.H.Gosden, 'The development of friendly societies in England 1815-75' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1959)

N.D.Hopkin, 'The Old and New Poor Law in East Yorkshire c1760-1850' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1968)

A.J.Peacock, 'York in the Age of Reform', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 1973)

Caroline Reid, 'Middle-class values and working-class culture in nineteenth-century Sheffield', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1976)

D.Russell, 'The popular musical societies of the Yorkshire textile district 1850-1914', (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of York, 1980)

J.Scott, 'The evolution of the brass band and its repertoire in northern England', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1970)

ORAL HISTORY RECORDINGS

Walter Lawson of Walkington, joiner, recorded November 1980 by D.Neave

George Noble of Pocklington, estate plumber, Warter recorded November 1979 by D.Neave

George Rawson (b.1885) and Ethel Rawson (nee Duke) (b.1877) reminiscences of Lund and Cranswick recorded 1973 at Wansford by son W.D.Rawson - South Humberside Area Record Office 292/55

Mrs.Simson (nee Teale) of Hull - reminiscences of Lund feast recorded September 1980 by D.Neave

XII. Official sources

Abstract of answers and returns relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor in England, 1803-4, XIII

Abstract of answers and returns relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor in England, 1818, XIX

Annual reports of the Poor Law Commissioners: 1835-42

A return relating to friendly societies enrolled in the several counties of England and Wales, 1837, LI

A return relating to friendly societies enrolled in the several counties of England and Wales, 1842, XXVI

Return of all friendly societies registered, 1852, XXVIII

Annual reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England: 1856-75

Annual reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies: 1876-1920

Abstracts of the quinquennial returns of sickness and mortality experienced by friendly societies for periods between 1855 and 1875, 1880, LXVIII

Report from the Poor Law Commissioners on the employment of women and children in agriculture, 1843, XII

Report on employment of children, young persons and women in agriculture 1867-8, XVII

Reports from the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Friendly and Benefit Building Societies 1871-4

Royal Commission on the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, 1881, XVI

Royal Commission on Labour, The Agricultural Labourer, 1893-4 XXXV

Royal Commission on Agriculture, Report by Mr.R.Hunter Pringle on South Durham and selected districts of the North and East Riding of Yorkshire, 1895, XVII

Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, 1895,

Report by Mr.Wilson Fox on the wages and earnings of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom 1900 LXXXII

2nd report by Mr.Wilson Fox on the wages and earnings of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom 1905 XCVII

Reports by investigators on Wages and Conditions of Employment in Agriculture, 1919, IX

APPENDIX I : EAST RIDING FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

Abbreviations used in sources:

Abstracts Rets.	Abstract of answers relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor in England 1803-4
Beverley G.	Beverley Guardian
Beverley Ind.	Beverley Independent
Bridlington F.P.	Bridlington Free Press
Bridlington G.	Bridlington Gazette
Bulmer	T.Bulmer, <u>History, topography and directory of East Yorkshire</u> (Preston, 1892)
Davis	P.Davis, <u>The old friendly societies of Hull</u> (Hull, 1926)
Driffield T./DT	Driffield Times
ECH	Eastern Counties Herald
EMN	Eastern Morning News
Goole T.	Goole Times
HCRO	Humberside County Record Office
HUL	Hull University Library
Hull Ad.	Hull Advertiser
IOR HMC Reports	Independent Order of Rechabites Annual Moveable Committee Reports
Malton G.	Malton Gazette
Malton M.	Malton Messenger
Parish Magazine	Parish Magazine Union
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office
Q.R.	Quarterly report
RRFS	Report of (Chief) Registrar of Friendly Societies
Scarborough G.	Scarborough Gazette
Scarborough M.	Scarborough Mercury
Selby Ad.	Selby Advertiser
Yorks G.	Yorkshire Gazette

ALDBROUGH1. Lily of Valley Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1796 Founded 1839

In Hull District 1839, in Keyingham District 1845. 1845 23 members.
Suspended from IOOF, MU in 1845 for breaking 176th and 184th General Laws.
Lodge not listed in 1860.

(sources: IOOF, MU, Q.R. 2/7/1839, 1/7/45; IOOF, MU, List of Lodges, 1845, 1860;
Hull Ad. 16/8/1839.)

2. Aldbrough Lodge, U.A.O.Druids, 802 Founded 1891

Registered 1894 Meeting place 1894 Holderness Hotel
Hull District 1892 38 members 1938 Artists' Rest Hotel

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
31/12/1895	76	£109	31/12/1910	93	£848
29/12/1900	94		12/1911	99	£874
27/12/1905	103	£594	12/1937	70	£1686

(sources: Bulmer; RRFs 1894, 1905, 1910; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; UAOD Directory 1938.)

ANLABY3. Anlaby Sick Benefit Club fl. 1871

(source: HCRO QAP 9/2/31)

4. Village Pride Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 602 Founded Jan. 1863

Dispensation: 30 Jan. 1863

Registered by 1864

Anniversary: June

Meeting place: Red Lion Hotel

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1864	46	£51	1876	147	£568
1865	58	£69	1879	168	
1867	82	£139	1881	166	£827
1871	104	£277	1882	157	
1875	143	£578	1895	158	£906

Left order by 1900.

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; GUOOF QR Feb. 1863; GUOOF Magazine Aug. 1866
GUOOF Almanack, 1880, 1883; GUOOF Directory, 1896, 1901; RRFs 1864,
1865, 1867, 1871, 1875, 1876, 1881, 1894; ECH 6/7/71)

5. Anlaby Common - Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance Founded 1902

Registered by 1905

Meeting place: Mission, Anlaby Common

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1905	96	£3	1910	120	£6

(sources: RRFs 1905, 1910.)

6. Coronation Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 998 Founded 1911

Meeting place: Temperance Hall, Anlaby Common

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1911	48	£10	1937	48m. 10f.	£533

(sources: Annual Report UAOD Hull 1911; UAOD Directory 1938.)

BAINTON

7. Shepherd's Glory Lodge, L.O.A. Shepherds A.U. 328 Founded July 1842

Surance: 8 July 1842
Drifffield District

Meeting place: Plough Inn
No mention after 1851

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Hull Ad. 29/6/49, 30/5/51)

BARMBY ON THE MARSH

8. Honest Endeavour Lodge, I.O. Oddfellows M.U. 863 Founded 1834

Registered 1872
Anniversary: August

Meeting place: King's Head Inn

	Members		Members
1845	36	1874	31
1860	43	1875	29
1872	32	1877	29

Not in IOOF MU 1891

(sources: IOOF MU QR 3/10/1843; IOOF MU List of Lodges, 1845, 1860, 1873-75, 1877
1891-2; Hull Ad. 9/8/1839; RRFS 1880)

9. Derwent Lodge, N.U.O.F. Gardeners 1846

Founded 1898

Registered by 1905

Meeting place: King's Head Inn

	Members	Funds	Members	Funds
1898	33		1910	£99
1900	38	£27	1912	£120
1905	36	£57	1920	39 (+ 13 state)

(sources: NUOFG Annual Returns, 1898, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1912, 1920; RRFS,
1905, 1910)

BARMSTON

10. Boynton's Lodge, L.O.A. Shepherds A.U. 325

Founded July 1842

Surance: 28 July 1842
Hull District

Meeting place: Black Bull Inn

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Hull Ad. 29/7/1842)

BEEFORD

11. Court Prickett, A.O. Foresters 684

Founded 1838

Dispensation: November 1838
Hull and East Riding District
Anniversary: 29 April

Meeting place: Black Swan Inn 1840

" Ship Inn 1845

Closed or left order in 1851

	Members		Members		Members
1840	47	1846	52	1849	34
1843	88	1847	50	1850	29
1845	57	1848	35	1851	29

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Court Directory, 1840, 1843, 1845-52;
Hull Ad. 8/5/1840)

BEEFORD (cont.)12. Beeford Friendly Society

Founded 1865

Registered 1893 4430

Meeting place: Tiger Inn

Anniversary: early July

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1892	80		1907	112	£627
1899	93	£339	1910	114	£747
1905	108	£579			

(sources: Bulmer 1892; RRFS 1893, 1899, 1905, 1908, 1910; HCRO QAP 9/2/17; Drifffield Times, 11 + 18/7/1874., 20/7/78)

BEMPTON13. Bempton Good Intent Society (later Bempton Mutual Aid S.) Founded c1870

Good Intent 1871 Mutual Aid 1872-75

(sources: Scarborough Mercury 10/6/71, 15/6/72; Drifffield Times 12/6/75, 15/6/78)BEVERLEY14. Brotherly Society

Founded 1st April 1776

Closed 1832

Registered 1794

Meeting place: 1813 White Horse Inn

1815 Carpenters' Arms

Anniversary: 2nd Monday in May

1824 Dog and Duck Inn

1828 National School

	Members		Members	Funds
1794	378	1831	258	£868
1801	364	1832	231	£774
1830	276			

(sources: PRO FS/1/795 Yorks 7 Rules 1813, ammended 1815 and 1828; PRO FS/4/57 Yorks 7 Rules 1800, 1814, 1815, 1828; HCRO QDC/2/27 Rules 1824; *ibid.* DDBC/22/Section B.p.633 Annual Report 1830; Beverley Library, Rules 1801; *ibid.* Beverley Broadsheets, etc. Pamphlet 30 Annual Report 1832; M. Turner, The Beverley Guide, 1830 ; Davis, p.2., Hull Rockingham 6/10/32)

15. New Friendly Society

Founded 10 November 1789

Closed 1832

Registered 1794

Meeting place: Jan. 1828 Globe Inn

May. 1828 Private room

Anniversary: 1st Monday in May

April 1830 National

Schoolroom

	Members
1830	502

(sources: PRO FS/1/802 Yorks. 76 Rules Jan. 1828, altered 1830; HCRO QDC/2 Rules 1789, 1817, 1822, 1823; M. Turner. The Beverley Guide, 1830 ; Davis, p.6., Hull Rockingham 6/10/32)

16. New Sisters' Friendly Society

Founded 1804

Registered 1806

Meeting place: Hoop Inn

	Members
1830	106

Not known 1882

(sources: PRO FS/4/57 18 Rules 1806, 1816, 1832; HCRO QDC/2/15-17 Rules, 1809 1819, 1821; RRFS 1876, 1880; M. Turner, *op.cit.* ; Davis, p.15)

BEVERLEY (cont.)

17. Loyal Victory Lodge Sick Fund Founded 8 July 1807
Registered 1811
(sources: PRO FS/3/422 Yorks 15 Rules 8 Oct.1811; HCRO QSV/1 Registration Mich.188 Vol.H.475; Davis,p.17)
18. Independent Society Founded 20 April 1815
Not registered Meeting place: various inns
Anniversary: mid-July
Society was popularly known as the 'Duck and Green Peas Club'.

	Members		Members	
	1831	66	1842	c130

In declining state in 1866.
(sources: Beverley Library, Rules 1831; Hull Ad.22/7/1842,26/7/44,25/7/45,21/7/48, 19/7/50, 25/7/51; Beverley G. 26/7/56,25/7/57,24/7/58,28/8/58,23/7/59,20/7/61,28/7/63,21/7/66; Driffield T. 20/7/61; ECH 19/7/66; Ward's Beverley Almanack)
19. Beverley Free Gift Friendly Society Founded 1816
Not registered
(source: Beverley Library Y 942.74/Bev. p.108A Rules and Orders 1816)
20. Beverley Mariners' Society Founded by 1816
Not registered Meeting place: 1852 Sloop Inn
Anniversary: July

	Members		Funds	
	1852	66	£500+	Weekly pension at 70+

Members chiefly sailors living at Becksid
(sources: Yorks G. 6/7/1839 Waterman's Club ? ; Hull Ad.16/7/52)
21. Rising Star Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U.603 Founded 23 April 1832
Registered by 1862 Meeting place: Admiral Duncan Inn

					1910 Oddfellows Hall			
					1981 Oddfellows Hall			
	Members	Funds	Members	Funds	Members	Funds	Members	Funds
1845	166		1879	353	£3716	1913	691	£6566
1850	172		1881	366	£3793	1920	703	£6553
1860	254		1891	440	£4790	1930	734	£9722
1862	319	£1724	1894	475	£5227	1940	760	£14646
1865	350	£2065	1900	556	£6200	1977	296	£48388
1875	366	£3421	1907	569	£6847			

(sources: Lodge Minute Books, Oddfellows Hall, Beverley; RRFS, 1862-67, 1871-72, 1875-76, 1878-81, 1894, 1905, 1910; IOOF MU Directory of Lodges, 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41, 1978; IOOF MU Magazine July 1857; Hull Ad. 18/8/48, 2/8/50)

BEVERLEY (cont.)22. Triumph Lodge , I.O.Oddfellows M.U.952

Founded 1835

Registered by 1862 Yorks.1230

Meeting place: 1850 King's Head
 1876 Geo.& Dragon
 1878 Pack Horse,Mkt.Pl.
 1910 Oddfellows' Hall
 1981 Oddfellows' Hall

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1845	94		1879	267	£2771	1913	439	£4294
1850	101		1881	254	£3030	1920	423	£4410
1860	108		1891	298	£3435	1930	442	£5601
1862	135	£757	1894	314	£3565	1940	454	£9491
1865	159	£827	1900	365	£3740	1977	143	£20803
1875	272	£2458	1907	389	£3748			

(sources: RRFS 1862-67, 1871-72, 1876-81, 1894, 1905, 1910; IOOF MU List of Lodges, 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41, 1978; IOOF MU QR, 20/1/1857; Hull Ad. 18/8/1848.)

23. Olive Branch Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 2572

Founded 1844

Registered 1852 Yorks.649

Closed 1875

Anniversary: 1852 2nd.Sat.in Feb.
 1861 2nd.Wed.in Feb.

Meeting place: 1844 Private room
 1873 Infant School

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1845	27		1863		£493	1867	113	£608
1850	44		1864	119	£534	1871	105	£747
1860	93		1865	120	£546	1872	103	£778
1862	115	£415	1866	121	£574	1874	99	

Closed 1875 and amalgamated with Triumph Lodge 952 above.

Established at Mr.Thos. Straker's Beverley, 23 May 1844

(sources: RRFS 1862-67, 1871-72, 1876; IOOF MU List of L, 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75; PRO FS/3/429 Yorks.649 Rules 1852, 1861; Hull Ad. 12/2/41, Annual Returns 1871, Oddfellows' Hall)

24. Philanthropic Female Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 8571 Founded 1912

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1913	50	£105	1930	41	£171
1920	41	£124	1940	50	£277

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41)

25. Beverlac Female Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U.8570

Founded 1912

	Members	Funds		Members	Funds
1913	8	£5	1930	1	£12
1920	2	£5	1940	Nat.Ins.Members only (257)	

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41)

BEVERLEY (cont.)26. Court Beverley, A.O.Foresters 653

Founded 1838

Dispensation 18 Sept.1838
Registered 1859 1512Meeting place: 1845 Dog & Duck Inn
1876 Lion & Lamb Inn
1880 Coffee House
1910 Cross KeysAnniversary: 1840 28 June
1843 1st Mon.in JuneMeeting night: 1845 Saturday
fortnightly1915 Temperance Hall
1958 Liberal Club
1981

Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1843	100	1860	159		1900	292	£950
1845	94	1865	226	£922	1905	301	£1205
1846	125	1870	246	£900	1910	267	£1459
1847	122	1875	245	£827	1915	278	£1527
1848	123	1880	258	£1003	1920	261	£1661
1849	130	1885	307	£976	1958	121	
1850	121	1890	306	£788			
1851	109	1896	303	£791			
1852	110						

(sources: AOF Directory 1840, 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958 ; AOF Dispensation Book; RRFs 1862-67, 1871-72, 1875-76, 1878, 1880-81, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 12/7/1839, 10/6/1842, 9/6/1843, 8/6/49.

27. Court Forester's Delight, A.O.Foresters 768

Founded 1839

Broken-up 1858

Dispensation June 1839
Registered 25 Aug.1851 No.969Meeting place: 1840 Pack Horse Inn
1845 Lion and LambAnniversary: 1840 28 June
1843 1st Mon.in JuneMeeting night: 1840 Alternate Saturdays
1845 Alternate Mondays

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	12	1847	29	1850	29
1843	30	1848	34	1851	27
1845	20	1849	29	1852	26
1846	31				

(sources: AOF Directory 1840, 1843, 1845-52,; P.P.1852 XXVIII F.S.Registrations; PRO FS/1/826a Yorks 969 Rules 1851; Hull Ad. 14/6/44, 23/6/48, 6/6/51.

28. Court Bud of Hope, A.O.Foresters 1805

Founded 1844

Closed 1901

Dispensation Dec.1844
Registered 1863 No.2475Meeting place: 1845 Cock + Bottle
1847 Foresters' Arms
1875 Black Swan Inn
1878 Sloop Inn
1880 Lord Nelson

Anniversary: Mid-June

Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	5	1852	41		1885	63	£274
1846	9	1860	52		1890	51	£204
1847	23	1865	56	£212	1896	37	£202
1848	31	1870	67	£245	1900	29	£119
1849	41	1875	60	£175	1901	23	£109
1850	40	1880	58	£246	Closed and amalgamated with Court Beverley 653		
1851	39						

cont.

BEVERLEY (cont.)28. Court Bud of Hope (cont.)

(sources: AOF Directory 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900-01.; RRFS 1863, 1865, 1875-76, 1878-81; Hull Ad. 23/6/1848, 8/6/1849.)

29. Farmer's Refuge Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds, A.U.216

Founded 1838

Surance June 1 1838
Leeds District

Meeting place: Red Lion Inn

(source: LOAS Register of Lodges)

30. United Flock Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds, A.U.1784

Founded 1877

Surance Jan.20 1877
Hull District
Registered 1880

Meeting place: Black Swan Inn

	Members	Funds
Dec.1889	15	£22

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; RRFS 1880, 1881; LOAS Directory 1890; Beverley G. 6/6/1885)

31. Brunswick Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U.

Founded 1841

Anniversary: early August

Registered May 1862 No.2268

In 1864 joins G.U.O.Oddfellows see no.36 below . 1863 100 members £194 funds.

(sources: PRO FS/1/864 Yorks 2268 Rules 1862; Hull Ad. 11/8/1848; Beverley G. 26/9/1857; Ward's Beverley Almanack 1860.) RRFS, 1863)

32. Beverlac Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U.

Founded by 1848

Anniversary: mid-July

(source: Hull Ad., 21/7/1848)

33. Rising Sun Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U.

Founded 1859

Registered June 1862 No.2285

In 1864 joins G.U.O.Oddfellows see no.35 below

(sources: PRO FS 1/865 Rules 1862 ; GUOOF QR Dec.1876)34. Victoria Lodge, U.A.O.Druids, 479

Founded 1862

Opened 13 December 1862

Registered Feb. 1865 No.2608

Registered as branch 1879

Hull District

Meeting place: 1862 Queen's Head

1865 White Swan

1876 Lord Nelson

1910 St.Mary's Men's Club, Tiger la.

1981 Oddfellows' Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1867		£43	1881	69	£99	1905	188*	£675
1871	38	£71	1895	152	£390	1910	223*	£995
1877	55	£88	1900	153		1938	319	£2232
1879	64	£111						

* adult

(sources: Lodge Mss. Oddfellows' Hall; PRO FS 1/867 Yorks 2608 Rules 1865; RRFS 1867-68, 1871, 1877-81, 1905, 1910; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; UAOD Directory 1938.)

BEVERLEY (cont.)35. Rising Sun Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 812

Founded 1864

Dispensation March 26 1864
Formerly a lodge of IOOF KU see 33 above
Registered 1867 No.2864

Meeting place: 1864 Rising Sun Inn
1879 Black Swan Inn

Hull District 1864 Beverley District by 1879

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1875	160	£460	1882	195		1905	223	£1441
1877	197	£545	1895	232	£1414	1910	215	£1272
1880	200	£648	1900	232	£1269	1926	187	£1108

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; GUOOF QR May 1864, Dec. 1876; GUOOF Almanack 1880, 1883; GUOOF Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926; RRFS 1876-77, 1880, 1894, 1905, 1910; Beverley G. 9/10/75)

36. Brunswick Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 810

Founded 1864

Dispensation March 26 1864
Formerly a lodge of IOOF KU see 31 above
Registered 1866 ?

Meeting place: 1864 White Swan Inn
1896 Mkt. Cross Tavern

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1867	117	£277	1880	176	£617	1910	207	£642
1871	132	£335	1894	252	£882	1926	206	£750
1875	160	£492	1900	245	£656			

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; GUOOF QR May 1864, Feb. 1866; GUOOF Mag Nov. 1864; GUOOF Almanack 1880, 1883; GUOOF Directory, 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926; RRFS 1867, 1871, 1875, 1877, 1880, 1894, 1905, 1910.)

37. Good Intend Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 835

Founded 1867

Dispensation Oct. 26 1867

Either not opened or closed by 1870 when lodge no. used for Wawne, see below.
(source: GUOOF Dispensation Book.)

38. Royal Oak Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 837

Founded 1867

Dispensation June 24 1867

Registered by 1871

Meeting place: 1876 Buck Inn
1896 Mkt. Cross Tavern

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1879	80	£186	1895	190	£519	1905	253	£706
1880	79	£199	1900	220	£540	1910	254	£735
						1928	217	£1038

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; GUOOF Almanack 1880, 1883; GUOOF Directory, 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926; RRFS 1879-80, 1894, 1905, 1910)

39. Primrose Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 949

Founded 1869

Registered 1870

Meeting place: 1869 Red Lion Inn
1875 King's Head
1878 Temperance Hall
1885 Cocoa Rooms
1905 Oddfellows Hall
1980 Oddfellows Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1869	20		1895	66	£404
1870	49		1905	67	£418
1876	74	£180	1910	72	£457
1880	66	£251	1912	74	
1885	81	£209	1920	90 (+ 72 state)	
1890	68	£352			

(sources: HCRO DDX 254/19 Rules 1870; NUOFG Returns 1869-72, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, 1905, 1910, 1912, 1920; RRFS 1876-78, 1880, 1905, 1910; Driffield T. 24/7/ 1875.)

BEVERLEY (cont.)

40. Royal Standard Lodge, Independent Order of British Workmen Founded by 1875
Registered May 1875 No.4005 Meeting place: Royal Standard Inn
(Source: PRO FS/1/874 Yorks 4005 Rules 1875)
41. Beaver Sub-Division, O.S.Temperance No.766 Founded 1893
Registered as a branch 1893 Meeting place: Primitive Meth.
Schoolroom 1893
Year Members Funds Temperance Hall
1905 438 £19 1910
1910 423 £18
(sources: RRFS 1893, 1905, 1910)
42. Star of the East Tent, I.O.Rechabites, S.U. Founded 1899
Registered 1900 No.2910
Year Members Funds Closed by 1910
1905 15 £6
(sources: RRFS 1900, 1905; IOR Directory 1910.)

BISHOP BURTON

43. Plough Boys' Refuge Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 2545 Founded 1840
Registered by 1862 Meeting place: Altisidora Inn
Anniversary: early June
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|--------|
| 1845 | 40 | | 1875 | 56 | £1074 | 1905 | 96 | £2947 |
| 1850 | 34 | | 1880 | 53 | £1322 | 1907 | 98 | £2987 |
| 1860 | 57 | | 1891 | 55 | £1618 | 1910 | 117 | £3247 |
| 1862 | 56 | £484 | 1894 | 78 | £1710 | 1913 | 123 | £3175 |
| 1865 | 55 | £566 | 1897 | 87 | £2311 | 1920 | 118 | £3207 |
| 1871 | 58 | £863 | 1900 | 91 | £3489 | 1930 | 140 | £3373 |
| | | | | | | 1940 | 256 | £4428 |
| | | | | | | 1977 | 158 | £11735 |
- Juvenile Society established 18
- (sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41, 1978; RRFS 1862-67, 1871-72, 1875-80, 1894, 1905, 1910; Parish Magazine, July/Au. 1897, July/Aug. 1905, July 1907; Beverley G. 6/6/1896; Beverley Ind. 4/8/1888; HCRO DDX/240 133+ 137 Feast photographs.)

BISHOP WILTON

44. Court Sykes, A.O.Foresters 1337 Founded 1841
Dispensation May 1841 Meeting place: 1843 Fleece Inn
Registered by 1862 No.973 1851 Cross Keys Inn
Anniversary: 21 June 1870 School Room
Meeting night. 1843 alternate Mondays
1896 every 4 weeks
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1843 | 14 | | 1852 | 44 | | 1890 | 175 | £1773 |
| 1845 | 24 | | 1860 | 89 | | 1896 | 187 | £1841 |
| 1846 | 27 | | 1865 | 100 | | 1900 | 185 | £2067 |
| 1847 | 34 | | 1870 | 113 | £715 | 1905 | 178 | £2412 |
| 1848 | 40 | | 1875 | 126 | £921 | 1910 | 186 | £2524 |
| 1849 | 42 | | 1880 | 133 | | 1915 | 176 | £2432 |
| 1850 | 41 | | 1881 | 131 | £1302 | 1920 | 152 | £2625 |
| 1851 | 41 | | 1885 | 150 | £1569 | | | |

BISHOP WILTON (cont.)44. Court Sykes (cont.)

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958. ; RRFS 1862-66, 1871-72, 1876-78, 1881, 1905, 1910.)

BRANDESBURTON45. Brandesburton Benevolent Society

Founded 29 June 1811

Registered 1814

Meeting place: Cross Keys Inn

Anniversary: 6 July

Still in existence 1837

(sources: Articles 1814 in possession of Mr.L.Powell,Hull 1981; HCRO QDC 2/26 Rules 1823;ibid., QSV/1 Registered Bev.Mids.1823 Vol.K 440; Hull Ad. 14/7/1837)

46. Emmanuel Hospital Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows,M.U. 1271

Founded July 1837

Opened 7 July 1837

Closed by 185

Anniversary: 22 May 1841 Wesleyan Chapel

Year	Members
1845	53
1850	51

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges, 1845, 1850, 1860; Lund/Oddfellows Contribution Book 1842; Hull Ad. 14/7/1837, 28/5/1841

see Addenda below

BRIDLINGTON47. Amicable Society

Founded by 1796

Registered 1796

Meeting place: Shoulder of Mutton Inn

Still in existence 1834

(sources: PRO FS/4/57 Rules 5 April 1796; HCRO QDC/2/23 Rules 1820, 1826. ibid.PR/898 Member at Bainton 1834)

48. Amicable Society

Founded 1848

Registered 1862

Meeting place: Ship Inn

Anniversary: July

1897 Temperance Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1863	83	£116	1877	153	£407	1899	144	£446
1865	98	£150	1880		£460	1905	93	£469
1867	100	£179	1888	157	£535	1910	65	£539
1871	95	£250	1891	151	£485			

(sources: RRFS 1863-67, 1871-72, 1876-7, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1910; Bridlington F.P. 24/7/1875; Driffield T. 24/7/1875; Taylor's Bridlington Directory 1888; Cook's Bridlington Directory 1897)

49. Union Society (also known as British Marine Society) Founded 9 July.1795

Registered 1796

Meeting place: Tiger Inn 1795

Pack Horse Inn

(sources: PRO FS 1/795 Yorks.8 Rules 1803, altered 1828, 1830; ibid.FS 4/57/81 Rules July 1795; Davis p.10)

BRIDLINGTON (cont.)50. Female Union Society
Registered 1802

Founded March 1802

Meeting place: Black Lion Inn

1803 86 members

(sources: HCRO QDC/2/18 Rules; Abstract Rets. 1803)51. Hand in Hand Society
Registered 1829

Founded by 1828

Quarter Sessions committee appointed to examine rules Mich. 1828

(sources: HCRO QSV/1 Mch. 1828 vol. L435; ibid. Epip. 1829 vol. L463; PRO FS 4/57/70
Rules 12 Jan 1829)52. Blossom of Hope Lodge, I.O. Oddfellows, M.U. 1167

Founded 1836

Broken-up June 1848

Year Members

1838 70+

1845 108

Meeting place: Pack Horse Inn

(sources: IOOF MU, List of Lodges 1845 ; Hull Ad. 6/7 + 10/8/1838, 22/7/1842,
23/6/1848)53. Burlington Lodge, I.O. Oddfellows, M.U. 8653

Founded 1912

Closed by 1920

Year Members Funds

1913 10 £10

Meeting place: Adult Schoolroom,
Havelock St.(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1913, 1920)54. Manchester Unity Female Lodge, I.O. Oddfellows, M.U. 9199

Founded 1913

Closed by 1920

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1913, 1920)55. Court Victoria Royal, A.O. Foresters 637

Founded 1838

Dispensation August 6 1838

Registered 1853 No. 762

Meeting place: 1838 King's Head

1845 Nelson Inn

1876 Queen's Hotel

1896 Forester's Hall

Anniversary: 1st Monday in July

Meeting night: Monday monthly

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Years	Members	Funds
1840	102		1852	33		1900	375	£1967
1845	59		1860	56		1905	368	£2707
1846	40		1865	212	£690	1910	335	£3020
1847	51		1870	273	£943	1915	408	£3555
1848	48		1875	308	£2607	1920	335	£3191
1849	50		1881	309	£2329	1958	97	
1850	41		1890	314	£1272			
1851	35		1896	369	£1520			

Juvenile Society founded 1887 dissolved 1902 amalgamated with Court 637 above
1892 75 members £41 funds(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870
1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958. ;
RRFS 1862-67, 1871-2, 1875-77, 1881, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 10/8/38, 8/7/1853;
Bridlington and Quay Advertiser 26/6/1847; Bridlington F.P., 7/1869,
7/7/70, 7/7/71, 7/7/75; Bridlington G. 16/7/92; Driffield T. 24/7/75,
9/7/70; Taylor's Bridlington Directory 1888, Cook's Brid. Direc. 1897-
Juvenile: RRFS 1888, 1891, 1902; Brid.G. 9/7 + 16/7/1892)

BRIDLINGTON (cont.)

57. Prince Albert Gorsedd, Independent Order of Druids, 128 Founded 1839

Anniversary: July
Services at Independent Chapel

Meeting place: Globe Inn

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1846	35	1857	32	1862	38
1850	30	1860	23	1863	37
1854	20	1861	30	1864	61

(sources: HCRO DDX 61/1 Harpham District Minute Book; Hull Ad. 14/8/1840, 28/7/43, 26/7/44, 8/7/53; ECH 8/7/69; Drifffield T. 9/7/1870; Bridlington F.P. 10/7/1869, 17/70, 77/71; Taylor's Brid.Directory 1888)

Joins UAOD 1890

57A. Prince Albert Lodge, U.A.O. Druids, 769

Founded 1890

Registered as branch 1895

Formerly Gorsedd Ind. Order of Druids 128 Meeting place: Temperance Hotel

Year	Members	Funds
1905	273	£1079
1910	361	£1691

(sources: Cook's Brid.Directory, 1897; RRFS 1895, 1905, 1910)

58. Teetallers Refuge Tent, I.O. Rechabite, 97

Founded July 1838
Closed/left order by 1844

Juvenile tent opened by 1841

(sources: IOR Rechabite Magazine Jan, Mar., Aug., Sept. 1841; ibid. Annual Moveable Committee Reports, July 1840, July 1841, June 1844; Rechabite Juvenile Manual p.7; Hull Ad. 26/10/1838, 26/6/1840)

59. Third Effort Tent, U.O. of Female Rechabites 249

Founded c1842

(source: Rechabite History p.227)60. Lloyd Tent, I.O. Rechabites, S.U. 3287

Founded 1904

Registered 1906

Year	Members	Funds
1910	9	£6

(sources: IOR Directory 1910-11; RRFS 1906, 1910)

61. Agriculturist Lodge, L.O.A. Shepherds 312

Founded 1841

Surance Dec. 28 1841

Closed 1855-45

Langtoft District

Meeting place: King's Head Inn

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; LOAS Annual Report March 1845)

62. Branch of Belper Primitive Methodist Local Preacher's Provident Institution

Registered 1857

Founded 1857 Jan.

(sources: PRO FS 1/826B, Yorks 1017)

BRIDLINGTON (cont.)

63. Loyal Beacon Lodge, N.I.O.Oddfellows 686 Bridlington Quay Founded by 1872
 Registered as branch 1889 686 Meeting place: 1872 Building Soc.
 Office.
 1877 Sailor's and
 Working Men's Institute
- | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|
| 1894 | 213 | £495 |
- (sources: RRFS 1889,1894; Bridlington G. 9/1/1892; Taylor's Brid.Directory 1888;
Cook's Brid.Directory 1897)

64. Victoria Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance Founded 1900
 Registered as a branch 1900 Meeting place: Victoria Sailor's Inst.
- | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|
| 1905 | 113 | £14 |
| 1910 | 86 | £15 |
- (sources: RRFS 1900,1905,1910)

65. Champion Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance Founded 1904
 Registered as a branch 1904 No.1110 Meeting place: Temperance Hall
- | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|
| 1905 | 72 | |
| 1910 | 71 | £5 |
- (sources: RRFS 1905,1910)

BROUGH

66. Court Dale, A.O.Foresters 783 Founded 1839
 at Welton see below
 Closed 1846
- Meeting place: Railway Tavern
- (sources: AOF Directory,1845-47; Hull Ad. 1/8/1845)

BUBWITH

67. Bubwith [Friendly Society] Founded by 1803
- | Year | Members |
|------|---------|
| 1803 | 50 |
- (source: Abstract Rets.1803)
68. Amicable Society Founded Oct.1821
 Closed 1839
 Registered 1821
 Anniversary:Whit Tuesday
 2 July 1839 Meeting re dividing the funds.
 (source: HCRO QSV/1 Registerd Bev.Mich.1821 Vol.K.292; ibid.QDC/2/25 Rules
 1822; PRO FS 4/57/78 Rules 16 Oct.1821; Yorks.G. 27/5/1837,
 22/6/1839)
69. Court Derwent, A.O.Foresters 606 Founded 1838
 Dispensation 2/7/1838 Meeting place: New Inn
 Did not get
 established
- (sources: AOF Dispensation Book, ibid.QR,Aug.1838)

BURYTHORPE77. Court Hope of Friendship, A.O.Foresters 1574 Founded 1843

Dispensation April 1843

Meeting night: Tuesday every 4 weeks Meeting place: Bay Horse

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds
1845	18	1849	19	1860	29	
1846	19	1850	22	1865	37	
1847	18	1851	22	1867	45	£260
1848	19	1852	22			

Left order in 1867. Independent Forester's Court in 1869.

(sources: AOF Directory 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1867; Malton G. 8/6/1867, 5/6/1869; Malton M. 5/6/1869)NORTH CAVE78. North Cave Friendly Society Founded 7 Jan. 1828

Registered 1829

Meeting place: Black Swan Inn

(sources: Rules 1829, in possession of L.Powell, Hull 1981; HCRO QSV/2 Registered Bev.Epiphany 1829, vol.L.463; PRO FS 4/57 Yorks 87 1829)79. Victoria Tent, I.O.Rechabites 160

Founded 1840

Left order 1857

A.Victoria Rechabite Friendly Society

Fl. 1857-1910

Registered by 1876

Meeting place: Temperance Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1876	48	£139	1891	38	£361
1877	46	£167	1899	44	£414
1878	44	£172	1904	46	£385
1879	45	£153	1909	46	£491
1880	42	£158			

(sources: IOR Annual Moveable Committee Reports July 1840-1857; Rechabite Magazine April 1841, Hull Ad. 19/6/1840; Selby Ad. 14/2/1857; ECH 29/2/1872)80. Burton Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 2687

Founded 1841

Broken up 1856

Market Weighton District 1841

Elloughton District 1850

Meeting place: 1845 Tiger Inn
1850 Black Swan Inn

Year	Members
1845	17
1850	22
1856	16

(sources: IOOF MU QR 16/4/1841, 1/4/1855, 1/4/1857; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850; Lund Oddfellows Account Book 1/3/1851; Elloughton IOOF District Minute Book, 9/5/1850; 22/9 + 27/12 1856)81. Union Free Gift Society

Founded by 1872

In existence 1881

(sources: HCRO QAP 9/2 38 + 46; ECH 3/2/81)

NORTH CAVE (cont.)82. Whitaker Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows, 817

Founded 1864

Dispensation 21 Nov. 1864
Registered 1867Meeting place: Black Swan Inn 1865
Albion Hotel 1880
Temperance Hotel
1910

Year:	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1878	60	£189	1895	88	£307	1905	140	£479
1879	60	£192	1899	108	£382	1910	157	£654
1882	55		1900	110	£378	1926	140	£581
1891	74	£267						

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; ibid. QR Feb. 1865; ibid. Almanack 1880, 1883; ibid. Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926; RRFS 1876, 1878-80, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1910.)

SOUTH CAVE83. Friendly Society

Founded 20 Sept. 1770

Registered 1797

Meeting place: Rotates amongst
publican members

Year	Members
1803	53
1830	138
1835	122

(sources: PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 71 Rules altered 1825; ibid. FS 4/57 3 Rules altered 1797; ibid. FS 4/57 Yorks 71 Rules altered 1827; HCRO QSV/1 Registered Adj. Sessions 1797; ibid. DDX/216 Robert Sharp's Diary; Hull Central Library, Rules 1802; Abstract Rets. 1803)

84. Barnard Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U., 1289Founded 1837/38
Broken up 18421st anniversary at Windmill Inn May 1838
June 1842 All members expelled from order for breaking up and dividing lodge funds.

(sources: IOOF, MU. QR 30/6/1842; Hull Ad. 11/5/1838, 12/7/1839, 7/8/1840; Yorks.G. 12/5/1838)

85. Court Ancient Castle Bear, A.O.Foresters 624

Founded 1838

Dispensation July 23 1838

Meeting place: Bear Inn

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. QR Aug. 1838)

86. Chrysanthemum Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners, 980Founded Oct. 1869
Closed/left order 1870

Year	Members
1870	18

Meeting place: Fox and Coney

(sources: NUOFG Returns 1870-72; ECH 4/11/1869)

87. Allen Jackson Lodge, U.A.O.Druids, 717

Founded 1886

Registered 1889

Meeting place: Church Institute

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1895	110	£326	1905	171	£987	1938	117	£2515
1900	145		1910	200	£1406			

(sources: RRFS 1889, 1905, 1910; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; UAOD Directory 1938.)

see Addenda below

CHERRY BURTON88. Court Burton, A.O.Foresters 1761

Founded 1844

Dispensation 3 Sept.1844

Closed/left order 1857

Year	Members	Year	Members
1845	12	1849	17
1846	16	1850	15
1847	18	1851	15
1848	21	1852	13

Meeting place: 1849 Private house

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1845-52, 1857)CLIFF cum LUND, Hemingbrough parish89. [Friendly Society]

Fl.1803

Friendly society with 45 members in 1803

(source: Abstract.Rets.1803)COTTINGHAM90. Cottingham Friendly Society

Founded 6 Nov.1756

Registered 1797

Anniversary: 1st Wed. in July

Meeting place: 1824 Schoolroom,
Hallgate(sources: PRO FS 1/801 Yorks.68 Rules 1798; PRO FS 4/57/68 Rules 1798,
1822,1823,1824; Davis p.10; HCRO PR Cottingham Parish Register
1792)91. Cottingham Humane Society

Founded 1 June 1795

Registered 1802

Meeting place: Prince of Wales Inn

(sources: HCRO QDC/2/8-11 Rules ,alterations and additions 1802,1806,1807,
1812; PRO FS 4/57 Yorks 88 Rules 30 Jan.1802; Davis,p.14)92. Honest Endeavour Lodge I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1187

Founded 1836

Closed/left order 1849

Anniversary: early July

Meeting place: Duke of Cumberland Inn

Year	Members
1845	97

Suspended from order December 1849

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845; Hull Central Library, IOOF MU Hull
District Committee Minutes 1845-52; Hull Ad. 28/12/1838,12/7 +
7/12/1839)93. Court Foresters' Garden, A.O.Foresters 617

Founded July 1838

Left order 1851

Dispensation 16 July 1838

Anniversary: 1st Wed.in July

Meeting place: Angel Inn

Services at Independent Chapel

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	77	1846	78	1849	76
1843	80	1847	82	1850	73
1845	79	1848	73	1851	73

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840,1843,1845-52;
Court Foresters' Home Proposition Book; Hull Ad.27/7/1838,
12 + 19/7 + 30/8/1839, 5/7/1844, 4/7/1845)

COTTINGHAM (cont.)94. Court Forester's Staff, A.O.Foresters 622

Founded July 1838

Left order 1850

Dispensation 16 July 1838

Anniversary: 1st Wed. in July

Service in Independent Chapel

Meeting place: Duke of York Inn

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	30	1846	17	1849	25
1843	22	1847	19	1850	21
1845	13	1848	21		

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1843, 1845-52;
Hull Ad. 27/7/1838, 12 + 19/7 + 30/8/1839, 5/7/1844, 4/7/1845)

95. Cottingham United Friendly Society

Founded 1851

Probably founded from remnants of three affiliated societies 92, 93, + 94 above.

Registered by 1879 no.4097

Anniversary: 1st Wed. in July

Meeting place: Duke of Cumberland

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1853	69		1880	209	£1730	1907		£2323
1855		£195	1891	311	£2016	1910	321	£2574
1871	161		1905	317	£2146			

Land bought for allotments for members 1853 Joins NUOFG 1912 see below 95A

(sources: HCRO DDX/254/1-2 Minute books 1853-83, 1906-1926; ibid. QAP 9/1;
 RRFS 1879-80, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 11/3/1853, 5/7/1862;
ECH 9/7/68)

95A. Cottingham United Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 1924

Joined order 1912

Year	Members	Funds
1912	355	£2587
1920	337 (+97 state)	

Meeting place: St. Mary's Mission Room

(sources: HCRO DDX/254/2 Minute book 1906-1926; NUOFG Annual Returns 1912,
 1920.)

96. Rose of Cottingham Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 620

Founded 14 June 1864

Broken up Dec. 1866

Registered 1865

Anniversary : 1st Wed. in July

Meeting place: 1864 Angel Inn
1865 Tiger Inn

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; ibid. QR Aug. 1864, Aug. 1866; PRO FS 1/867
 Yorks 2596 Rules 1865)

97. Gardener's Pride Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 1003

Founded 1870

In existence 1981

renamed C.H.Wilson Lodge in 1875/76

Registered 1873

Meeting place: 1870 Duke of York
1885 Duke of Cumberland
1920 St. Mary's
Mission Room

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1870	11		1890	152	£411	1910	265	£1529
1875	118		1895	189	£803	1912	290	£1540
1878	90	£125	1900	214	£1081	1920	252 (+ 99 state)	
1885	187	£209	1905	229	£1301			

(sources: HCRO DDX/254 Lodge records; NUOFG Annual Returns 1870-72, 1875,
 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1912, 1920; RRFS 1876, 1878,
 1880, 1905, 1910)

COTTINGHAM (cont.)98. Hope of Cottingham Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance Founded 1902

Registered 1903

Meeting place: Wesley Schoolroom

Year	Members	Funds
1905	103	£5
1910	59	£6

(sources: RRFS 1903, 1905, 1910)WEST COTTINGWITH99. Prince Albert Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 2155

Founded 1840

Registered 1872

Meeting place: 1850 Smith's Arms
1873 Jefferson's Arms
1876 Schoolroom
1910 Ferry Boat Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	78		1891	64	£347	1920	75	£1055
1850	22		1894	77	£418	1930	42	£1299
1860	30		1900	75	£537	1940	45	£1499
1873	56		1907	56	£697			
1877	45		1913	86	£868			

(sources: IOOF MU QR April 1840; ibid. List of Lodges, 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41; RRFS 1876, 1880, 1894, 1905, 1910)NORTH DALTON100. Peaceful Home Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1241

Founded 1837

Left order by 1858

Meeting place: George and Dragon Inn

Year	Members
1845	131
1850	131

Left order between 1850 and 1858 and became the Peaceful Home Society

(sources: IOOF MU QR June 1840; ibid. List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860; Lund Oddfellows Contribution Book July 1841)100A. Peaceful Home Society

Fl. 1858-1920

Anniversary: late June

Meeting place: George and Dragon

(sources: Beverley G., 10/7/58, 30/6/60, 29/6/61; Parish Magazine Sept. 1908, Aug. 1912; HCRO QAP 9/2, 63, 66+76)GREAT DRIFFIELD101. Union Friendly Society (Driffield Old Club)

Founded 1793

Dissolved 1870

Registered 1796

Anniversary: 1794 last Monday in June Meeting place: 1803 Blue Bell Inn
1803 2nd. Monday in July

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1796	110		1851	163	£1241	1863	77	£920
1803	233		1853	141	£1150	1864	74	£860
1840	389	£2291	1858	119	£1057	1865	64	£716
1844	297	£2097	1860	93	£1025	1866	58	£635
1850	177	£1295	1862	85	£989	1867	57	£569

'At one time it numbered 600 members with a capital..of£4000', F. Ross, Contributions towards a History of Driffield, 1898, p.91'Most of the members are grey, old men, many of them walking with the aid of a couple of sticks' Hull Ad. 19/7/1862

(cont.)

GREAT DRIFFIELD (cont.)

101. Union Friendly Society (cont.)

(sources: PRO FS 1/795/2 Rules 1794, 1803, 1826, 1831, 1836, 1845; HCRO QDC/2/29 Rules 1831; ibid. PR/898; RRFS 1862-67; Sir.F.Eden, State of the Poor, Vol.III p.818; Abstracts.Rets.1803; Davis p.8; Ms.Diary of Rev.Richard Allen; Hull Ad. 17/7/40, 15/7/42, 14/7/43, 12/7/44, 18/7/45, 14/7/48, 13/7/49, 12/7/50, 18/7/51, 15/7/53, 19/7/62; Yorks.G. 19/7/45; Driffield T. 14/7/60, 13/7/61, 15/7/65) 13/7/61

102. Provident Society (Driffield New Club)

Founded 1824

Registered 1824

Dissolved 1854

Anniversary: 2nd Tuesday in July

Meeting place: 1831 Red Lion Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1844	81	£942	1851	67	£1274
1850	69	£1214	1854	61	£1268

(sources: PRO FS 1/803/90 Rules 1831; ibid. FS 4/57/90 Rules 13 Jan 1824; HCRO QSV/1 Xmas 1823 Vol.L.24; Ms.Diary of Richard Allen; Yorks G. 12/7/45; Hull Ad. 17/7/40, 15/7/42; 12/7/44, 14/7/48, 13/7/49, 12/7/50, 18/7/51, 29/7/54; Hull Rockingham 23/7/1825)

103. Rising Sun Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 731

Founded 1833

Broken-up 1850

Anniversary: Whit Tuesday

Meeting place: Black Swan

Year Members

1845 155

1850 121

In May 1850 lodge was defunct and the regalia was sold.

(sources: IOOF MU QR 16 April 1841; ibid. List of Lodges 1845, 1850; Hull Ad. 31/5/39, 30/8/39, 12/6/40, 20/5/42, 9/6/43, 16/6/48, 13/7/49, 24/5/50; Yorks G. 1/6/1839)

104. Coronation Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1475

Founded 1838

Dissolved 1850

Anniversary: Whit Tuesday

Meeting place: Nag's Head

Year Members

1845 86

1850 49

In June 1850 described as recently dissolved.

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850; Hull Ad. 31/5/39, 12/6/40, 20/5/42, 9/6/43, 14/6/50; Yorks G. 1/6/39)

105. Court Alfred the Great, A.O.Foresters 627

Founded July 1838

Dispensation July 25 1838

Anniversary: Whit Monday

Registered 1854 no.959

Meeting place: 1840 Old Buck Inn

1870 Primitive

Methodist Schoolroom

1875 Temperance Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	82		1852	62		1900	283	£1606
1845	103		1860	60		1905	275	£2272
1846	93		1865	79	£419	1910	280	£2764
1847	82		1870	127	£522	1915	349	£2911
1848	74		1875	152	£535	1920	305	£2866
1849	76		1880	203	£578	1958	141	
1850	64		1885	214	£782			
1851	63		1890	224	£1031			

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958; RRFS 1862-67, 1871-72, 1875-80, 1891, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 12/4/39, 12/6/40, 4/6/41, 20/5/42, 31/5/44, 9/6/43, 16/6/48, 1/6/49, 24/5/50, 10/6/54; Yorks G. 10/6/54)

DRIFFIELD (cont.)112. Working Man's Friendly Society
Registered 1865 no.2635Founded c1850
Broken-up 1874

Anniversary: 3rd Tues.in July Meeting place: Buck Inn

Year	Members	Funds	
1866	56	£104	PRO FS 1/867 2635 Letter: Drifffield 12/9/1874 from Geo.Moody, late sec. 'Sir The WMFS No.2635 finding themselves insolvent have unanimously shared their funds and closed'
1871	49	£234	
1872	49	£238	

(sources: PRO FS 1/867 Yorks 2635 Rules 1865; RRFS 1866, 1871-72; Yorks G. 20/7/72; Scarborough Mercury 20/7/72.)113. Provident Benefit Society

Founded 1862

Registered 1862 no.2304

Anniversary: early July

Meeting place: 1875 Tiger Inn
1909 Star Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1862	77	£76	1876	80	£603	1891	81	£1221
1865	89	£211	1878	86	£690	1905	133	£1726
1867	85	£258	1880	80	£760	1910	138	£1992
1872	83	£479						

On two occasions, in 1905 and 1910, proceedings were taken against the Provident Benefit Society by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for failing to send in annual returns and quinquennial valuations. Fined 4gns and 3 gns.

(sources: RRFS 1862-67, 1871-72, 1875-80, 1891, 1905, 1910; Yorks.G. 13/7/72; Drifffield T. 15/7/1865)114. Garden of Eden Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners, 959

Founded May 1869

Registered by 1875 no.3134

Meeting place: 1870 Black Swan

Anniversary: early July

1877 Temperance Hall

Juvenile Lodge opened 1878

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1870	89		1885	207	£1040	1905	417	£1313
1874	130		1890	255	£1475	1910	423	£1251
1875	155	£238	1895	329	£1425	1912	506	£1039
1880	187	£629	1900	403	£1419	1920	235 + 183 state	

(sources: RRFS 1875-1880, 1905, 1910; NUOFG Annual Returns 1870-72, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1912, 1920; ibid. Journal Jan. 1913; Yorks.G. 6/7/72; ECH 6/5/69; Driffied T. 18/7/74, 29/5/75.)115. Pride of Buckrose Lodge, U.A.O.Druids, 811

Founded 1892

Registered as a branch 1894.

Meeting place: Temperance Hall, Mill St.

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1895	71	£63	1910	71	£437
1900	65		1938	86	£883
1905	84	£266			

(sources: RRFS 1894, 1905, 1910; UAOD Directory 1938; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1895, 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911)

DRIFFIELD (cont.)

116. Wolds Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance 1133 Founded 1904
Registered 1905 Meeting place: Honor's Cafe

Year	Members	Funds
1905	31	£1
1910	118	£5

(sources: RRFS, 1905, 1906, 1910)

NORTH DUFFIELD

117. Farmers' Friend Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds,A.U. 600 Founded 1851
Surance Aug.16 1851 Meeting place: King's Arms
Anniversary: June (1855, 1858)
(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Yorks G. 14/7/1855; Selby Ad. 26/6/1858)

DUGGLEBY

118. Farmer's Retreat Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds,A.U. 340 Founded 1842
Surance Nov.28 1842 Meeting place: Shepherd's Arms
(source: LOAS Register of Lodges)
119. United Friendly Society Founded c1872
(source: Malton M. 19/8/1876, 16/6/1877, 28/6/1884) Joined GUOOF 1912 see next.

120. Duggleby United Lodge G.U.O.Oddfellows, 9247 Founded 1912
Formerly United Friendly Society. Meeting place: Schoolroom
- | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|
| 1912 | 71 | £427 |
| 1926 | 50 | £134 |
- (source: GUOOF Directory, 1912, 1926)

DUNNINGTON,nr.York

121. Duke of Cornwall Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows, 577 Founded 1841
Registered Easter 1845 Meeting place: Cross Keys Inn
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|------------------|
| 1862 | 101 | £318 | 1877 | 134 | £525 | 1905 | 102 | £246 |
| 1863 | 94 | £301 | 1879 | 130 | | 1910 | 95 | £205 |
| 1864 | 100 | £332 | 1895 | 101 | £213 | | | |
| 1865 | 110 | £349 | 1900 | 117 | £157 | | | Closed by 1926 ? |
- (sources: HCRO QSV/3 Easter 1845 Vol.Q 144; RRFS 1862-65, 1876-78, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1910; GUOOF Almanack 1880, 1883; ibid.Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926)

EASINGTON

122. Court Forester's Cliff,A.O.Foresters 767 Founded 1839
Dispensation June 1839 Closed/left order
Anniversary 14th August by 1845
Meeting night: alternate Saturdays Meeting place: Private house
46 Members in 1840.
(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-46; Hull Ad. 23/8/ + 1/11/1839; Proposition book Court Forester's Home, Hull June 1839)

EASTRINGTON

123. Court Swan's Nest, A.O.Foresters, 875 Founded 1 March 1840
 Dispensation Feb.1840 Closed/left order by 1845
 Founded from Crow's Nest Court,Howden Meeting place: Black Swan Inn
 8 Members in 1840.
 (sources: AOF Dispensation Book,AOF Directory 1840; Hull Ad. 13/3/1840)

124. Court Havelock, A.O.Foresters, 2955 Founded 1858
 Dispensation Feb.1858 Dissolved 1909
 Registered 1874 no.3855 Meeting place: Black Swan Inn
 Suspended from order 1869,returned 1873. Suspended 1875, National School 1867 and left order.
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1860 | 27 | | 1875 | 35 | £192 | 1899 | 31 | £379 |
| 1865 | 38 | | 1877 | 34 | £221 | 1905 | 28 | £366 |
| 1869 | 38 | | 1880 | 30 | £260 | 1909 | 22 | £364 |
- (sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory, 1860, 1865-70, 1875, 1881, 1885; RRFS 1876-80, 1899, 1905, 1910; PRO FS 3/447 Yorks 3855 Rules 1874; Hull Ad. 12/4/62.)

ELLERKER

125. Ellerker Benefit Club Fl.1875
 (source: HCRO QAP 9/2 Police Constable Recruits 81 1875)

ELLERTON

126. Labourer's Friend Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 841 Founded 1858
 Surance Jan.3 1858 Meeting place: Half Moon Inn
 ?Independent society by 1889.
 (sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Goole Times 14/6/1889)

ELLOUGHTON

127. Victory Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 975 Founded May 1835
 Dispensation 9 May 1835 Ceased to exist as separate lodge
 Registered by 1863 1 Jan.1975 amalgamated with N.Ferriby
 Meeting place: 1835 Half Moon Inn
 1871 Oddfellows' Hall
 built.
 1978 Hall sold Dec.
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1845 | 125 | | 1872 | 157 | £1628 | 1900 | 180 | £3857 |
| 1850 | 110 | | 1875 | 174 | £1868 | 1905 | 200 | £4611 |
| 1860 | 120 | | 1879 | 174 | £2308 | 1913 | 242 | £5488 |
| 1862 | 130 | £1060 | 1891 | 186 | £3072 | 1920 | 228 | £6328 |
| 1865 | 169 | £1256 | 1894 | 175 | £3237 | 1930 | 220 | £8556 |
| | | | | | | 1940 | 249 | £9370 |

(sources: Lodge records, Oddfellows' Hall, N.Ferriby; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41; RRFS 1862-67, 1872, 1875-79, 1881, 1894, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 14/7/1837, 15/6/1838; 31/5/1839.)

128. Pride of Village Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 3525 Founded by 1843
 18 members in 1845 Closed/left order
 by 1850
 (source: IOOF MU List of Lodges, 1845,1850)

129. York Derwent Valley Oddfellows Sick Benefit Society Founded 1898
 Registered 1900 Meeting place: Schoolroom, Elvington
 Dissolved 1912

Year	Members	Funds
1905	58	£116
1910	79	£104

 (sources: RRFS 1900,1905,1907,1910,1912)

130. York Derwent Valley Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 9260 Founded 1912
 Meeting place: Church rooms

Year	Members	Funds
1912	50	£11
1926	18	£105

 (sources: GUOOF Directory 1912,1926)

ESCRICK

131. Ouse and Derwent Friendly Society Founded 1851
 Founded at Riccall, moved to Escrick 1856 Dissolved 1909
 Registered 1851 no.1009 Meeting place: Lord Wenlock's
 Schoolroom

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1853	144		1875	199	£1937	1899	75	£499
1862	189	£1260	1880	199	£1647	1905	58	£230
1865	195	£1544	1891	133	£640	1909	25	£20
1871	202	£1923						

 (sources: PRO FS 3/431 Yorks 1009, Rules 1851,1861; RRFS 1862-67,1871-72,
 1875-80, 1891,1899,1905,1910; Royal Commission on Agriculture 1881
IUP BPP Agriculture Vol.16 p.159)

ETTON

132. Etton Amicable and Friendly Society Founded 1 May 1789
 Registered 1796 Closed 1876
 Meeting place: Parish Church
 Anniversary: 1794 1st Mon.in May
 1827 last Wed.in May

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1803	155		1856	432	£1734	1865	270	£930
1827	764	£3080	1862	335	£1162	1866	249	£736
1837		£2402	1863	310	£1054	1867	226	£481
1841	651	£2677	1864	292	£992	1871	130	£211
1843	638	£2619				1872	116	£113

 (sources: PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 19 Rules 1794,1827,1832,1834,1835,1837,1840,
 1845,1862; HCRO QDC 2/5-7 Rules,etc. 1808,1820,c1850; Hull Local
 History Library Rules 1862; Beverley Library Rules 1827; HCRO
 PR/1898 Bainton Members; Abstracts Rets. 1803; RRFS 1862-67,1871-72.
Yorks.G. 3/6/37, 23/6/38; Hull Ad. 31/5/39,17/6/41,21/6/44
 16/6/48, 13/6/51,10/6/53; Beverley G. 2/2/56,14/6/56,16/6/60,
 22/6/61,14/6/62, 13/6/63, 11/6/64,9/6/66,15/6/67, 6/76,28/6/90'
 Beverley scrapbook, p.517, in possession of C.Hobson, Beverley 1984)

ETTON (cont.)

133. Etton Female Friendly Society
Registered 1841 no.328

Founded 1 Feb.1841
Dissolved 1880

Anniversary: Last Wed.in May

Meeting place: National Schoolroom

Instrument of dissolution July 24 1880

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1862	27	£121*	1866	29	£128	1876	14	£136
1863	31	£115	1867	27	£129	1877	13	£142
1864	30	£121	1871	24	£137	1878	13	£153
1865	30	£123	1875	16	£138	1880	16	£147

(sources: RRFS 1862-67,1871,1875-78,1880; PRO FS/1/817 Yorks 328 Rules 26 May 1841, altered 1842,1853,1873,Instrument of dissolution 1880; Beverley G. 30/1/ + 29/5/1858, 30/5/62)

134. Etton Mutual and Equitable Benefit Society
Registered 1851

Founded 14 Feb.1850
Dissolved 1860'through want
of members'

Men and women members

(source: PRO FS 1/824 Rules 1851, letter re closure 1860; PP 1852/28
FS Registrations)

135. Lord Hotham Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 1261
Registered

Founded 1873
Amalgamated with Leconfield
Lodge
Still in existence 1981

Anniversary: late June/early July

Meeting place: 1880 Schoolroom
1895 Reading room

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1876	41		1895	98	£640	1926	128	£2276
1879	69		1900	106	£917			
1882	79		1905	123	£1237			
1890		£458	1910	125	£1575			

(sources: GUOOF QR May 1873 p.13; ibid.Almanack 1880,1883; ibid.Directory 1896,1901,1911,1926; RRFS 1905,1910; Beverley G. 6/1876,28/6/1890; Parish Magazine July 1897, Aug.1905, Aug.1908, Aug.1912.)

NORTH FERRIBY

136. Ferriby Amicable Society

Founded 27 Sept.1797

Registered at Hull 1798

Rules ammended 1815,1821,1825,and 1830

102 members in 1803

(sources: Davis,p.11; Abstracts Rets.1803)

137. Duke of Cumberland Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 3561

Founded 1843
Amalgamated with
Elloughton 1 Jan.1975
Still existing 1981

Dispensation 15 July 1843

Meeting place: 1843 Duke of Cumberland
1886 Oddfellows' Hall

(cont)

137. Duke of Cumberland Lodge (cont.)

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	26		1875	65	£715	1905	88	£1739
1850	29		1880	65	£938	1910	91	£1977
1855	34		1885	63		1913	96	£2098
1860	43		1891	73	£1275	1920	91	£2273
1865	67	£409	1894	73	£1466	1930	85	£2589
1870	63		1900	75	£1584	1940	90	£3001

(sources: Lodge records, Oddfellows Hall, N.Ferriby 1980; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41; RRFS 1862-67, 1871, 1876-79, 1881, 1894, 1905, 1910.)

FILEY138. Ravine Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1608

Founded Oct. 1838
Left order by 1850
Still in existence 1875

Year	Members
1845	90
1875	197

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850; ibid. QR 1 Jan. 1840; Hull Ad. 26/10/1838, 16/8/1839; ECH 27/5/1869; Drifffield T. 29/5/1875; W.S.Cortis, Guide to Filey, 1861 p.18)

139. Mitford Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds, A.U. 990
Surance June 14 1861

Founded 1861
Left order
Still in existence 1912

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Scarborough M. 8/6/1872; Parish Magazine, July 1912.; HUL DDSY(2) 2/3)

140. Hollon Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 559

Founded 1865

Dispensation 31 May 1865
Registered by 1867

Left order 1878
Dissolved 1904

Meeting place: Grapes Inn 1865
Foord's Hotel 1879

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	
1867	57	£68	1891	64	£251	Lodge resolved to leave order in early 1878
1877	94	£245	1899	45	£77	
1879	92		1904	32	£4	

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; ibid. QR Aug. 1865, Dec. 1878; ibid. Almanack 1880, 1883; RRFS 1867, 1876-77, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1904; Drifffield T. 16/9/65, EMN 16/9/65)

141. Court Unity, Independent Order of Foresters

Founded 1868

Offshoot of Court Lumley at Muston.
Juvenile Society called First Bud.

(source: Drifffield T. 27/6/1874)

142. Filey Fisherman's Fund
Registered 1811

Founded 8 Oct. 1811

(source: PRO FS 4/57 Rules 1811; HCRO QSV/1 Registered Mch. 1811 Vol.H.475)

FLAMBOROUGH

143. Flamborough Fishermans Fund Founded 7 Sept. 1809
Registered 1814 Broken up by 1887
1814 37 members Funds £156
Anniversary: Last Sat. in August Meeting place: Dog and Duck Inn
Members must be fishermen resident in Flamborough
(sources: PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 1. Rules 1832, ammended 1842, 1846; HCRO QSV/1 Registerd Mich. 1814 Vol. J. 175; HCRO PR/2366/6 Rules 1815)
144. Robin Lythe Lodge, I.O. Oddfellows M.U. 1582 Founded 15 Oct. 1838
Dissolved 1848
19 members in 1845 Meeting place: Dog and Duck Inn
(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845; Hull Ad. 26/10/1838, 5/4/1839, 23/6/1848)
145. Good Intent Sick Club Founded c1863
In existence 1880
1868 '156' members 4/7/1868;
(sources: Driffield T. 2/7/1870 7th anniversary; HCRO QAP 9/2 138 Police recruits 1880)
146. Flamborough Benefit Society Founded c1863
In existence 1872
Possibly same as 145
(source: Scarborough M. 6/7/1872 9th anniversary)
147. Dog and Duck Sick Club Fl. 1872
Meeting place: Dog and Duck Inn
(source: Scarborough M. 20/7/1872)
148. Independent Order of Oddfellows Founded c1870
(source: Driffield T. 3/7/1870 anniversary, few members, club not long formed)

FLIXTON

- ~~*149. Rational Sick and Burial Society Founded c1845
Registered Beverley 1846.
(sources: HCRO QSV/3 Reg. Beverley Mids. 1846 Vol. O. 286; PRO FS 1/812 Yorks 228 Rules of the Rational Sick and Burial Association 1837 Manchester 1845)~~
150. Flixton Gorsedd, Independent Order of Druids Founded by 1854, probably in early 1840s.
Still in existence as independent body 1912
(sources: DDX 61/1 Harpham District Druids Minute Book; Scarborough M. 18/6/1859, 2/6/1860; Parish Magazine July 1892, Aug. 1897, July 1905, July 1908, July 1912)

* Not East Riding Flixton but Flixton, Lancashire. The registration at Beverley was not for a local branch

158. N.Frodingham Lodge, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses Founded June 1840

(sources: Hull Ad. 12/6 + 4/12/1840, 7/5/1841)

159. Drifffield Branch of the Belper Primitive Methodist Local Preachers Provident Institution Branch 905c Founded 1856
Broken up 1873

Registered 1856?

Year	Members	Funds
1862	25	£34
1863	24	£23
1864	23	£24
1866	27	£34

(sources: PRO FS 1/828 Rules 1856, letter from sec.1873;RRFS 1862-64,1866;
Drifffield T.20/7/1861 account of annual feast)

160. Rising Star Benefit Society Founded 1869
Still in existence 1926

(sources: Drifffield T.30/5/1874; Drifffield and Buckrose Mail 8/7/1926;
Parish Magazine July 1905, July 1907, July 1908, July 1912;
HCRO QAP 9/2 97 + 153)

FULFORD

161. Rose of England Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 333 A.U. Founded 1842

Surance 15 Aug.1842
Registered 1862 no.2360

Meeting place: 1842 Saddle Inn
1862 Plough Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1864	31	£106	1875	21	£65	1878	20	£63
1865	30	£101	1876	21	£65	1879	20	£49
1866	30	£91	1877	20	£60	1880	20	£32
1867	30	£88						

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; RRFS 1864-67,1871,1875-80; PRO FS
1/865 Yorks 2360 Rules n.d. (1862))

GANTON

162. 123 Gorsedd, Ancient Order of Druids Founded 1839
Left order 1858

Anniversary: Last Friday in June

In 1858 became Ganton Friendly Order of Druids Still existing in 1912

Membership: 120 in 1872
Funds: 1858 £68 1897 £363

(sources: Malton M. 5/7 + 19/7/1856; Scarborough M.6/7/1872; Parish Magazine
July + Aug.1897, Aug.1898, Aug.1902, Aug.1905, Aug.1908, Aug.1912;
HCRO QAP 9/2 59 + 64)

GARTON ON THE WOLDS

163. Star of Hope Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 2781 Founded 1841
Left order by 1860

Anniversary: mid-June Meeting place: Star Inn

Membership: 1845 26 1850 22

(sources: IOOF MU QR 30 June 1841; ibid. List of Lodges 1845,1850,1860;
Hull Ad. 22/6/1849)

GARTON ON THE WOLDS (cont.)164. Court Hope of Garton A.O.Foresters 9366

Joined AOF 1912

This was an independent society said to have been founded in 1877 which joined the AOF in 1912. It is possible that the independent society had been formed out of the IOOF MU lodge.(163 above)

Year	Members	Funds
1915	69	£334
1920	68	£314

(sources: AOF Directory 1915,1920)GILBERDYKE165. Good Shepherd Lodge I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 8144

Founded 1909

Year	Members	Funds	Meeting place:
1913	29	£38	Primitive Methodist Chapel 1913
1920	29	£110	War Memorial Hall
1930	37	£321	1940
1940	48	£515	

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1913,1920,1930,1940)HARPHAM166. Gorsedd 155, Ancient Order of Druids

Founded 1842

Anniversary: mid June

Meeting place: St.Quinton's Arms

Year	Members	Year	Members
1846	54	1855	48
1850	42	1860	58
1852	36	1864	65

In 1864 the Gorsedd becomes:

St.Quintin Lodge, Independent Order of Druids

Registered 1864

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1866	99	£139	1880	88	£150
1871	93	£223	1891	88	£100
1877	101	£280			

In 1892 joined the UAOD and became:

St.Quintin Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 812

Year	Members	Funds
1905	130	£202
1910	123	£212
1938	36	£715

(sources: HCRO DDX 61 Records of Harpham Druids 1846-1913; Hull Ad. 27/6/1845; Driffield T.1/7/1865; 2/7/1870, 27/6/1874, 19/6/1875; Driffield and Buckrose Mail 29/7/1926; RRFS 1866-67,1871,1877-80, 1891,1905,1910; Parish Magazine Aug.1897, Aug.1902; UAOD Directory 1938, DT 29/6/67; 29/6/78)

HEDON

167. Union Society, becomes Hedon Samaritan Society Founded June 1799
Registered 1802 , 1838 Dissolved July 1897
- Anniversary: Thursday in Whitsun week Meeting place: Horse and Jockey 1876
- Provided benefits for members over 70

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1803	60		1844	222	£1364	1867	157	£1291
1837	189	£1453	1862	218	£1265	1872	139	£1239
1838	166	£1323	1864	182	£1328	1897	57	£271
1840	186	£1374	1865	168	£1291			
1842	222	£1390	1866	164	£1282			

(sources: Hull Central Library, Rules 1799; HCRO QSV/2 Registered Beverley Epiph.1839 Vol,0.145; ibid. DDHE 30 + 32 Printed annual reports 1839-40,1843-44, notices of feasts 1839-40,1844,1847; PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 22 Rules 1799?,1838,1872,1896; ibid. FS/4/57 Yorks 22 Note of dissolution by instrument 23 Nov.1897; Hull Ad. 31/5/1839, 20/6/1851, 27/5/1853, 16/6/54; ECH 30/5/1872; G.Poulson, History of Holderness, 1840 Vol 2 p.177; G.R.Park, History of Hedon, Hull, 1895 p.239; M.T.Craven, History of Borough of Hedon, 1972, pp.84-85, 185,219.; RRFS 1862-67, 1872, 1880, 1891, 1897; Abstracts Rets 1803.; Davis,p.14)

168. Female Society F1.1840
169. Female Society F1. 1840

(source. G.Poulson, History of Holderness vol.2,p.177 two female societies)

170. Good Samaritan Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1454 Founded June 1838
Registered by 1862 Left order c1902
- Anniversary: Whit-Monday Meeting place: 1850 private room
1891 Baptist Mission Room

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	86		1865	164	£707	1880	168	£639
1850	96		1871	166	£744	1891	160	£874
1860	69		1877	169	£619	1894	157	£905
						1900	157	£1118

About 1902 the lodge left the order and became:

Hedon Loyal Oddfellows Good Samartian Friendly Society

Registered 1903 no.4825 Still in existence
1985

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1905	114	£1219	1930	70	1960	50	1980	29
1910	90	£1281	1950	56	1970	42	1984	27

(sources: IOOF MU QR 16 April 1841; ibid. List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8; RRFS 1862-65, 1871-2, 1876-80, 1894, 1903, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 15/6/1838, 14/6/1839; HCRO DDHE 30 Feast notice 1841; G.Poulson, op.cit., Vol.2 p.177; G.Park, op.cit., p.239; Annual returns 1886-90, Cash book 1904, Membership book 1929-80 with A,Marshall, secretary, Hedon 1984)

HEDON (cont.)

171. Hedon Court of Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdesses Founded Feb. 1839

(source: Hull Ad. 1/3/1839 Account of opening)

172. Court Howroyd's Refuge A.O.Foresters 911

Founded 1840

Closed 1848

Dispensation 13 April 1840

Anniversary: 3rd August

Meeting place: 1840 Tiger Inn
1845 Oddfellows' Hall

Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	22	1846	43
1843	41	1847	19
1845	19	1848	13

(sources: AOF Directory, 1840, 1843, 1845-49; HCRO DDHE 30 Notices of anniversaries, DDHE 32 Notices of Balls, tea parties; G.Poulson, op.cit., Vol.2.p.177)

173. Humber Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance

Founded 1901

Registered 1901

Meeting place: The Institute

Year	Members	Funds
1905	33	£3
1910	72	£11

(sources: RRFS 1901, 1905, 1910)

HELPERTHORPE

174. Pride of the Valley Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1701

Founded 1839

Left order by 1873

Year Members

Meeting place: 1850 Oddfellows' Arms

1845 41

1850 42

1860 119

Sometime between 1860 and 1873 the lodge left the order and became:

Pride of the Valley Lodge Friendly Society

Dissolved 1912

The club was dissolved on July 20th 1912 at the Oddfellows' Arms when each of the last 16 members received about £3 3s each.

c1890 a juvenile branch, 'Rising Sun' had been formed, it had 4 members at its dissolution in 1912.

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873; Parish Magazine, July 1905, July 1908, Sept. 1912. Drifffield Times 15/5/78)

175. Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe Poor Man's Benevolent Friendly Society

Founded c1844

6th anniversary Drifffield P.M.Chapel June 1850

(source: Hull Ad. 14/6/1850)

HEMINGBROUGH

176. Victoria Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1542 Founded 1838
Left order 1872
Anniversary: end of June Meeting place: Dog and Duck Inn
Year Members
1845 40
1850 67
1860 138
(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873; Selby Advertiser 3/7/1858)
177. Court Ancient Spire, A.O.Foresters 640 Founded 1838
Dispensation 9 Aug. 1838 Closed/left order by 1845
Meeting place: Half Moon Inn
(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Directory 1840, 1845; Hull Ad. 31/8/1838)
178. Royal Spire Lodge Friendly Society Founded 1837(sic)
Registered 1886 no.4246 Meeting place: 1886 Half Moon Inn
1899 Crown Inn
Year Members Funds Year Members Funds
1891 119 £422 1905 131 £151
1899 115 £195 1910 122 £168
The name of society and claimed founding date suggests that it was an independent society formed from the IOOF Lodge, no.176, or possibly the AOF Court n.177.
(sources: RRFS 1886, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1910)
179. Welcome Shepherd Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds, A.U. 438 Founded 1846
Surance 23 March 1846 Meeting place: Britannia Inn
(source: LOAS Register of Lodges)

EAST AND WEST HESLERTON

180. East and West Heselton Benefit Society Founded 1842 or 1853
Registered by 1865 no.826
Anniversary: end of June/early July
Year Members Funds Year Members Funds
1865 £212 1899 99 £366
1871 £297 1904 104 £475
1878 62 £457 1910 106 £505
1891 91 £287
(sources: RRFS 865, 1871, 1878, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1910; Malton M. 5/7/1856; Scarborough M. 6/7/1872)

HESSLE

181. Vine Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1249 Founded 1837
Dissolved 1854
Registered 1852 Meeting place: Admiral Hawk Inn
Year Members Anniversary: late May
1845 120
1850 118 Closed by division of funds.
(sources: PRO FS 1/828 Yorks 1207 Rules 1852, note re dissolution; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850; ibid. QR 1/4/1855; IOOF MU Hull District Committee Minutes 1845-52; Hull Ad. 12/6/1840, 3/6/1842)

HESSLE (cont.)182. Court Foresters' Mount, A.O.Foresters 634Founded 1838
Left order 1898

Registered by 1862 no.2078

Dispensation Aug.4th 1838

Anniversary: 1st Thurs.in May

Meeting place: Granby Inn

Court suspended 1847

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	90		1850	72		1875	176	£1260
1843	87		1851	75		1880	199	£1493
1845	76		1860	100		1885	215	£1597
1846	75		1862	141	£761	1890	222	£1778
1848	71		1865	167	£795	1897	218	£1574
1849	74		1870	160	£1046			

The Court left the AOF in 1898 and formed:

Hessle Foresters' Friendly Society

Registered 1899 no.4614

Meeting place: Granby Hotel

Year Members Funds

1899 205 £1394

1905 189 £1297

1910 169 £1198

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890-91, 1896-99; RRFS 1862-67, 1872, 1875-79, 1881, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1910; Hull Ad. 10/5/1839, 9/4/1862)183. Victory Lodge I.O.Oddfellows K.U.

Founded 1863

Registered 1870 no.3066

Meeting place: Admiral Hawke Inn

Year Members Funds

1875 104 £410

1905 230 £1200

1910 237 £1533

(sources: RRFS 1875, 1905, 1910)184. Pease's Pride Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 905Founded 1868
Closed by 1880

Year Members

1869 21

1870 21

1875 9

Meeting place: School Room

(sources: NUOFG Annual Returns 1869-72, 1875, 1880)185. Rescue Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance 982

Founded 1901

Registered 1903

Meeting place: Parish Rooms

Year Members Funds

1905 24 £1

1910 48 £2

(sources: RRFS 1903, 1905, 1910)186. Hessle Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance 1277

Founded 1911

Registered 1911

Meeting place: Banks Schoolroom

(source: RRFS 1911)

HOLME-ON-SPALDING MOOR

187. Priana Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. Before 1840
Closed/left order by 1845
(source: Lund Oddfellows' Contributions Book 1840 clearance from)
188. Female Benevolent Society or 'Women's Club' Founded 1839
(source: Holme-on-Spalding Moor Parish Magazine 1908)
189. Court Alexandrina, A.O.Foresters 511 Founded Aug.1837
Dispensation Aug.1837 Closed 1845
Anniversary: 1st Thursday in June Meeting place: New Inn
Year Members
1840 32
1845 2
(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid.Directory 1840,1845-6; Hull Ad. 20/4/1838)
190. Court Raglan, A.O.Foresters 4565 Founded 1864/65
Registered by 1867. Meeting place: National School
Anniversary: Mid-Sept (village feast)
Year Members Funds Year Members Funds Year Members Funds
1870 20 £68 1890 33 £494 1910 62 £1288
1875 28 £180 1896 51 £659 1915 70 £1463
1880 26 £240 1900 68 £851 1920 58 £1738
1885 27 £320 1905 59 £1069
(sources: AOF Directory, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920; RRFS 1867, 1871-2, 1875, 1877-80, 1891, 1905, 1910; Holme-on-Spalding Moor Parish Magazine Oct.1903; Holme School Log Books 1863-1920)
191. Rising Oak Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 999 Founded 1870
Closed/ left order 1872
Membership: 49 in 1870 Meeting place: New Inn
(source: NUOFG, Annual Returns 1870-72)
- HORNSEA
192. Victoria Lodge I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1371 Founded 1838
Closed/ left order by 1860
Meeting place: Old Hotel, Southgate
Year Members
1845 56
1850 55
(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860; ibid.QR 1842; Hull Ad. 17 Aug.1838; E.W.Bedell, An Account of Hornsea, 1848, p.113)
193. Providence Lodge, Oddfellows F1.1862
(source: Hull Ad. 11/6/62)
194. Victoria Perserverance Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 478 Founded 1862
Registered 1864 Meeting place: 1876 Victoria Hotel
1910 National School
Year Members Funds Year Members Funds Year Members Funds
1865 76 £39 1881 128 £644 1905 395 £2884
1872 109 £184 1892 233 1910 396 £3838
1875 120 £339 1895 304 £1446 1938 426 £6661
(sources: RRFS 1865-66, 1872, 1875-79, 1881, 1905, 1910; Annual Reports UAOD Hull, 1895, 1901, 1906, 1911; UAOD Directory 1938)

HORNSEA (cont.)195. Fruitful Vine, Independent British Workman's Friendly Society

Registered by 1876

Founded 1873

Meeting place: Victoria Hotel

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1876	22	£53	1899	25	£214
1880	40	£105	1905	22	£176
1891	26	£211	1910	19	£143

(sources: RRFS 1876-80, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1910; T. Bulmer, op. cit. p. 433)196. Hornsea Druidesses' Lodge UAOD 1000

Founded 1912

Closed by 1927

Meeting place: Central Cafe

(source: UAOD Hull Annual Reports 1912, 1924, 1927)HOWDEN197. Howden Friendly Society

Founded 8 April 1751

Registered 1794

Anniversary: Whit Wednesday

Meeting place: Neptune Inn 1831

Year	Members
1821	120
1831	

(sources: PRO FS 1/795 Yorks 16 Rules 1831; PRO FS 4/57 Yorks 16; HCRO QDC/2/24 Rules and list of members 1821; Yorks G. 9/6/1838; Hull Ad. 19/5/1837, 24/5/1839, 12/6/40, 4/6/41, 20/5/42, 9/6/43, 31/5/44, 16/6/48, 1/6/49.)

198. Female Friendly Society

Founded 2 Nov. 1763

Registered 1796

Anniversary: Whit Tuesday

Meeting place: Wellington Inn 1831

Year	Members
1803	40
1831	

(sources: PRO FS 1/801 Yorks 67 Rules 1831; ibid. FS 4/57 Yorks 67; HCRO QSV/2 Reg. Bev. Mch 1831 M.205; ibid. DDSD/339 Will 1816; Abstracts Rets 1803.; Davis p.10; Yorks G. 9/6/1838; Hull Ad. 19/5/37 24/5/39, 12/6/40, 4/6/41, 20/5/42, 9/6/43, 31/5/44, 16/6/48, 1/6/49)

199. Howden Union Society

Founded 9 March 1764

Registered 1794

Anniversary: Thursday in Whit week

Meeting place: Cross Keys
Black Swan

Membership: in 1830

(sources: PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 24 Rules 1794, 1830; PRO FS 4/57 Yorks 24 Rules 1794 - 1846; HCRO QSV 1 R gistered 1794; QDC/2/28 Rules 1823; Hull Ad. 19/5/37, 6/7/1838, 24/5/39, 12/6/40, 4/6/41, 20/5/42, 9/6/43, 31/5/44, 16/6/48, 1/6/49; Yorks G. 9/6/1838)

200. Friendly Society of Women

Founded 1844

Registered 1875

Meeting place: Shipwright's Arms

Year	Members	Funds
1875	95	£269

(source: RRFS 1875)

HOWDEN (cont.)

201. Howden Free Gift Society Fl.1850
 Anniversary: July , Meeting place: Black Swan Inn
 (source: Hull Ad. 14/7/1850)
202. Howdenshire Free Gift Society Founded Feb.1853
 1st general meeting July 1853 Meeting place: Black Bull Inn
 50 Members
 (source: Hull Ad. 15/7/1853)
202. Wellington Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows,M.U. 515 Founded 1831-2
Left order by 1850
 Membership: 160 in 1845 Meeting place: Angel Inn
 Funds: £1079 in 1854
 (sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845,1850; ibid. QR May 1844; ibid.
Oddfellows Magazine March 1836; Hull Ad. 6/7/1838,17/7/1840,
 5/8/1842, 7/7/1848; Goole and Marshland Gazette 1/8/1854;
Sermon preached at 1st anniversary, Beverley Library)
203. Crow's Nest Court , A.O.Foresters 417 Founded 1836
Left order 1868
 Dispensation: 20 April 1836 Meeting place: King's Head Inn
 Anniversary: 25th June
 Meeting night: alternate Thursdays
- | Year | Members | Year | Members | Year | Members |
|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|
| 1840 | 80 | 1848 | 80 | 1852 | 90 |
| 1845 | 110 | 1849 | 80 | 1860 | 82 |
| 1846 | 90 | 1850 | 90 | 1865 | 85 |
| 1847 | 86 | 1851 | 83 | 1868 | 79 |
- The Court was suspended from the AOF in 1868 and it subsequently left the order and became:
- Howden Independent Archers Friendly Society
 Registered 1884 Meeting place: Angel Inn
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1891 | 100 | £1557 | 1905 | 101 | £1837 |
| 1899 | 104 | £1862 | 1910 | 111 | £2046 |
- (sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840,1845-52,1860,1865,
 1867-68; Hull Ad.6/7/1838, 4/7/1845, 4/8/1848,15/7/1853, 5/7/1862;
Goole and Marshland Gazette 1/7/64, 1/7/65; Goole T. 22/11/72;
Yorks.G.29/4/1837; RRFS 1891,1899,1905-6,1909-10; HCRO DX/165
 Rules 1904)
204. Jacob's Well Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 220 Founded 1838
Still in existence 1875
 Surance Sept.3 1838 Meeting place: Half Moon Hotel
 Pontefract District
 Anniversary: late June
 (sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Hull Ad.24/7/1840,8/7/1841;
Goole T.5/7/1872, 2/7/1875)

HOWDEN (cont.)

205. Loyal Orphan's Refuge Court, Independent Order of Shepheresses 9
 Pontefract District Founded March 1839
 (sources: Hull Ad. 29/3/1839, 30/3/1840)
206. Olive Branch Tent, I.O.Rechabites 362 Founded 1840-41
 Left order before 1851
 (sources: IOR A.M.C. Reports 1841-51; IOR Rechabite Magazine Aug.1843;
Hull Ad.22/7/1842)
207. Howden Wesleyan Benefit Society Founded May 1843
 Registered 1843 Dissolved 1 Sept.1859
 Meeting place: Schoolroom or Vestry of
 Howden Wesleyan Chaprl
 (sources: PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 326 Rules 1843; *ibid.* FS 4/57 Yorks 326;
 HCRO QSV/3 Reg.Mich.1843 vol.P.297)
208. Good Intent Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U. 20 Founded 1856
 Registered 1883 Meeting place: 1884 Dog and Duck Inn
 1910 Black Swan Inn
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1894 | 182 | £417 | 1910 | 217 | £593 |
| 1905 | 242 | £742 | | | |
- (sources: RRFS 1884, 1897, 1905, 1910)
209. Industry Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U.46 Founded 1860
 Registered 1883 Meeting place: 1884 Neptune Inn
 1910 Station Road Hotel
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1894 | 118 | £284 | 1910 | 115 | £350 |
| 1905 | 155 | £389 | | | |
- (sources: RRFS 1884, 1897, 1905, 1910)
210. Daisey Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 985 Founded Oct.1869
 Left order 1872
 Membership: 61 members in 1870 Meeting place: 1870 Neptune Inn
 (sources: NUOFG Annual Returns 1870-72; ECH 4/11/69)

HUGGATE

211. Pride of the Wolds Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds, A.U. 331 Founded 1842
 Surance: 20 July 1842 Left order 1851
 Anniversary: mid-June Meeting place: Wold Inn
 After leaving LOAS in 1851 the Lodge became:
Pride of the Wolds Lodge, Reformed Shepherds
 (sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Driffield T. 23/6/1860, 22/6/1861;
Malton M.28/6/1856; Memoir of Joseph Smith, 1900 pp.203-4)

HUNMANBY

212. Hunmanby Amicable Society Founded 1 Jan.1778
 Registered 1794
 Anniversary: 2nd.Tuesday in June
 Membership: 122 in 1803
 (sources: PRO FS 1/796 Yorks 17 Rules 1794,1822; ibid.FS/4/57 Yorks 17;
 HCRO QDC/2/19 Rules 1804; Abstracts Rets.1803; Davis p.9)
213. Royal Union Society Founded 24 Aug. 1824
 Registered 1824
 Anniversary: 1st Wed.in June
 (sources: PRO FS 1/802 Yorks.77 Rules 1824, ammended 1828)
214. The Mitford Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1525 Founded Oct. 1838
 Dissolved 1848
 Anniversary: late May Meeting place: White Swan Inn
 (sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845; Hull Ad. 26/10/1838, 29/5/1839,
 23/6/1848)
215. Star of Bethlehem Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 246 Founded July 22 1839
 Surance July 21 1839
 Registered 1864 Meeting place: White Swan Inn
 Anniversary: 3rd Tues. in June
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1865 | 159 | £263 | 1875 | 159 | £175 | 1899 | 146 | |
| 1867 | 170 | £224 | 1879 | 166 | £344 | 1905 | 141 | £343 |
| 1871 | 155 | £185 | 1891 | 122 | £187 | 1910 | 133 | £417 |
- At some date the Lodge left the LOAS and became an independent society:
Star of Bethlehem Lodge, Free and Independent Ancient Shepherds
 So called in the 1890s
- (sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; HCRO DDX/242 Records of Lodge 1839-1912;
 RRFs 1865-67, 1871, 1875-80, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1908, 1910; Yorks.G.
6/5/1854; Scarborough M.25/6/1859; Scarborough G.21/6/1860;
Drifffield T.20/6/1874, 19/6/1875; Parish Magazine July 1889, Aug.1892,
 July 1897, July 1905, July 1907, July 1908, June + July 1912;
 L.M.Owston, Hunmanby, East Yorks, 1948, pp.71-72.)
216. Hunmanby Dividend Society Founded 1898
 Anniversary: 2nd Thursday in July Meeting place: Buck Inn
 (sources: Parish Magazine Aug.1902, Aug.1905, Aug.1908, Aug.1912)
 see Addenda
HUTTON CRANSWICK
217. Hutton Club Fl.1834
 (source: HCRO PR/898 Member living at Bainton 1834)

KEYINGHAM222. Aeneas Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1658Founded 7 Jan. 1839
Closed/left order c1905

Registered by 1862

Anniversary: Tuesday in Whit week

Meeting place: Blue Bell Inn

1880 Oddfellows' Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	60		1871	62	£539	1894	40	£811
1850	52		1876	59	£568	1900	33	£985
1860	50		1880	57	£641			
1863	61	£302	1892	44	£752			
1865	62	£389						

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907; RRFS 1862-65, 1871-2, 1876-80, 1894; Hull Ad. 11/1/1839, 31/5/1839, 26/6/1840; ECH 30/5/1872; M.H.Smith 'The Church Room-Its Past' in Keyingham Church Room Restoration 1976-78)

223. Court Friendship, A.O.Foresters, 765

Founded June 1839

Dispensation June 1839 Registered 1856 no.844

In existence 1981

Anniversary: Wednesday in Whit week.

Meeting place: Ship Inn 1840 Blue Bell 1847

Foresters' Hall 1857

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	37		1865	349	£1776	1885	423	£4674
1845	45		1871	396	£2660	1890	431	£5195
1850	86		1875	419	£3159	1915	284	£3197
1860	269		1880	433	£4016	1920	259	£2864
						1958	132	

The Court left the order in 1898 and became:

Keyingham Friendly Society

Registered 1905 no.4887

In 1912 rejoined AOF as:

Court Friendship, A.O.Foresters, 9370

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896-7, 1915, 1920, 1958; Court Records, Foresters' Hall, Keyingham, 1978 (now in HCRO); RRFS 1862-67, 1871-72, 1875-80, 1905, 1910; HCRO DDPK/18/5 Trustees; Hull Ad. 26/6/1840, 28/5/1847, 18/6/59, 25/5/62, 14/6/62; ECH 30/5/72.)

KILHAM224. Kilham Unanimous Society

Founded 1 May 1780

Registered 1800

Anniversary: 1st Monday in June

Meeting place: Black Bull Inn

Membership: 120 in 1803

(sources: PRO FS 1/797A Yorks 28 Rules 1800; ibid. FS 4/57 28; HCRO QDC/2/21 Rules 1818; Davis p.12; Abstracts Rets. 1803)

225. Kilham Union Society

Founded 6 July 1808

Registered 1831/32

In existence 1847

Anniversary: 1st Wed. in July 1808

Meeting place: Star Inn

1st Tues. in July 1831

(sources: PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 330 Rules 1831 altered 1847; HCRO QDC/2/22 Rules 18087; PP.Accounts and Papers 1837 Vol.51 Enrolled Epiph. 1832; Hull Ad. 12/7/1844)

KILHAM (cont.)

226. Prospect of Hope Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1270 Founded 1837

Anniversary: July early

Meeting place: Plough Inn

Year Members

1845 85

1850 94

Closed/ left order between 1850 and 1860

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860; ibid. QR April 1841; Hull.Ad. 12/7/1844)

227. Court Kilham, A.O.Foresters 605
became Court Rose of the Dale in 1843

Founded July 1838

Left order in 1850

Dispensation July 2 1838

Meeting place: Bay Horse Inn 1840

Registered 1856 no.1189

Blacksmith's Arms 1876

Temperance Hall 1898

Anniversary: 24th June

Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	69	1862	108	£139	1899	217	£382
1843	80	1872	128	£240	1902	224	£412
1845	64	1875		£310	1905	237	£472
1846	68	1891	178	£268	1908	244	£545
1847	66	1897	197	£350	1926	174	£420
1848	63						
1849	50						
1850	37						

After leaving the AOF in 1850 the club continued to call itself the Court Rose of the Dale Ancient Order of Foresters.

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory, 1840, 1843, 1845-52; RRFs 1862, 1872, 1876, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1909, 1910; Hull Ad. 2/8/39 21/6/1839; Drifffield T. 7/7/1860, 29/6/1861, 27/6/1874, 3/7/1875; 29/6/78; Drifffield and Buckrose Mail 8/7/1926, 28/6/1928; Parish Magazine Aug. 1887, Aug. 1889, Aug. 1897, Aug. 1902, Aug. 1905, Aug. 1908)

228. Shepherd's Pride of the Valley Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds A.U. 332

Surance Aug.3 1842

Founded Aug.1842

Closed 1844-45

Meeting place: Blacksmith's Arms

(source: LOAS Register of Lodges; ibid. Annual Report 1845)

KILPIN

229. Free Gift Society

F1.1853

Anniversary: July

(source: Hull Ad. 15/7/1853)

LANGTOFT

230. Shepherds' Independence Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds A.U. 227 Founded Dec.1838

Surance Dec.10 1838

Meeting place: Ship Inn

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Hull.Ad. 4/1/1839)

231. Philanthropic Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 3264

Founded 1842

Closed/left order by 1850

Meeting place: George and Dragon

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850; ibid. QR Oct.1 1842)

LECONFIELD238. Lord Leconfield Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U.Founded 1859
Left Order 1864

Registered 1862

Year	Members	Funds
1863	43	£89
1864	55	£105

In 1864 the club left the IOOF K.U. and joined the GUOOF becoming:

Lord Leconfield Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows, 811

Dispensation March 26 1864

Still existing 1981

Anniversary: mid-June

Meeting place: Schoolroom

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1880	155	£761	1894	184	£2011	1910	165	£3317
1882	166		1900	177	£2468	1926	127	£5151
1892	170		1905	165	£2993	1980	145*	

* Amalgamated with Etton GUOOF Lodge in 19

(sources: PRO FS/1/865 Yorks 2284 Rules 1862; RRFS 1863-64, 1876, 1880, 1894, 1905, 1910; GUOOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Almanack 1880, 1883; ibid. Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926, 1980; ibid. QR May 1864; Beverley G. 11/6/64, 24/6/65, 29/5 + 12/6/75, 14/6/79, 11/6/87; ECH 8/7/69; Parish Magazine July 1908; T. Bulmer, op.cit. p.448)

LEVEN239. Court Bethel's Benefit A.O.Foresters 668Founded Dec. 1838
Left order 1868/69

Dispensation 16 Oct. 1838

Registered by 1862

Meeting place: Hare and Hounds Inn

Anniversary 27th April

Service at Wesleyan Chapel

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	50		1872	149	£1585
1845	105		1879	192	£1966
1850	100		1891	188	£1753
1851	92		1899	182	£1298
1860	170		1905	166	£1083
1864	149	£1132	1915	115	£727
			1920	78	£500

In 1868 the court was suspended from AOF and soon after left the order becoming an independent society called:

Bethel's Benefit Society

This society rejoined the AOF in 1912 as:

Court Bethel's Benefit A.O.Foresters 9380

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 45-52, 1860, 1865, 1867-68, 1915, 1920; RRFS 1862, 1864, 1867, 1871-72, 1875-80, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1908, 1910.; Hull Ad 3/5/39, 5/5/43, 3/5/44, 14/2/ + 11/4/1850, 9/5/52 9/4 + 7/5/52, 6/5/53; Beverley G. 10/5/56)

240. Leven Free Gift SocietyFounded c1860
Fl. 1860-(sources: Beverley G. 5/12/1863; HCRO QAP 9/1 214)

LEVEN (cont.)241. Hope of Leven Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 701
Registered 1885Founded 1884
In existence 1981

Meeting place: Temperance Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1892	105		1900	182		1910	259	£1170
1894	144	£193	1905	226	£839	1938	162	£1693
1895	160	£218						

(sources: RRFS 1885, 1905, 1910; T.Bulmer, op.cit.p.451; UAOD Hull Annual Reports 1895, 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; UAOD Directory 1938)242. Enterprise Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance
Registered 1906

Founded 1905

Membership: 71 in 1910
Funds: £7 in 1910

Meeting place: Temperance Hall

(sources: RRFS 1906, 1910)LOCKINGTON243. Court Wellington, A.O.Foresters 1046

Founded 1840

In existence 1981

Dispensation 1840

Anniversary: last Friday in May

Meeting place: Rockingham Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1843	65		1860	61		1904	339	
1845	61		1865	86		1910	339	
1846	58		1870	116	£680	1915	329	£2017
1847	63		1874	141	£814	1920	291	£2017
1848	52		1891	272		1925	237	
1849	40		1895	315		1930	183	
1850	40		1900	338		1958	63	
1851	38					1984	12	
1852	36							

In 1873 the Court was suspended from the AOF and it formed an independent Foresters' Club. In 1912 the club rejoined the AOF as:

Court Wellington, A.O.Foresters 9466(sources: Court records in custody of Sec., Lockington 1980; AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1915, 1920, 1958; Beverley G. 9/5/1863, 12/5/66, 6/6/74, 22 + 29/5/75; 4/6/81; Yorks.G. 8/6/72; Parish Magazine July 1897, July 1907, Aug. 1912; T.Bulmer, op.cit.p.454)LUND244. St.Peter's Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1184

Founded 1839

In existence 1981

Registered by 1862

Anniversary: 1st Friday in June

Meeting place: Wellington Inn

19 Oddfellows Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	10		1871	128	£1324	1900	248	£4429
1845	71		1875	146	£1639	1905	271	£5138
1850	62		1880	158	£2150	1910	327	£5547
1855	62		1885	177	£2598	1912	392	£5156
1860	146		1892	195	£3318	1920	283	£5457
1865	146	£1017	1895	213	£3472	1930	285	£6921
						1977	114	£20,842

(cont.)

LUND (cont.)244. St.Peter's Lodge IOOF MU (cont.)

(sources: Lodge records, Oddfellow's Hall, Lund 1980; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-77, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900, 1907-8, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41, 1978; RRFS 1862-67, 1871-2, 1875-81, 1894, 1905, 1910; Hull Ad. 8/6/1849; Beverley G. 1856-1910 Anniversary reports; Parish Magazine July 1905, July 1907, July 1908, July 1912)

WEST LUTTON245. Central Friendly Society

Founded 1867

Anniversary: early July
Funds: £103 in 1884

(sources: HCRO QAP 9/2 49 + 50 1872; Malton M. 8/7/1876, 5/7/1884)

246. Buckrose Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 3361

Founded 1890

Registered 1892
Anniversary: mid June

Meeting place: Three Tuns Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1895	62	£109	1910	111	£742
1905	104	£552	1926	165	£1055

(sources: GUOOF Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926; RRFS 1892, 1894, 1905, 1910; Parish Magazine July 1907; HUL DDSY(2) 2/3)

MARKET WEIGHTON247. Market Weighton Friendly Society

Founded 6 Jan 1794

Registered 1794
Anniversary: 1st Monday in January

Dissolved 1831?

Year	Members
1796	120
1803	181
1831	

(sources: HCOR QDC 2/20 Rules 1809 (additions); ibid. DDMT 285/290 Draft notice of dissolution and list of members; PRO FS 1/797B Yorks 38 Rules 1794, 1829; ibid. FS 4/57 Yorks 38; Sir F.Eden, State of the Poor 1797, Vol.III p.863; Abstracts Rets. 1803; Davis, p.9; P.P.Accounts and Papers Vol.51 1837; Mkt.Weighton Church, M.I. in Chancel)

248. Maxwell Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 730

Founded 1833

Left order between 1850 + 1860

Year	Members	Meeting place:
1845	138	Griffin Inn
1850	122	

on leaving the order the Lodge became:

Independent Loyal Maxwell Lodge of Oddfellows F.S.

Registered 1892

Meeting place: 1892 Mr.Griggs Room
1910 Oddfellows Hall

Year	Members	Fund	Year	Members	Funds
1890	330		1905	342	£795
1899	337	£475	1910	273	£974

1885 350 members
(Hull News 4/7/85)

In 1912 the Lodge rejoined the IOOF MU as:

cont.

MARKET WEIGHTON (cont.)

248. (cont.)

Maxwell Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 8396

Joined IOOF MU 1912

Meeting place: Oddfellow's Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1913	321	£1090	1930	136	£1477
1920	204	£1393	1940	78	£2004

(sources: IOOF MU QR 2/7/1839, 3/10/1843; ibid. List of Lodges, 1845, 1850, 1860, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41; RRFS 1892, 1899, 1905, 1910; Beverley G. 20/6/1890, 6/6/1896)

249. Rising Oak Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1167

Founded 1836

Year Members

Meeting place: Griffin Inn

1845 102

1850 93

Left order between 1850 + 1860

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860)250. Good Advice, A.O.Foresters 565

Founded 1838

Left order 1860

Dispensation 19 March 1838

Anniversary Easter Monday

Meeting place: 1840 Cross Keys

1845 Devonshire Arms

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	66	1848	117	1851	108
1845	108	1849	112	1852	100
1846	110	1850	107	1860	151
1847	112				

The Court was suspended from the AOF in 1860 and soon afterwards formed the independent club known as:

Good Advice Foresters

Registered 1892 no.4389

Meeting place: Nags Head Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1899	204	£380	1910	165	£741
1905	164	£630	1912	167	£765

In 1912 the Foresters joined the IOOF MU and became:

Good Advice Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 9083

Meeting place: Nags Head Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1913	191	£762	1930	91	£812
1920	140	£688	1940	84	£1327

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860; RRFS 1892, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1910, 1912; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1913, 1920, 1930, 1940-41; Hull Ad. 20/4/1838; 5/4/1839; Beverley G. 8/6/1895)

251. Mutual Aid Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance

Founded 1905

Registered 1906

Meeting place: Primitive Methodist Schools

In 1910 82 members £5 funds

(sources: RRFS 1906, 1910)

MELBOURNE252. Wharton Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 2019

Founded 1839
Closed/left order between
1850 + 1860

Year	Members
1845	33
1850	30

Meeting place: Cross Keys Inn

(sources: IOOF MU QR Jan.1 1840; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845,1850,1860)253. Manor Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 558

Founded 1865

Dispensation: 31 May 1865
Registered by 1876

Meeting place: Cross Keys Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1879	100		1895	79	£221	1910	46	£90
1882	96		1900	68	£196	1926	?	
1891		£345	1905	76	£133			

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; ibid.QR Aug.1865; ibid.Almanack 1880,1883; ibid. Directory 1896,1901,1911,1926; RRFS 1876,1880,1891,1899,1905,1910)MIDDLETON ON THE WOLDS254. Court Devonshire A.O.Foresters 720

Founded 1839
Left order 1866

Dispensation: Jan.1839
Anniversary: 1st Friday in June

Meeting place: Robin Hood Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	70		1870	144	£990	1891	169	£1164
1846	71	£233	1875	168	£1269			
1850	62	£360	1880	174	£1239			
1855	85	£506	1885	157	£1230			
1860	122	£793	1889	163	£1182			
1865	129	£944						

The Court left AOF in 1866 and became:

Middleton Foresters' Friendly Society

Rejoined AOF in 1963 and is now

Court Devonshire A.O.Foresters

Still existing 1981

Meeting place: Rose and Crown

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Directory 1840,1843,1845-52, 1860, 1865-66; Hull Ad. 22/2/1839; Beverley G. 22/6/1861, 11/6/64, 12/6/75; Driffield T.22/6/1861; 18/6/70; Driffield and Buckrose Mail 17/6/1926, 20/6/29; Parish Magazine July 1897,July 1905, July 1908; July + Oct.1912)MUSTON255. Court Lumley, A.O.Foresters 796

Founded 15 Oct.1839
Left order 1870

Dispensation Oct.1839
Anniversary: 28th June

Meeting place: Cross Keys Inn

Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	28	1848	45		1852	29	
1845	45	1849	41		1860	94	
1846	46	1850	39		1865	130	
1847	46	1851	29		1870	90	£120
					1902		£893

(cont.)

MUSTON (cont.)255. Court Lumley (cont.)

When the Court seceded from the AOF in 1870 it became:

Court Lumley, Independent Order of Foresters

Still in existence 1912

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Directory 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870;
Hull Ad. 18/10/1839; Yorks.G. 19/10/1839; Scarborough M.6/7/1872;
Malton G.4/7/1874; Parish Magazine June 1885, Aug. 1886, Aug. 1889,
Aug. 1897, Aug. 1902, Aug. 1905, July + Aug. 1912)

NAFFERTON256. Nafferton United Society

Founded 1814
Closed by 1863

Anniversary: 1st Friday after 1st Monday
in July
1st Wed. in August

Meeting place: Kings Head Inn

(sources: PRO FS 1/797B Yorks 35 Rules 1814; ibid. FS 1/817 Rules 1832;
ibid. FS 4/57 35, 329; HCRO QSV/2 Reg. Beverley Easter 1832
Vol.M.247)

257. Nafferton Mutual Friendly Society

Founded 1861

(sources: Drifffield T. 19 July 1862)

258. Travellers Rest Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1461

Founded 1838

Year	Members
1845	55
1850	43
1860	26

Meeting place: Cross Keys

Closed/left order by 1873

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873; Hull Ad. 15/6/1838,
10/5/1839; Drifffield T. 29/6/1861)

259. Refuge in Sickness Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 302

Founded July 26 1841

Surance July 2 1841

Still in existence 1981

Year	Members	Funds
1863	250	
1897	416	£641

Meeting place: King's Head 1841

Shepherds' Hall 1861

Juvenile branch 62 members

Left order before 1890 but rejoined 1912?

Shepherds' Hall built 1861

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Hull Ad.30/7/1841, 14/7/1843; Yorks.G.
14/7/1855; Malton M.18/7/1863; Drifffield T.11/5 + 13/7 1861,
19/7/1862, 15/7/1865, 16/7/1870, 18/7/1874; Parish Magazine
Aug. 1889, Aug. 1890, Aug. 1892, Aug. 1897, Aug. 1902, Aug. 1905, Aug. 1908)

260. Ancient Order of Shepherdesses

Founded 1846

Registered 1866

Meeting place: Shepherds' Hall

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1861	43		1871		£110	1905	76	£110
1867	81	£91	1875	59	£225	1910	55	£76
1870	68		1899	96	£114			

This independent society joined the LOAS in 1912 as

Olive Branch Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 2703

Surance 8 July 1912

(sources: RRFS 1867, 1871, 1875-76, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905-6, 1910; Drifffield T.
15/6/1861, 24/6/1865, 11/6/1870; LOAS Register of Lodges,
Parish Magazine Aug. 1889, July 1897.)

NAFFERTON (cont.)

261. Oddfellows Founded 1861
 'Been in existence only a few weeks - 13 July 1861'
 (source: Driffield T. 13/7/1861)
262. Rising Spring Lodge, Loyal United Order of Oddfellows 13 Founded May 11 1874
 Hull District
 (source: Driffield T. 16/5/1874)
263. Swan Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance F.S. 1164 Founded 1911
 Registered 1911
 Meeting place: Band Room, Priestgate
 34 members in June 1912
 Juvenile branch Edith and Alice 830 - 25 members June 1912
 (source: RRFS 1911, Mss.Notes, Mrs. Roman , Nafferton)

NEWPORT

264. Newport Benefit Society Founded 1824
 Registered 1875 Dissolved 1887
 Meeting place: Wesleyan Schoolroom
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1876 | 232 | £484 | 1879 | 217 | £371 |
| 1877 | 229 | £476 | 1880 | 200 | £331 |
| 1878 | 223 | £468 | 1887 | 47 | £80 |
- (sources: RRFS 1876-80, 1887; Hull Ad. 6/7/1838)
265. Gaskill Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1154 Founded 1836
 Registered by 1875 Left order by 1891 Dissolved 1912
 Meeting place: 1845 Turks Head
 1860 Oddfellows Hall
 Old age: 2/6 per week for life
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1845 | 94 | | 1880 | | £607 |
| 1850 | 56 | | 1899 | 50 | £631 |
| 1860 | 60 | | 1905 | 36 | £492 |
| 1876 | 56 | £608 | 1910 | 30 | £549 |
- (sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2; RRFS 1876-77, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1909, 1910; Hull Ad. 6/7/1838; Yorks. G. 7/7/1838)
266. Court New Village, A.O.Foresters 439 Founded 1836
 Dispensation Sept.9 1836 Suspended + left order 1866
 Anniversary: last Tuesday in July Meeting place: King's Arms Inn
 Meeting night: 1st Wed. in month Service in Primitive Methodist Chapel
- | Year | Members | Year | Members | Year | Members |
|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|
| 1840 | 79 | 1848 | 58 | 1852 | 55 |
| 1845 | 60 | 1849 | 57 | 1860 | 90 |
| 1846 | 60 | 1850 | 52 | 1865 | 70 |
| 1847 | 55 | 1851 | 54 | | |
- (sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865-67; Hull Ad. 6/7/1838; 13/8/1841)
267. New Village Old Free Gift Society F1.1863-72
 (sources: HCRO QAP 9/1 221 1863; Goole T. 20/9/1872)

NEWPORT (cont.)

268. Poor Man's Friend Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows K.U. 245 Founded 1891
Registered 1893 Meeting place: Turk's Head Inn
- | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|
| 1894 | 51 | £57 |
| 1905 | 96 | £385 |
| 1910 | 94 | £498 |
- (sources: RRFS 1893-94, 1905, 1910)

NORTH NEWBALD

269. Victoria Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1289 Founded 1837
Left order by 1860 Meeting place: Tiger Inn
- | Year | Members |
|------|---------|
| 1845 | 64 |
| 1850 | 52 |
- (sources: IOOF MU QR 2/7/1839; ibid. List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860; Hull Ad. 18/7/1845)
270. Who Would Have Thought It Court, A.O.Foresters 639 Founded 1838
Dispensation August 9 1838 Closed/left order by 1845
Anniversary: 25 July Meeting place: New Inn
11 members in 1840
(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845)
271. North Newbald Benefit Society Founded April 11 1850
Still existing 1872 Meeting place: Tiger Inn
Anniversary: 1st Thursday in June
(sources: Rules 1850 in possession of L.Powell, Hull; HCRO QAP 9/2 43 1872)
272. Newbald Branch of Loyal Maxwell Lodge of Oddfellows Mkt.Weighton Founded 1883
120 members in 1892
(sources: T.Bulmer, op.cit.p.460; Beverley G.6/6/1896)

NORTON

273. Bethesda Tent, I.O.Rechabites 208 Founded June 1840
Tent moved to Malton by 1845 Closed by 1851
(sources: IOR Rechabite Magazine, Aug. 1841, Feb. 1845; IOR HMC Reports 1840-1851; Yorks.G. 27/6/1840)
274. Perseverance Tent, I.O.Rechabites 823 Founded by 1843
Closed by 1851
(sources: IOR HMC Reports June 1844-1851)
275. Lily of the Valley Lodge, Ancient Free Gardeners Founded by 1842
then N.U.O.F.Gardeners 283
- | Registered 1854 | | | Meeting place: Railway Hotel 1851
Union Hotel 1880 | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|-------|---|---------|-------|------|----------------|-------|
| Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
| 1851 | 30 | | 1880 | 147 | £913 | 1905 | 402 | £2685 |
| 1860 | 74 | | 1885 | 180 | £1206 | 1910 | 410 | £3172 |
| 1865 | 77 | £445 | 1890 | 254 | £1467 | 1912 | 415 | £3216 |
| 1868 | 75 | £500 | 1895 | 291 | £1785 | 1920 | 389 + 91 state | |
| 1875 | 89 | | 1900 | 340 | £2224 | | members | |
- (sources: NUOFG Annual Returns 1851, 1857, 1859-61, 1865, 1867-70, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1912, 1920; ibid. Journal Jan. 1902; RRFS 1862-65, 1867, 1879-80; Malton G. 18/7/1868; Hull Ad 22/7/1842)

NORTON (cont.)275. Lily of Valley Lodge (cont.)

Rose of Sharon Juvenile Gardeners Society
Registered 1891 no.4377

Founded 1890

Year	Members	Funds
1899	72	£67
1905	115	£125
1910	144	£150

Meeting place: Union Hotel

(sources: RRFS 1891, 1899, 1905, 1910)276. British Oak Lodge G.U.O.Oddfellows 538
Registered 1864 no.1568

Founded 1861

Still existing 1980 amalgamated
with other Malton Lodges

Year	Members	Funds
1866	118	£195
1868	140	£240
1877		£1155
1883	277	
1895	324	£3813
1910	455	£4878

Meeting place: Royal Oak Inn 1861
Moved to New Globe Inn at
Malton in August 1867(sources: GUOOF QR Feb.1861; ibid. Magazine Sept.1877 p.548; ibid. Almanack 1880, 1883; ibid. Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926, 1980; RRFS 1866, 1876; Malton M. 17/7/1869, 21/7/1877; Malton G. 31/8/67, 18/7/68, 16/7/69)277. Welham Star Lodge G.U.O.Oddfellows 547
Registered 1881

Founded 14 Aug.1876

Anniversary: mid-July

Meeting place: Railway Hotel 1884
Royal Oak Hotel 1895

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1877	62	£35	1894	126	£746	1905	184	£1337
1879	68		1895	119	£746	1910	174	£1477
1882	80		1900	154	£1104	1926	185	£1567
1884	84							

(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Magazine Sept.1877 p.545;
ibid. Almanack 1880, 1883; ibid. Directory 1896, 1901, 1911, 1926;
RRFS 1881, 1894, 1905, 1910; Malton M. 21/7/1877; 19/7/1884)278. Norton Friendly Sick Society
Registered by 1871

Fl.1871

1871 55 members £1136 funds

(source: RRFS 1871)PATRINGTON279. Patrington Amicable Society

Founded Oct.17th 1792

Registered 1796 163 Registered 1890 no.4341 Still existing 1910

Anniversary: 1st Monday in June

Meeting place: Hildyard Arms Inn

Old Age: over 70 2s.per week for life

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1803	93		1905	265	£2828
1891	221	£2147	1910	285	£3109
1899	269	£2587			

(sources: PRO FS 3/423 Yorks.163 Rules 1794; ibid.FS 4/57 163; Hull Central
Library Rules 1822 ; Beverley Library Rules 1840; RRFS 1876, 1880,
1890-91, 1899, 1905, 1910; T.Bulmer p.470; Davis p.7; Abstracts Rets.
1803; Hull Ad. 15/6/1838, 14/6/39; 7/6/50, 6/6/1851, 4/6/1852, 10/6/54,
28/6/62)

PATRINGTON (cont.)280. Amicable Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 1019

Founded 1913

Probably the independent Amicable Society (279 above) joined the UAOD in 1913 to form this Lodge.

1938 69 members £1637 funds

(source: UAOD Directory 1938)281. Thomas Hildyard Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1262

Founded 28 June 1837

Registered by 1865 no.2523

Closed/ left order by 1900

Meeting place: Dog and Duck Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	87		1871	103	£385	1880	112	£448
1850	80		1875	128	£378	1891	78	£433
1860	102		1877	119	£419	1894	67	£443
1865	101	£376	1879	116	£441			

(sources: IOOF MU QR April 4 1842; ibid. List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891-2, 1894-5, 1900; RRFS 1865-66, 1871, 1875-80, 1894; Hull Ad. 31/8/38, 5/7/1839, 3/7/40, 30/6/1837, 31/5/1850)

282. Court Sherwood, A.O.Foresters 777

Founded Aug.1839

Dispensation June 1839

Closed/left order by 1845

Anniversary: 4th May

Meeting place: 3 Tuns Inn

Meeting night: Alternate Thursdays

1840 38 members

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845; Hull Ad. 16/8/1839, 15/5/40)

283. Sherwood Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 467

Founded Sept.1861

Registered Nov.1863 registered as branch 1879

Renamed Easten Lodge c1895Meeting place: 3 Tuns Inn
Dog and Duck 1910

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1869	193	£300	1895	236	£648	1910	196	£954
1878	186	£563	1900	222		1938	101	£1167
1881	180	£596	1905	210	£853			

(sources: RRFS 1868, 1878, 1879, 1881, 1905, 1910; HCRO DDML/12/10; UAOD Directory 1938; Annual Reports UAOD Hull District 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; Hull Ad. 5/7/62; ECH 27/5/69;)

284. Patrington Druidesses Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 1049

Founded by 1920

1924 11 members

Closed by 1933

(sources: UAOD Hull District, Half Yearly Returns 1920, 1924, 1933)POCKLINGTON285. Royal Brotherly Society

Founded 30 Nov.1789

Registered 1795

Still existing 1827

Anniversary: 1806 1st Tues. after Midsummer Day

1812 Easter Tuesday

Meeting place: Buck Inn

(sources: PRO FS 1/805 Yorks.113 Rules 1794, 1806, Ammended 1812, 1814, 1827; ibid. FS 4/57 113; HCRO QDC/2/12-14 Rules 1803, 1806; Davis p.9; Sir F.Eden, State of the Poor 1797 Vol.III p.881)

POCKLINGTON (cont.)286. Union Society

Founded 7 July 1794

Registered 1816

Anniversary: Mon. next before New Midsummer Day

(sources: PRO FS 1/804 Yorks 106 Rules 1816; ibid.FS 4/57 Yorks 106; HCRO QSV/1 Registered Bev.Easter 1816 Vol.J.326)287. Friendly Benefit Society

Founded c1835

Still existing 1892

Anniversary: early January

Meeting place: Old Red Lion Inn 1838
Star Inn 1892(sources: Yorks.G.13/1/1838; T.Bulmer,op.cit.,p.693)288. Byron Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 876

Founded 1834

Registered 1859 no.1496

Left order by 1873. Broken up Aug.1904

Meeting place: Oddfellows' Hall 1839

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	84		1864	107	£1727	1878	101	£1327
1850	89		1866	110	£1823	1880	101	£1340
1860	92		1871		£1475	1891	63	£705
1862	105	£1556	1875	104	£1415			

Foundation stone of Hall laid 27th May 1839. Hall opened October 1839.

(sources: PRO FS 3/435 Yorks.1496 Rules 1859, 1871; RRFS 1862-64,1866,1371, 1875-76,1878-80,1891,1905; IOOF MU QR 16/4/1841, 1/10/1842; ibid. List of Lodges, 1845,1850,1860,1873; T.Bulmer,op.cit.,p.693; Hull Ad. 5/1 +13/7/1838, 25/10 + 1/11/1839; Yorks.G.25/5/1839)289. Percy Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 6452

Founded 1881

Registered 1881

Closed 1960s

Meeting place: Black Bull Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1891	44	£196	1907	241	£1242	1920	301	£2526
1894	60	£246	1910	266	£1238	1930	217	£3891
1900	149	£623	1913	417	£2099	1940	202	£5134

(sources: RRFS 1885,1896,1905,1910; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1891-2,1894-5, 1900,1907-8,1913,1920,1930,1940-41)

290. Court True Freedom, A.O.Foresters 600

Founded June 1838

Dispensation 18 June 1838

Closed/left order 1853

Registered 1851 no.872

Anniversary: 1st Tues.in June

Meeting night: alternate Thursdays

Meeting place: 1838 Merry Legs Inn
1845 Buck Inn

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	70	1847	95	1850	80
1845	85	1848	95	1851	79
1846	94	1849	75	1852	53

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840,1845-52; PRO FS 1/825 Yorks.872 Rules 1851; PP Accounts and Papers 1852 XXVIII ; Hull Ad. 29/6 + 21/9/1838)

POCKLINGTON (cont.)

291. Union Tent, I.O.Rechabites 113 Founded early 1839
Closed/left order by 1851
(sources: IOR Directory 1890 pp.11-12; ibid. Rechabite Magazine Dec.1840;
ibid. H.M.C. Reports July 1840-June 1844, Aug.1851)

292. Shepherd's Rest Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds A.U. 467 Founded 1846
Surance: Nov.9 1846
Meeting place: Star Inn
(source : LOAS Register of Lodges)

PRESTON

293. Court Rivis, A.O.Foresters 909 Founded 1840
Dispensation April 1840 Closed/left order by 1843
(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. QR May 1840)

294. T.W.Flint Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 472 Founded June 14 1862
Registered 1887 Meeting place: Druids Hall 1876

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1892	300+	£2260	1910	343	£3759
1905	320	£3626	1938	247	£2351

Druids' Hall erected 1876 at cost of £400.

(sources: RRFS 1887,1905,1910; UAOD Directory 1938; HCRO DDML 12/10;
T.Bulmer,op.cit.,p.482; Hull Ad.1476/1862)

RICCALL

295. Rhododendron Lodge, Ancient Free Gardeners Founded Feb.1838
then N.U.O.F.Gardeners 234 Left order by 1857

In 1851 34 members.

On leaving the Gardeners the Lodge became an independent society known as:

Rhododendron Friendly Society
Registered 1861

Meeting place: Greyhound Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1862	58	£340	1875	74	£426	1899	78	£721
1865	54	£383	1880	79	£549	1905	71	£729
1872	62	£417	1891	76	£698	1912	53	£532

(sources: NUOFG Annual Returns 1851,1857; RRFS 1862-66,1871-72, 1875-80,
1891,1899,1905,1907,1910,1912; Yorks.G. 3/3/1838, 2/3 + 9/11/39;
Hull Ad. 2/3/1839)

296. Lord Wenlock Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 3036 Founded 1841
Registered by 1876 no.3529

Meeting place: Drovers Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1845	36		1891	145	£1075	1913	232	£1326
1850	63		1894	154	£1073	1920	170	£1384
1860	95		1900	164	£1122	1930	126	£1556
1876	119	£484	1907	184	£1265	1940	102	£1908
1880	138	£766	1910	187	£1313			

(sources: IOOF MU QR 3 Jan.1842, ibid.List of Lodges 1845,1850,1860, 1873-75,
1877,1891-2,1894-5,1900,1907-8,1913,1920,1930,1940-41; RRFS 1876-80
1894,1905,1910; Selby Ad. 24/7/1858)

SETTRINGTON308. Shepherd's Industry in the East Lodge, L.O.A. Shepherds 259 Founded 1840

Surance: 8 Jan. 1840

Meeting place: Black's Head Inn

(source: LOAS Register of Lodges)

309. Poor Man's Friendly

Founded 1866

Registered 1866

Meeting place: Saracen's Head Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1866	23	£27	1876	20	£95
1867	28	£35	1877	20	£95
1871	21	£40	1878	17	£95
1872	18	£53			

(sources: RRFS 1866-67, 1871-2, 1876-78)SHERBURN310. Sherburn Friendly Society

F1.1803

47 members in 1803

(source: Abstracts.Rets. 1803)311. Court Langley, A.O. Foresters 784

Founded 1839

Dispensation June 1839

Expelled from order 1904

Registered by 1876

Meeting place: Pigeon Pie House

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	26		1851	63		1875	146	£373
1845	62		1852	65		1880	180	£566
1846	70		1860	95		1885	195	£793
1847	67		1863	121	£261	1890	213	£891
1848	60		1865	114		1896	257	£735
1849	69		1870	125	£361	1900	264	£887
1850	65					1904	266	£895

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1904; RRFS 1876, 1878-80; Malton M. 27/6/1863, 26/6/69; Scarborough G. 26/6/1857, 28/6/60; Driffield T. 8/7/1865)312. Dove Lodge, Ancient Free Gardeners

Founded by 1839

(source: Yorks.G. 8/6/1839)313. Sherburn Friendly Society

Founded 1861

Anniversary: late July

(sources: Malton M. 1/8/1863; Driffield T. 22/7/1865, 1/8/1868).SHIPTON THORPE314. Court Farmer's Pride, A.O. Foresters 660

Founded 1838

Dispensation Oct. 1838

Closed/left order 1851

Anniversary: 2nd Thurs. in June

Meeting place: 1840 Black Swan Inn
1845 Ship Inn

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1840	42	1847	26	1850	21
1845	27	1848	18	1851	26
1846	26	1849	16		

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52; Hull Ad. 21/6/1839)

SKIPSEA315. Teetotalers Victory Tent, I.O.Rechabites 101

Founded 1838
Closed/left order by 1851

Hall built 1839 with following inscription:

'Union Sunday School, I.O.R. Teetotalers Victory Tent M 101 in district No.9 1839'. The building was a Parochial Library in 1892

(sources: IOR Directory 1890; ibid. HMC Reports July 1840- June 1844, Aug. 1851; ibid. Rechabite Magazine Oct.1841; Hull Ad. 12/6/1840; G.Poulson, History of Holderness, 1840, Vol.1 p.456; T.Bulmer, op.cit. p.502)

316. Widows' Friend Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1705

Founded 1839
Dissolved 1848

26 members in 1845

Meeting place: Hare and Hounds Inn

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845; Hull Ad. 8/3/1839, 12/6/1840, 23/6/48)

318. Skipsea Benevolent Friendly Society
? same as Poor Man's Friend Society

Founded 1 Jan 1865

Anniversary: early July
68 members in 1892

(sources: Driffield T. 8/7/65, 10/7/75; Bulmer, op.cit. p.503)

SKIPWITH319. Skipwith Friendly Society

Founded by 1803

30 members in 1803

(source: Abstracts.Rets. 1803)

SOUTH SKIRLAUGH320. Earl of Shaftesbury Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 446

Founded 1859

Registered 1867 no.2953

Registered as branch 1879

Meeting place: Sun Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1875	98	£417	1895	157	£744	1910	208	£1429
1878	112	£537	1900	158		1938	210	£2431
1881	112	£612	1905	194	£1069			

(sources: RRFS 1868, 1875-76, 1878-79, 1881, 1905, 1910; UAOD Directory 1938; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; HCRO DDML 12/10)

SLEDMERE321. Poor Man's Friendly Society

Founded 1865

Registered 1871 Registration cancelled 1891
for failure to value

Meeting place: Triton Inn

Anniversary: last Wed.in June

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1871	84	£170	1877	95	£243	1879	117	£292
1872	88	£187	1878	99	£250	1880	122	£320
1876	83	£217						

Over 70 5s. per week. Sir Tatton Sykes subscribed c£4 a year to society 1874/75

(sources: RRFS 1871-72, 1876-80, 1890-91; PRO FS 3/443 Yorks 3274 Rules 1871; HCRO QAP 9/1 272 1867; Hull University DDSY/98/8)

SPROATLEY

322. Burton Constable Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 458
Registered as branch 1879

Founded 1861
Still existing 1979

Meeting place: Constable Arms 1861
Blue Bell Inn 1910

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1879	153	£518	1900	206		1910	212	£1255
1881	153	£559	1905	212	£928	1938	124	£1922
1895	196	£817						

(sources: RRFS 1879, 1881, 1905, 1910; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911; UAOD Directory 1938, 1979; HCRO DDML 12/10; ECH 24/6/69)

STAMFORD BRIDGE

323. Wyndham Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 2175

Founded 1840
Closed/left order by 1850

45 members in 1845

Meeting place: Bay Horse Inn

(sources: IOOF MU QR 1/9/1841, 1/10/1842; ibid. List of Lodges 1845)

324. Derwent District Friendly Society
Registered 1886 no.4283

Founded 1885

Meeting place: St.John's Room

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1891	49	£188	1902	34	£358	1907	23	£384
1899	34	£303	1905	28	£396	1910	19	£379

(sources: RRFS 1886, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1908, 1910)

STAXTON

325. Farmer's Glory Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1540

Founded 1838
Closed by 1891

Meeting place: Hare and Hounds

Year	Members	Year	Members
1850	39	1874	13
1860	28	1875	11
1873	14	1877	10

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1850, 1860, 1873-75, 1877, 1891)

see Addenda

SUTTON-ON-HULL

326. Sutton Friendly Society

F1.1834-44

(sources: HCRO PR/898 Bainton member 1834; Hull Ad.26/7 + 9/8/1844)

329. Court Victory's Pride, A.O.Foresters 3065

Founded 1858

Dispensation Oct.1858
Registered by 1862

Meeting place: Duke of York Inn 1876
Reading Room 1896

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1860	70		1875	161	£606	1900	293	£3534
1862	88	£105	1880	173	£1102	1905	300	£4307
1864	108	£131	1885	194	£1510	1910	289	£4883
1870	113	£275	1890	208	£1294	1915	280	£5100
			1896	262	£2854	1920	266	£5433
						1958	166	

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid.Directory 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958; RRFS 1862-64, 1875-80, 1905, 1910)

SUTTON-ON-HULL (cont.)

330. Hope of Sutton Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance Founded 1905
 Registered 1906 Meeting place: Wesleyan Schoolroom
 1910 70 members £2 funds.
 (sources: RRFS 1906, 1910)

THIXENDALE

331. Thixendale Free Gift Society Fl. 1871
 (source: HCRO QAP 9/2 '24 1871)

TICKTON

332. Court Ploughman's Hope, A.O. Foresters 2375 Founded 1850
 Dispensation Sept. 1850
 Registered by 1862 Meeting place: Crown and Anchor
- | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds | Year | Members | Funds |
|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 1851 | 4 | | 1875 | 76 | £319 | 1900 | 170 | £1133 |
| 1852 | 10 | | 1880 | 89 | £524 | 1905 | 202 | £1321 |
| 1860 | 42 | | 1885 | 97 | £688 | 1910 | 186 | £1647 |
| 1865 | 52 | £213 | 1890 | 120 | £812 | 1915 | 166 | £1820 |
| 1870 | 62 | £204 | 1896 | 161 | £940 | 1920 | 155 | £1972 |
| | | | | | | 1958 | 59 | |

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; ibid. Directory 1851-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1958; RRFS 1862-67, 1871-2, 1876-81, 1905, 1910.; Beverley G. 24/7/1858, 28/6/1890)

WALKINGTON

333. Court Walkington, A.O. Foresters 882 Founded 1840
 Dispensation Feb. 1840 Left order 1860
 Meeting place: Black Horse Inn
- | Year | Members | Year | Members | Year | Members |
|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|
| 1840 | 8 | 1847 | 38 | 1850 | 45 |
| 1845 | 30 | 1848 | 43 | 1851 | 49 |
| 1846 | 31 | 1849 | 46 | 1852 | 47 |

Suspended from AOF Jan. 1860 and formed independent society:

Court Walkington Free and Independent Foresters

Year	Members	Funds
1890	92	£716
1897	99	

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860; Hull Ad. 26/6/1840; 21/7/1848; Beverley G. 22/6/61, 21/6/1890; Parish Magazine July 1897, July 1905, Aug. 1907, Aug. 1908, July 1912)

WANSFORD

334. Wansford Provident Society Founded 3 April 1792
 Registered 1794 Registration cancelled 1897 Closed soon after 1875
- Anniversary: Whitsun Tuesday
 1803 78 members in 1803
- (sources: PRO FS 3/422 Yorks 105 Rules 1794, 1815; ibid. FS 4/57 Yorks 105 Letter 1897; RRFS 1876, 1880, 1891; Davis p.9)

WANSFORD (cont.)

335. Poor Man's Benevolent Friendly Society Founded 1857/1860
Registered ?
In 1875 39 members £76 funds ? or 250 + members
(sources: RRFS 1875; HCRO QAP 9/1 219 1863; Drifffield T. 8/7/1865, 23/5/74,
5/6/75; Parish Magazine July 1892, July 1905.)

WARTER

336. Prory Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows M.U. 1895 Founded 16 Aug. 1839
Left order by 1860
Meeting place: Schoolroom 1850
Year Members
1845 37
1850 37
Lodge left order by 1860 and formed:
Warter Prory Lodge, Independent Oddfellows Still existing c1910
(sources: IOOF MU QR 1 Oct. 1839; *ibid.* List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860;
Hull Ad. 30/8/1839; Beverley G. 28/6/1890; *ex.inf.* G. Noble
Pocklington Nov. 1979)

WAWNE

337. Wyndham Lodge, G.U.O.Oddfellows 835 Founded 1870
Dispensation Oct. 6. 1870
Registered by 1876
Meeting place: Schoolroom
Year Members Funds Year Members Funds Year Members Funds
1875 40 1882 55 1905 57 £802
1876 53 £98 1895 53 £550 1910 60 £911
1879 58 £194 1900 57 £699 1926 52 £1212
(sources: GUOOF Dispensation Book; *ibid.* Almanack 1880,; *ibid.* Directory
1896, 1901, 1911, 1926; RRFS 1876-80, 1891, 1905, 1910; Beverley G.
22/5/75)

WEAVERTHORPE

338. Dale Union Benefit Society Founded 1836-37
(source: Yorks.G. 1/7/1837 1st anniversary)
339. Court Sykes A.O.Foresters 606 Founded April 1839
Dispensation 24 April 1839 Closed 1870
Meeting place: Star Inn
Year Members Year Members Year Members
1840 30 1849 33 1865 14
1845 26 1850 29 1867 14
1846 35 1851 25 1868 14
1847 34 1852 24 1869 15
1848 38 1860 19
(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; *ibid.* Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865,
1867-69)

WELTON (cont.)346. Welton Court, Loyal Independent Order of Ancient Shepheresses

Founded Nov.7 1839

(source: Hull Ad. 15/11/1839)347. Court Welton, A.O.Foresters 1471Founded 1842
Left order 1900

Dispensation 1842

Registered 1883

Anniversary 1st Wed.in August 1842
Late June 1851Meeting place: Foresters Hall
Hall built 1849

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds
1843	50	1850	83	1870	123	£495
1845	62	1851	85	1878	163	£839
1846	75	1852	82	1885	148	£1139
1847	76	1860	120	1890	186	£1308
1848	86	1865	110	1896	184	£1470
1849	81			1900	180	£1632

Following suspension by AOF the society left the order and formed:

Welton Dale Friendly Society

Registered 1907

1910 172 members £2113 funds

Meeting place: Foresters Hall

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870-71, 1878, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896, 1900; RRFS 1883, 1907, 1910; T.Bulmer, op.cit., p.726; Hull Ad 4/7/1851; ECH 30/7/1874)348. Working Man's Friend Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 488

Founded 1863

Registered 1880

Meeting place: Green Dragon Inn

Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1881	29	£100	1905	140	£938
1895	113	£389	1910	143	£1173
1900	137		1938	125	£1474

(sources: RRFS 1880, 1881, 1905, 1910; UAOD Directory 1938; Annual Reports UAOD Hull 1896, 1901, 1906, 1911)WESTOW349. Free Will Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 639

Founded 1852

Surance Aug.4.1852

Meeting place: Blacksmith's Arms

Left order by 1884 when it had become:

Shepherd's Friendly Society

Rejoined LOAS in 1912 as:

Free Will Lodge, L.O.A.Shepherds 2697

Surance May 11 1912

(sources: LOAS Register of Lodges; Malton M. 14/6/1884; Beverley G. 7/6/1890)

WHELDRAKE (cont.)355. Court Wenlock AOF/ Wenlock Foresters (cont.)

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book ; AOF Directory, 1843, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890-91, 1893; RRFS 1862, 1872, 1876-77, 1880, 1895, 1899, 1905, 1910)

WILBERFOSS356. Invincible Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, M.U. 1452

Founded 29 May 1838
Closed/left order by 1860

Planned a library 1839

Meeting place: 1845 Oddfellows Arms

Members: 46 in 1845, 47 in 1850.

(sources: IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860; ibid. QR 2/7/1839, 16/4/41; Hull Ad. 8/6/1838; Yorks.G. 25/5/1839)

357. Court Agriculture, A.O.Foresters 758

Founded 1839

Dispensation June 1839

Closed 1896

Registered 1874 n.3806

Meeting place: 1840 Waggon + Horses
1876 Blacksmith's Arms

Year	Members	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	16	1850	35		1875	41	£179
1845	29	1851	34		1880	44	£192
1846	31	1852	32		1885	37	£111
1847	32	1860	37		1890	26	£94
1848	31	1865	37		1896	11	£18
1849	35	1870	37	£160			

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890, 1896; RRFS 1876-77, 1880.)

WILLERBY358. Wolfreton Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U.

Founded 1903

Registered 1903

Meeting place: Primitive Methodist
Schoolroom

Year	Members	Funds
1905	40	£40
1910	65	£98

(sources: RRFS 1903, 1905, 1910)

WITHERNSEA359. Alma Lodge, I.O.Oddfellows, K.U. 38

Founded 1859

Registered 1882

Meeting place: Alma Inn, Owthorne 1882
Alexandra Hotel, WitherNSEA 1910

Year	Members	Funds
1894	147	£905
1905	191	£1345
1910	170	£1561

(sources: RRFS 1882, 1894, 1905, 1910)

WITHERNSEA (cont.)

360. Spread Eagle Lodge, N.U.O.F.Gardeners 938 Founded 1869
 later Alexandra Lodge Moved to Roos 1885
- | Year | Members | Year | Members | Funds | Meeting place: |
|------|---------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|
| 1869 | 17 | 1875 | 15 | | Spread Eagle Inn 1869 |
| 1870 | 23 | 1880 | 13 | £19 | Alexandra Inn 1875 |

Became Albany Lodge, Roos by 1885 see 303 above.

(sources: NUOFG Annual Returns 1869-72, 1875, 1880, 1885)

361. F.J.Gardam Lodge, U.A.O.Druids 815 Founded 1892
 Registered 1896 as branch Closed by 1900

Year	Members	Funds
1895	22	£35

(sources: RRFS 1896; Annual Report UAOD Hull 1895/6, 1901)

362. Withernsea Sub-Division, Order of Sons of Temperance 1116 Founded 1904
 Registered 1905

Year	Members	Funds	Meeting place:
1905	46	£1	Leary's Cafe
1910	57	£10	

(sources: RRFS 1905, 1910)

WITHERNWICK

363. Court Alder, A.O.Foresters 731 Founded 1839
 Dispensation Jan.1839 Left order 1895
 Registered 1853 no.639
 Anniversary: 2nd Thurs.in June Meeting place: Gate Inn

Year	Members	F	Year	Members	Funds	Year	Members	Funds
1840	41		1850	33		1870	79	£547
1845	35		1851	32		1875	116	£811
1846	34		1852	31		1880	123	£1140
1847	34		1860	59		1885	133	£1480
1848	33		1862	66	£427	1890	144	£1780
1849	33		1865	74		1895	160	£1916

In 1895 the court was suspended from the AOF for not registering as a branch. It left the order and formed an independent society:

Withernwick Foresters' Society

Year	Members	Funds
1899	160	£2109
1905	154	£1976
1910	151	£1933

In 1912 rejoined AOF as

Court Alder, A.O.Foresters 9501

Year	Members	Funds
1915	138	£2117
1920	125	£1933

(sources: AOF Dispensation Book; AOF Directory 1840, 1845-52, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880-81, 1885, 1890-91, 1895, 1912, 1915, 1920; RRFS 1862-64, 1871-2, 1876-77, 1880, 1891, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1910)

APPENDIX 2: AFFILIATED ORDER FRIENDLY SOCIETIES IN THE EAST RIDING

A. Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity -
East Riding Lodges 1831-1912

Place	Lodge Name and Number	Year Opened
Howden	Wellington 515	1831
Beverley	Rising Star 603	1832
Market Weighton	Maxwell 730	1833
Great Driffield	Rising Sun 731	1833
Barmby Marsh	Honest Endeavour 863	1834
Pocklington	Byron 876	1834
Beverley	Triumph 952	1835
Elloughton	Victory 975	1835
Long Riston	Farmer's Refuge 1102	1836
Newport	Gaskill 1154	1836
Bridlington	Blossom of Hope 1163	1836
Market Weighton	Rising Oak 1167	1836
Cottingham	Honest Endeavour 1187	1836
North Dalton	Peaceful Home 1241	1837
Hessle	Vine 1249	1837
Patrington	Thomas Hildyard 1262	1837
North Frodingham	Britain's Pride 1266	1837
Kilham	Prospect of Hope 1270	1837
Brandesburton	Emanuel Hospital 1271	1837
North Newbald	Victoria 1289	1837
South Cave	Barnard [not known]	1837/38
Bridlington Quay	[no. and name unknown]	by 1838
Hornsea	Victoria 1371	1838
Wilberfoss	Invincible 1452	1838
Hedon	Good Samaritan 1454	1838
Nafferton	Traveller's Rest 1461	1838
Great Driffield	Coronation 1475	1838
Hunmanby	Mitford 1525	1838
Staxton	Farmer's Glory 1540	1838
Hemingbrough	Victoria 1542	1838
Flamborough	Robin Lythe 1582	1838
Filey	Ravine 1608	1838
Wetwang	Speed the Plough 1652	1838
Pocklington	Victoria [not known]	1838
Keyingham	Aeneas 1658	1839
Helperthorpe	Pride of the Valley 1701	1839
Skipsea	Widow's Friend 1705	1839
Aldbrough	Lily of the Valley 1796	1839
Lund	St. Peter's 1884	1839
Warter	Priory 1895	1839
Roos	Philadelphian 1963	1839
Melbourne	Warton 2019	1839
Holme/Spalding Moor	Priana [not known]	by 1840
West Cottingham	Prince Albert 2155	1840
Stamford Bridge	Wyndham 2175	1840
Leavening	Prince Albert 2494	1840
Bishop Burton	Ploughboy's Refuge 2545	1840
Beverley	Olive Branch 2572	1840
North Cave	Burton 2687	1841

IOOF MU East Riding Lodges continued

Place	Lodge Name and Number	Year Opened
Garton-on-the-Wolds	Star of Hope 2781	1841
Riccall	Lord Wenlock 3036	1841
Langtoft	Philanthropic 3264	1842
Elvington	Pride of the Village 3525	1843
North Ferriby	Duke of Cumberland 3561	1843
Little Weighton	Integrity 3687	1843
Langtoft	Admiral Nelson 4985	1861
Hutton Cranswick	St. Paul's 4989	1861
Pocklington	Percy 6452	1881
Gilberdyke	Good Shepherd 8144	1909
Fridaythorpe	Heart and Hand 8272	1911
Seaton	White Swan 8639	1912

Sources: Newspaper reports; Oddfellows Magazine; IOOF MU Quarterly Reports; IOOF MU List of Lodges 1845, 1850, 1860, 1875, 1900, + 1913

B. Ancient Order of Foresters' Courts in the East Riding

Place	Court name and no.	Dispensation date
Howden	Crow's Nest 417	20 April 1836
Newport	New Village 439	9 Sept. 1836
Holme/Spalding Moor	Alexandrina 511	Aug. 1837
Market Weighton	Good Advice 565	19 March 1838
Pocklington	True Freedom 600	18 June 1838
Kilham	Rose of the Dale 605	2 July 1838
Bubwith	Derwent 606	2 July 1838
Cottingham	Forester's Garden 617	16 July 1838
Cottingham	Forester's Staff 622	16 July 1838
South Cave	Ancient Castle Bear 624	23 July 1838
Great Driffield	Alfred the Great 627	25 July 1838
Bubwith	Victoria Coronation 628	27 July 1838
Hessle	Forester's Mount 634	4 Aug. 1838
Bridlington	Victoria Royal 637	6 Aug. 1838
North Newbald	Who Would Have Thought It 639	9 Aug. 1838
Hemingbrough	Ancient Spire 640	9 Aug. 1838
Beverley	Beverley 653	18 Sept. 1838
Shipton	Farmer's Pride 660	Oct. 1838
Leven	Bethel's Benefit 668	16 Oct. 1838
Beeford	Prickett 684	Nov. 1838
Hutton Cranswick	Hotham 719	Feb. 1839
Middleton	Devonshire 720	15 Feb. 1839
Withernwick	Alder 731	Feb. 1839
Weaverthorpe	Sykes 606	24 April 1839
Wilberfoss	Agriculture 758	June 1839
Seaton Ross	Maxwell 759	June 1839
Keyingham	Friendship 765	June 1839
Easington	Forester's Cliff 767	June 1839
Beverley	Forester's Delight 768	June 1839
Patrington	Sherwood 777	June 1839

AOF East Riding Courts continued.

Place	Court name and no.	Dispensation date
Welton	Dale 783	June 1839
Sherburn	Langley 784	June 1839
Muston	Lumley 796	Oct. 1839
Eastrington	Swan's Nest 875	Feb. 1840
Walkington	Walkington 882	1840
Preston	Rivis 909	1840
Hedon	Howroyd's Refuge 911	13 April 1840
Great Driffield	Diana 988	July 1840
Lockington	Wellington 1046	1840
Rillington	St. Quintin 1181	1841
Bishop Wilton	Sykes 1337	May 1841
Wheldrake	Wenlock 1401	Feb. 1842
Great Driffield	Olive Branch 1444	1842
Welton	Welton 1471	1842
Burton Agnes	Griffith 1563	April 1843
Burythorpe	Hope of Friendship 1574	1843
Cherry Burton	Burton 1761	3 Sept. 1844
Beverley	Bud of Hope 1805	1844
Tickton	Ploughman's Hope 2375	1850
Eastrington	Havelock 2955	1858
Sutton on Hull	Victory's Pride 3065	1858
Holme/Spalding Moor	Raglan 4565	1864
Garton on Wolds	Hope of Garton 9366	1912
Langtoft	Glencoe Hill 9372	1912

Sources: Dispensation Book, AOF, Southampton; AOF Directories.

C. Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds' Lodges in the East Riding

Place	Lodge name and no.	Surance date
Beverley	Farmers Refuge 216	1 June 1838
Howden	Jacobs' Wells 220	3 Sept. 1838
Langtoft	Shepherd's Independence 227	[Dec. 1838]
Wetwang	Shepherd's Delight 228	21 Jan. 1839
Rudston	Shepherd's Watch 231	26 Mar. 1839
Foxholes	Shepherds 237	31 May 1839
North Frodingham	Bethel 243	26 July 1839
Hunmanby	Star of Bethlehem 246	21 July 1839
Welton	Good Intent 255	26 Nov. 1839
Foston	Rising Sun 257	22 Dec. 1839
Settrington	Shepherd's Industry in the East 259	8 Jan. 1840
Beverley	David's Hope 269	7 July 1840
Driffield	Fold of Refuge 285	21 Dec. 1840
Burton Fleming	Shepherd's Care 289	19 Mar. 1841
Weaverthorpe	Prince Albert 291	28 Apr. 1841
Nafferton	Refuge in Sickness 302	2 July 1841
Bridlington	Agriculturist 312	28 Dec. 1841
Barmston	Boynton's 325	28 July 1842
Hutton Cranswick	Shepherd's Refuge 327	24 June 1842
Bainton	Shepherd's Glory 328	8 July 1842
Huggate	Pride of the Wolds 331	20 July 1842
Kilham	Shepherd's Pride of the Valley 332	3 Aug. 1842

LOAS East Riding Lodges continued.

Place	Lodge name and no.	Surance date
Fulford	Rose of England 338	15 Aug. 1842
Duggleby	Farmers' Retreat 340	28 Nov. 1842
Langton	Norcliff's Benevolence 342	14 Feb. 1843
Hemingbrough	Welcome Shepherd 438	23 Mar. 1846
Yedingham Bridge	Good Samaritan 455	19 June 1846
Pocklington	Shepherd's Rest 467	9 Nov. 1846
North Duffield	Farmer's Friend 600	16 Aug. 1851
Westow	Free Will 639	4 Aug. 1852
Ellerton	Labourer's Friend 841	3 Jan. 1858
Filey	Mitford 990	14 June 1861
Wold Newton	Shepherd's Lamb 1225	2 July 1866
Rillington	Spavin's Industry 1411	9 Oct. 1869
Beverley	United Flock 1784	20 Jan. 1877
Langton	Norcliffe's Benevolence 2695	11 May 1912*
Westow	Free Will 2697	11 May 1912*
Rillington	Spavin's Industry 2698	11 May 1912*
Nafferton	Olive Branch Shepherdeses 2703	8 July 1912 see below

Source: LOAS Register of Lodges 1826-1889, 1890-1920

* These three lodges having become independent rejoined the LOAS in 1912 to take advantage of its approved status.

D. Druids in the East Riding

LOYAL ORDER OF DRUIDS

Place	Gorsedd name and no.	Foundation date
Ganton	Gorsedd 123	1839
Bridlington	Prince Albert 128	1839
Burton Agnes	Gorsedd 130	1840
Harpham	St. Quintin 155	1842
Driffield	Gorsedd 163	1843
Flixton	-	early 1840s
Hunmanby	-	by 1849
Rillington	Independent Order?	by 1868

UNITED ANCIENT ORDER OF DRUIDS

Place	Lodge name and no.	Foundation date
South Skirlaugh	Earl of Shaftesbury 446	1859
Sproatley	Burton Constable 458	1861
Patrington	Sherwood 467	1861
Preston	T.W. Flint 472	1862
Hornsea	Victoria Perseverance 478	1862
Beverley	Victoria 479	1862
Welton	Working Man's Friend 488	1863
Burton Pidsea	Burton Pidsea 490	1863

UAOD East Riding Lodges continued.

Place	Lodge name and no.		Foundation date
Leven	Hope of Leven	701	1884
South Cave	Allen Jackson	717	1886
Bridlington above]	Prince Albert	769	1890 [see
Aldbrough	Aldbrough	802	1891
Driffield	Pride of Buckrose	811	1892
Harpham above]	St. Quintin	812	1892 [see
Withernsea	F.J.Gardham	815	1892
Wetwang	Sir Tatton Sykes	858	1896
Anlaby	Coronation	998	1911
Patrington	Amicable	1019	1913

Sources: see Appendix 1 under individual lodge

E.Gardeners in the East Riding

ORDER OF ANCIENT FREE GARDENERS

Place	Lodge name and no.	Foundation date
Riccall	Rhododendron 234	March 1838
Sherburn	Dove	1838
Seaton Ross	Rose of Roscommon	by 1839
Norton	Lily of the Valley 282	1839 (a)

[NATIONAL] UNITED ORDER OF FREE GARDENERS

Hessle	Pease's Pride 905	1868
Withernsea	Spread Eagle 938	1869 (b)
Beverley	Primrose 949	1869
Driffield	Garden of Eden 959	May 1869
South Cave	Chrysanthemum 980	Oct.1869
Howden	Daisy 985	Oct.1869
Holme on Spalding Moor	Rising Oak 999	1870
Cottingham	Gardener's Pride 1003	1870 (c)
Barmby Marsh	Derwent 1846	1898
Cottingham	United 1924	1912

(a) Norton lodge survived to be part of the NUOFG and was still in existence in 1920.

(b) Moved to Roos as Albany Lodge in 1885

(c) Changed name to C.H.Wilson Lodge in 1875/6

Sources: see Appendix 1 for details.

F. Grand United Order of Odd Fellows - East Riding Lodges

Place	Lodge name and no.	Date of Dispensation
Dunnington	Duke of Cornwall 577	1841
Norton	British Oak 538	1861
Anlaby	Village Pride 602	1863
Beverley	Brunswick 810	1864*
Leconfield	Lord Leconfield 811	1864*
Beverley	Rising Sun 812	1864*
Cottingham	Rose of Cottingham 620	1864
North Cave	Whittaker 817	1864
Melbourne	Manor 558	1865
Filey	Hollon 559	1865
Leavening	Lord Middleton 548	1865
Beverley	Royal Oak 837	1867
Beverley	Good Intent 835	1867
Wawne	Wyndham 835	1870
Etton	Lord Hotham 1261	1873
Norton	Welham Star 547	1876
West Lutton	Buckrose 3361	1890
Duggleby	Duggleby United 9247	1912
Elvington	York Derwent Valley 9260	1912

Sources: Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUOOF) Mss. Dispensation Book; Quarterly Reports; Directory and General Reference Book, 1896, 1901, 1911 and 1926

*Formerly lodges of the IOOF KU

G. Independent Order of Oddfellows- Kingston Unity - East Riding Lodges

Beverley	Brunswick	1841
	Beverlac	by 1848
Howden	Good Intent 20	1856
Beverley	Rising Sun	1859
Leconfield	Lord Leconfield	1859
Withernsea	Alma 38	1859
Howden	Industry 46	1860
Hessle	Victory 77	1863
Newport	Poor Man's Friend 245	1891
Willerby	Wolfreton 286	1903

Sources: See appendix 1 under individual lodges

H. Independent Order of Rechabites' Tents in East Riding

Place	Tent name and number	Date opened
Bridlington	Teetotallers' Refuge 97	July 1838
Skipsea	Victory 101	1838
Driffield	Good Resolution 111	1839
Pocklington	Union 113	1839
North Cave	Victoria 160	1840
Norton[Malton]	Bethesda 208	June 1840
Howden	Olive Branch 362	1841
Norton	Perserverance 828	by 1843
Beverley	Star in the East	1899
Bridlington	Lloyd 3287	1904

United Order of Female Rechabites

Bridlington	Third Effort	1842
-------------	--------------	------

Sources: R. Campbell, Rechabite History; The Rechabite Magazine; IOR Directory 1910-11, Manchester

I. Sons of Temperance Sub-Divisions in the East Riding

Bradford Grand Division
by 1880 Bubwith

Hull Grand Division

	Place	Reg.No.	Name
1893	Beverley.		Beaver
1900	Bridlington		Victoria
1901	Hedon	946	Humber
1901	Hornsea	982	Rescue
1902	Anlaby Common	808	Forward
1902	Cottingham	1028	Hope of Cottingham
1904	Bridlington	1110	Champion
1904	Withernsea	1116	Withernsea
1904	Driffield	1133	The Wolds
1905	Mkt Weighton	1160	Mutual Aid
1905	Sutton	1161	Hope of Sutton
1905	Leven	1162	Enterprise
1911	Nafferton	1164	The Swan
1911	Hessle	1277	Hessle
1913	Beeford	1610	Beeford
1913	Filey	1645	Filey

Sources: A Short History of the Chief Affiliated Friendly Societies Leeds c1880 p.102 (Bubwith); RRFs; The Pioneer 1892-1913, Hull.

APPENDIX 3 : MID-WOLDS SAMPLE AREA

In chapters 5 and 6 frequent reference is made to a mid-Wolds group of villages. This is a group of 16 townships situated between Beverley and Driffield, see fig.20, which were chosen for more detailed examination because it is for this area that many of the affiliated order records were located and consulted. In particular the collections relating to the Foresters' courts at Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Hutton Cranswick and Lockington and the Oddfellows' lodges at Lund and Hutton Cranswick. There is also considerable information on the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society, a local society which covered much of the area. In the sample area seven affiliated branches were established which still existed in 1982.

ETTON Lord Hotham Lodge, Grand United Order of Oddfellows 1261
founded 1873

HUTTON CRANSWICK Court Hotham, Ancient Order of Foresters 719
founded 1839
St.Paul's Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows,
Manchester Unity 4989, founded 1861

LECONFIELD Lord Leconfield Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows,
Kingston Unity, founded 1859, joined Grand United Order
of Oddfellows 1864

LOCKINGTON Court Wellington, Ancient Order of Foresters 1046,
founded 1840

LUND St.Peter's Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows,
Manchester Unity II84, founded 1839

MIDDLETON Court Devonshire, Ancient Order of Foresters 720,
founded 1839

This section has been appended to provide additional statistics on the settlements.

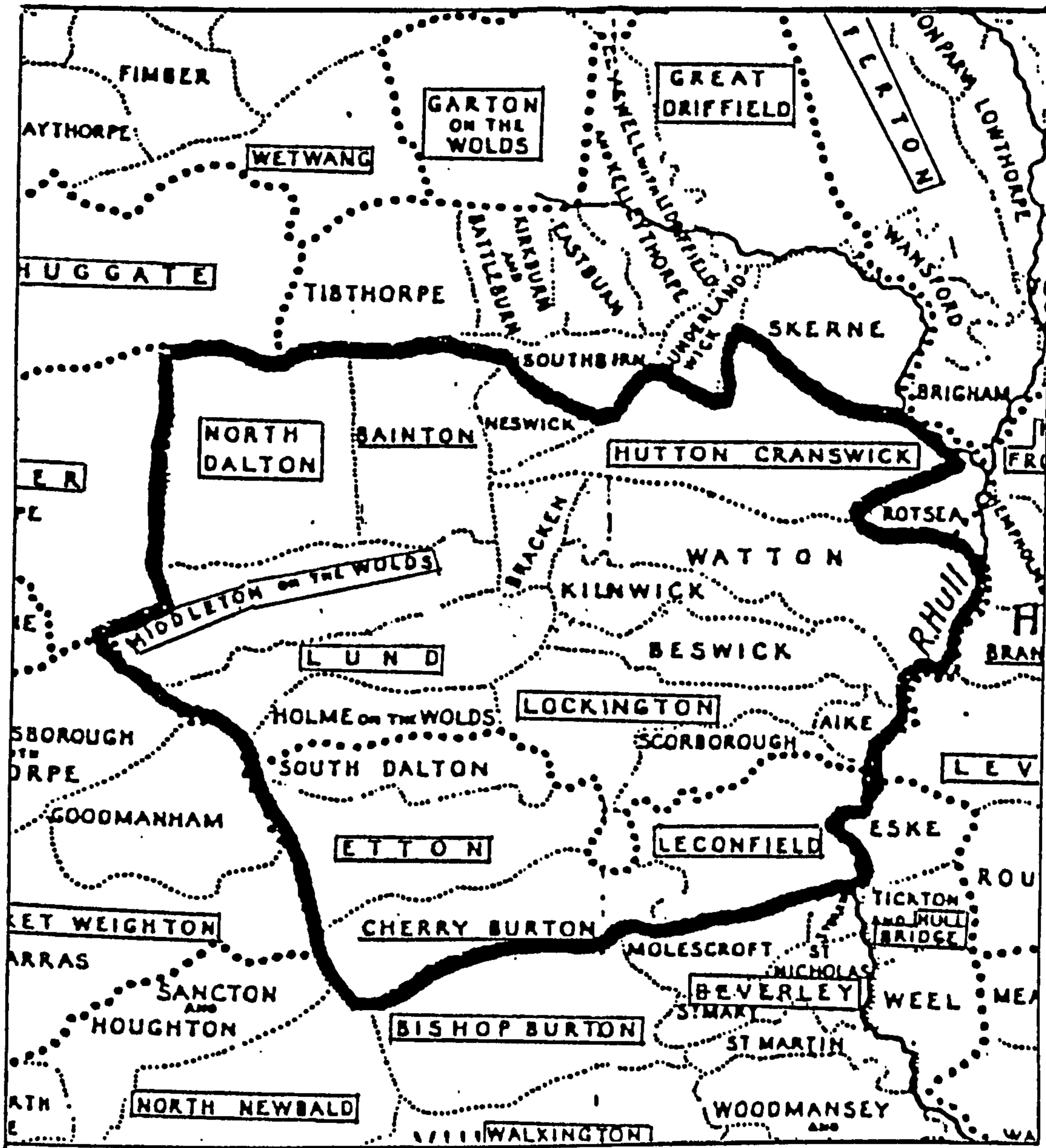
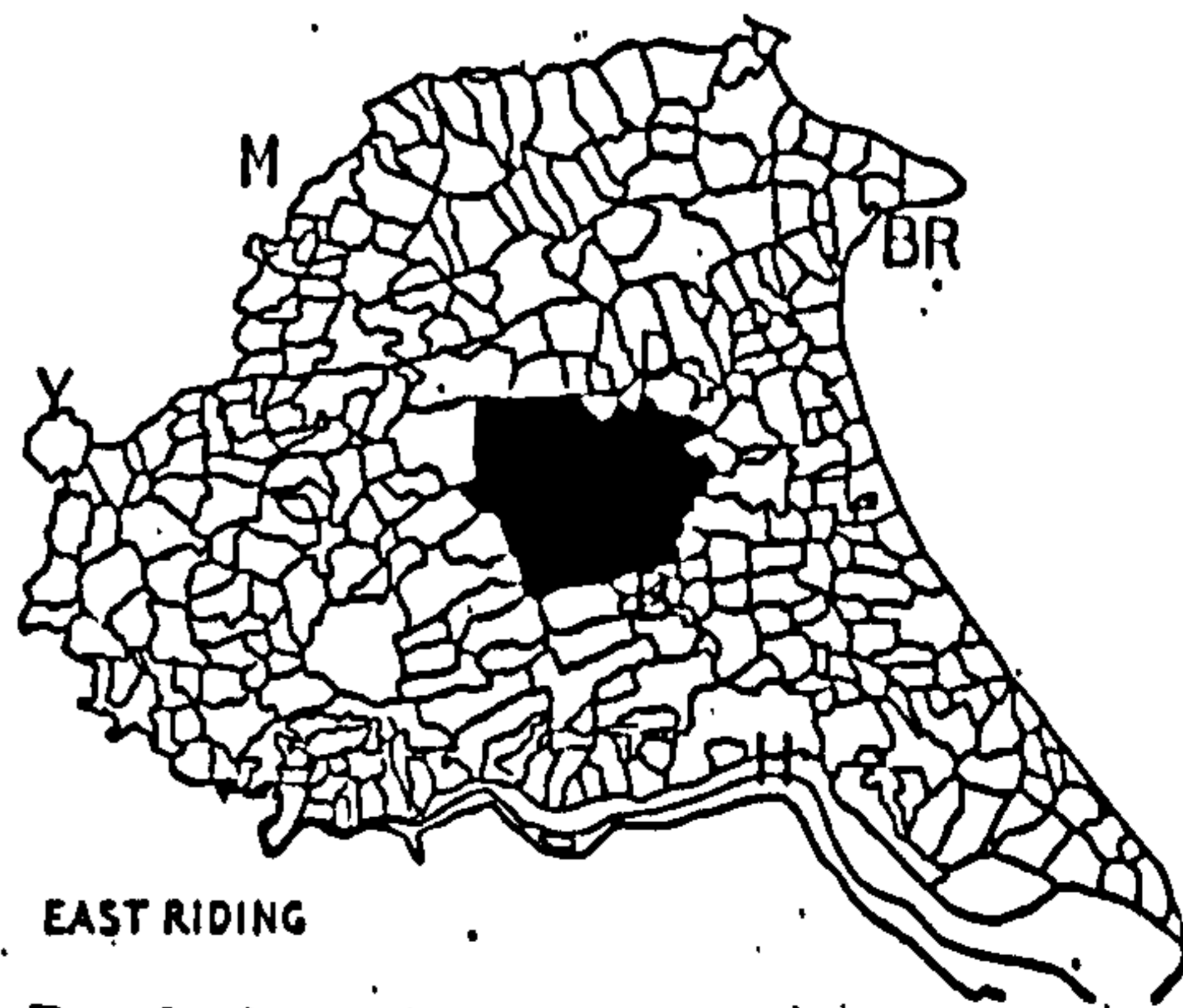


Fig. 20 Mid-Wolds Sample Area

- LUND** Places where affiliated branches successfully established
- BAINTON** Places with short lived affiliated branches



EAST RIDING

Position in East Riding

- B Beverley D Driffield
- H Hull Y York
- M Malton BR Bridlington

a. Population, friendly societies, chapels and inns

Township	Pop.1851	Friendly Soc.		Chapels 1851			Inns	
		Local	Affil.	Wes.	Prim.	Other	1851	1892
Bainton	404	0	1	1	1	0	2	0
Beswick	224	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Cherry Burton	496	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
North Dalton	499	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
South Dalton	299	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Etton	498	3	1	0	1	0	1	1
Holme-on-Wolds	153	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hutton Crans.	1180	1	3	1	2	1	6	4
Kilnwick	296	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Leconfield	362	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Lockington	631	0	1	1	2	0	1	1
Lund	503	0	1	1	1	0	2	1
Middleton	649	0	1	2	1	0	2	2
Neswick	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scorborough	90	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Watton	315	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sources: Appendix 1 above; Census returns; T.Bulmer, Directory of East Yorkshire, 1892.

b. Pattern of landownership as shown by Land Tax Returns

Township	No. of proprietors	Owner occupiers + % tax paid by	No. of proprietors paying 75% of tax
'OPEN'			
Hutton Cranswick	59	29 8%	4
Middleton-on-Wolds	38	24* 26%	?
Cherry Burton	31	11* 6%	4
Lund	24	10 11.5%	?
Lockington	23	16* 6%	3
Etton	23	9* 3.5%	4
North Dalton	19	11 20%	4
Bainton	11	6 16%	3
'CLOSED'			
Holme-on-the-Wolds	9	5 18%	2
Beswick	8	2 0.04%	1
South Dalton	5	3* 4.5%	1
Leconfield	5	1 0.001%	1
Watton	4	1* 0.5%	2
Kilnwick	3	1* 3.2%	1
Scorborough	3	0 0.0%	1
Neswick	1	0* 0.0%	1

*Not including chief resident proprietor i.e. squire/rector
Source: HCRO, Land Tax Returns 1830

Eight of the townships can be classed as more 'open' than closed and eight are 'closed'. Not surprisingly all eight open settlements had affiliated order friendly societies established while only one of the closed settlements had any sort of friendly society. Size of settlement is clearly a factor but landownership was more important. In general as with the majority of settlements in the East Riding the emphasis is on

closed rather than open settlements. South Dalton and Kilnwick were estate villages with resident squires.

c. Religious life

Religious Census 1851

Place	Total attendances (not including Sunday Scholars)								
	Anglican		Wesleyan		Primitive		Baptist		Total
'OPEN'									
Hutton Crans.	100	16%	100	16%	410	65%	20	3%	630
Middleton	125	40%	85	27%	104	33%			314
Cherry Burton	179	52%	93	27%	70	21%			342
Lund	160	49%	90	27%	80	24%			330
Lockington	150	34%	190	43%	105	24%			445
Etton	130	55%	0		108	45%			238
North Dalton	75	26%	115	40%	100	34%			290
Bainton	150	52%	80	27%	60	21%			290
Sub-total	1069	37%	753	26%	1037	36%	20	1%	2879
'CLOSED'									
Holme	44	56%	35	44%	0				79
Beswick	37	55%	0		0		30	46%	67
South Dalton	92	51%	90	49%	0				182
Leconfield	40	38%	65	62%	0				105
Watton	95	63%	20	13%	36	24%			151
Kilnwick	150	100%	0		0				150
Scorborough	-	100%	0		0				-
Neswick	[no place of worship]								
Sub-total	458	62%	210	29%	36	5%	30	4%	734
TOTAL	1527	42%	963	27%	1073	30%	50	1%	3613

Primitive Methodism 1889

Place	Members	SSS	SST	LP	CL	H
Hutton Crans.	101	103	18	7	6	320
Middleton	27	32	10	3	3	70
Cherry Burton	14	30	7	1	2	70
Lund	55	50	11	2	3	150
Lockington	30	29	9	2	2	100
Etton	36	26	9	1	2	100
N. Dalton	36				3	90
Bainton	23			1	1	70
Beswick	23			1	1	80
Watton	13			1	1	80
Kilnwick	22			1	1	60

Source: H. Woodcock Piety Among the Peasantry, London, 1889
 SSS Sunday school scholars SST Sunday school teachers LP
 Local preachers CL Class leaders H Hearers

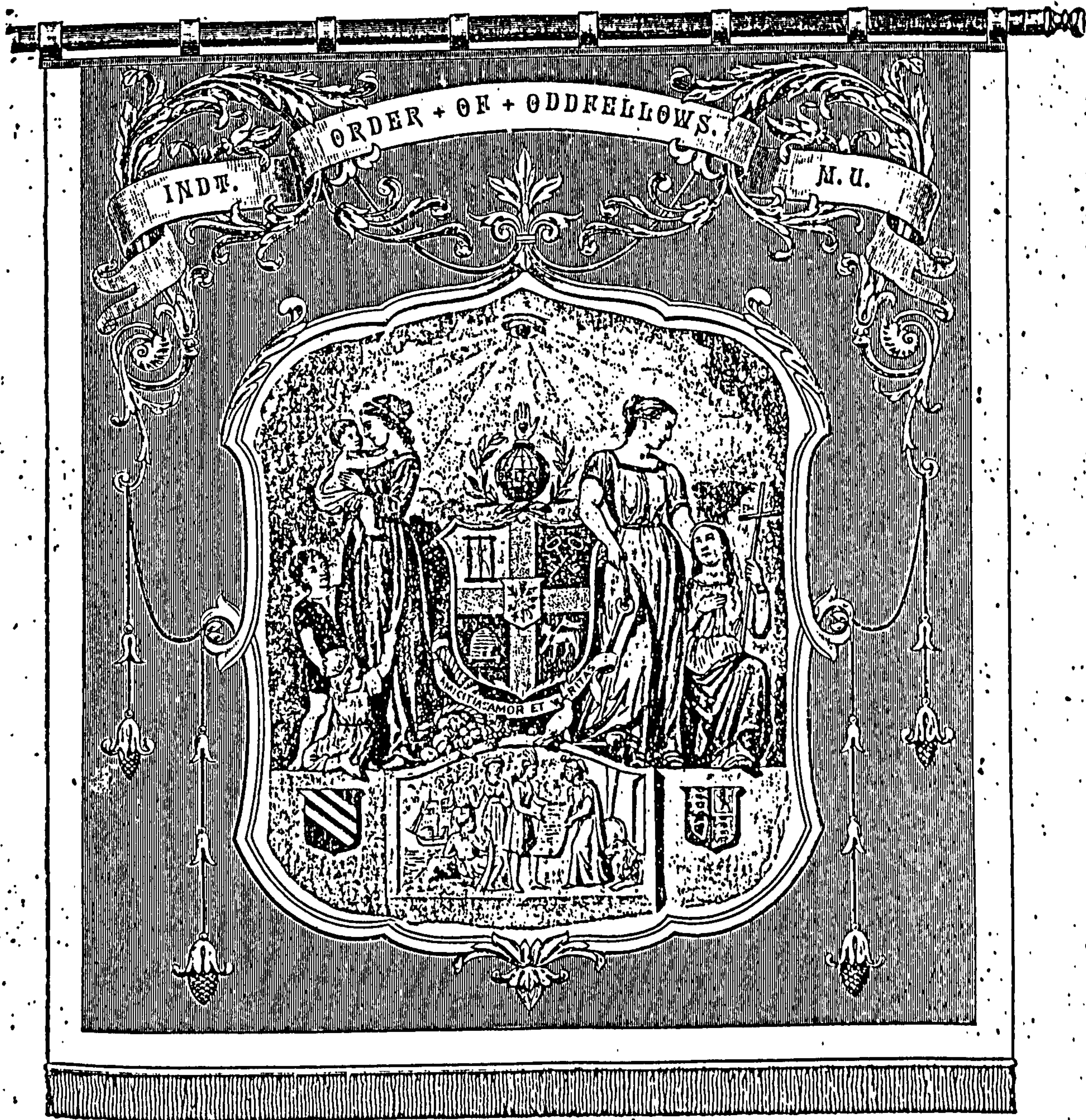


Fig. 21. : Sample Oddfellows' banner from George Tutill's catalogue 1895

APPENDIX 4 : FRIENDLY SOCIETY BANNERS

One of the principal pieces of regalia used publicly by the affiliated orders was a banner. Although trade union banners have been fully studied in recent years no attention has been paid to the equally fine and numerous friendly society banners.(1) The earliest surviving trade union banner discovered by John Gorman was made in 1821 but he also refers to an account of making a banner in 1807-9.(2) Early local friendly society banners are described and illustrated by Margaret Fuller with references to banners in use in the 1750s at Tiverton. (3) Urban friendly societies in the eighteenth century commonly had a procession from their club room to church on their feast day and as this was chiefly a recruiting exercise they publicised themselves with a banner. The banners were also paraded when the societies were involved in any public celebration. In Hull on 5 November 1788

the several Members of the Friendly, the Benevolent, Union, New Union, Brotherly, Amicable, Agreeable, Unanimous, Constitutional and other societies to the amount of fifteen hundred, preceded by their respective Banners, and accompanied with Music, paraded through the principal streets of the Town.(4)

Banners and standards were also a major item of Freemason regalia being carried in the public processions which were more common to that order in the late 18th - early 19th centuries. (5) The Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons at Beverley processed annually to the Minster from 1796 and appeared prominently in processions to celebrate the peace in May 1802, the presentation of colours to the Beverley Volunteers in September 1804, George III's Golden Jubilee in 1809, and the Coronations in 1821 and 1831. Usually banners were borrowed from Hull Lodges for the occasion although in 1831 the Lodge was presented with 'a very handsome

Royal Arch Banner' by Robert Mackenzie Beverley. (6)

Thus the affiliated orders which took elements of their ritual and regalia from both the Freemasons and the local friendly societies naturally used banners from an early date. Initially village branches borrowed banners and flags from the older established town lodges and courts for their feast day processions but minutes and accounts show that the purchase of a banner was an extravagance entered into as soon as the societies' funds and membership allowed. In 1851 Keyingham Foresters paid £2 5s for a banner and a further 15s for altering it and in 1854 Lund Oddfellows bought 'the Flag which belonged to the Manual hospital Lodge, Brandesburton'.(7) These two banners appear to have been secondhand but Beeford Foresters and Keyingham Oddfellows had banners specially made within eighteen months of their founding.(8) Newspaper reports give some details about the new banners of both affiliated branches and local societies. The banner of the Aeneas Lodge of Oddfellows at Keyingham depicted Aeneas bearing his father from the flames of Troy but that of Driffield Foresters was of green silk bearing the Foresters' Arms. At the 55th anniversary of the Etton Amicable and Friendly Society in June 1844, held at Middleton, several banners were paraded 'one of which was a splendid new one of purple silk, gold letters, and decorations'.(9) In the same year Sutton Friendly Society was presented with a new banner by Mrs. John Lee Smith:

It consists of a handsome green silk flag, bearing the ensign of the United Kingdom, in silk of crimson, blue, and white; and the following words in letters of gold: 'SUTTON FRIENDLY SOCIETY'. 'A prudent man forseeth evil - Solomon'. 'Be kindly affectionate one to another; with brotherly love - Rom. 12 and 10'. The design and execution, including ornamental characters, do credit to the workmanship of Mr. John Stone.(10)

Affiliated order banners chiefly displayed the emblem or arms of the order with the name of the branch and sometimes a biblical text. On 1 March 1859 the banner committee of the Rising Star Lodge of the IOOF MU at Beverley passed the following resolutions concerning a proposed new banner:

1. That the Rising Star Lodge No.603 Beverley District Independent Order of Odd Fellows M.U. be the inscription on the Banner
2. That the Arms of the Order be in the centre
3. That the same be made of blue silk
4. That the size be 7ft 9 by 6ft 6
5. That P[ast] V[ice] J.Loft terms be accepted to supply a banner (complete) for the sum of £8 and to supply the same by the 1st of May.(11)

The early banners appear to have been produced locally for in addition to John Stone and John Loft mentioned above, it is known that G.Story of Bridlington painted Beeford Foresters' banner and that a 'Mr.Anderson' altered the one purchased by Keyingham Foresters.(12) Later in the century the main provider of banners to the affiliated orders was George Tutill of City Road, London who was born at Howden in 1817 the son of a failed miller.(13) It would be interesting to know if Tutill began banner painting in his native East Riding.

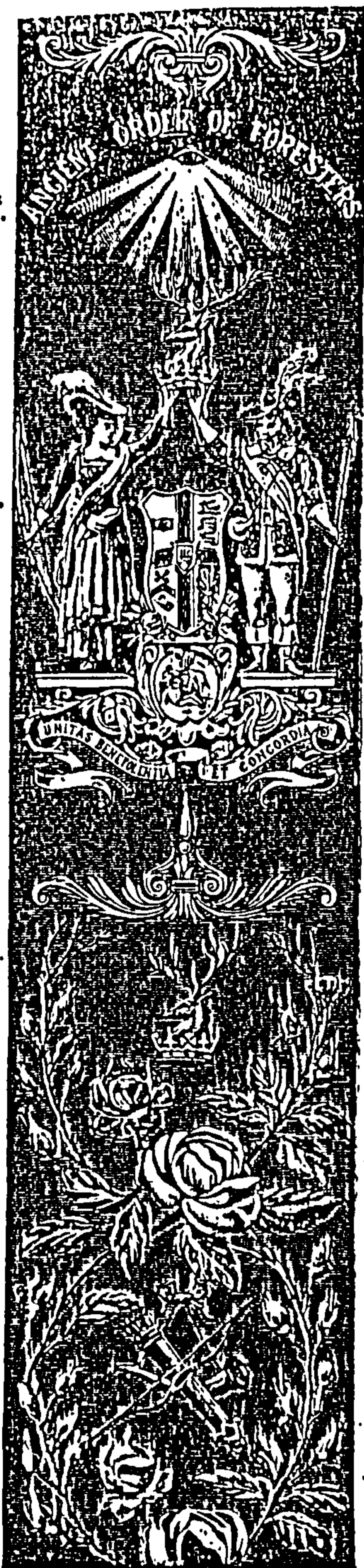
A few surviving banners have been discovered in the East Riding; there are two at Keyingham Foresters' Hall, both in poor condition, and another was recently rescued from above a public house outbuilding at Middleton-on-the Wolds (14). The Hutton Cranswick Oddfellows' and Foresters' banners shown in plate 2 above survive with the respective societies and are in good condition.(15) Rudston Shepherds' banner and that of the Staxton Friendly society are displayed in their respective village halls. (16)

- (1) John Gorman, Banner Bright, Allen Lane, London, 1973; W.A.Moyes, The Banner Book, Frank Graham, Newcastle, 1974.
- (2) John Gorman, op.cit., pp.28, 32-33.
- (3) Margaret Fuller, West Country Friendly Societies, University of Reading, 1964, pp.96-99
- (4) P.Davis, The Old Friendly Societies of Hull, A.Brown, Hull, 1926 pp.4-5.
- (5) Lodges and the chief officers had their own banners. G.Oliver, The Book of the Lodge, London, 1849, pp.91-94; *ibid.*, A Dictionary of Symbolical Masonry, London, 1853, pp.40-41; W.Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 16th edition, London, 1846, pp.82-84.
- (6) J.Moffatt, History of The Constitutional Lodge of Freemasons No.294. Beverley, [Beverley], 1968. pp.18,20-27,31. The Freemasons preceded the friendly societies in the processions but in 1809 the former objected to the Oddfellows being included in the procession. *ibid.*, pp.20-23.
- (7) Keyingham Foresters' Cash Book June 1851; Lund Oddfellows' Minute Book July 18 + 27 1854; Hutton Cranswick Foresters' borrowed regalia, including banners, from Hull and Driffield in the 1840s - Minute Book June 1840, May 1842, June 1846, June 1848, and April 1849.
- (8) Hull Advertiser, 8/5 + 26/6/1840.
- (9) *ibid.*, 12 + 26/6/1840, 21/6/1844.
- (10) *ibid.*, 26/7/1844
- (11) Rising Star lodge, IOOF MU, minute book 1856-67, Oddfellows' Hall, Beverley
- (12) Hull Advertiser, 8/5/1840; Keyingham Foresters' Cash Book
- (13) John Gorman, op.cit., pp.6-7,49-52. Gorman has estimated that 75% of all trade union banners since 1837 were made by Tutills.
- (14) The Middleton Foresters banner is now at the Welholme Galleries, Grimsby.
- (15) The Hutton Cranswick Foresters' banner was still in the Foresters' Hall there in 1980 and the Oddfellows banner in care of the Lodge secretary, Wilf.Arnell, Middle Street South, Driffield.
- (16) ex inf. J.Earnshaw, Bridlington and N.Creaser, Kilham, 1985. In 1983 there was an AOF banner hanging in the Foresters' Convalescent Home, St.John's Avenue, Bridlington.

REGALIA

FOR THE

ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS.



Sash of good quality in any colour, plain or with stripes, 6 inches wide, and 3 yards long, trimmed with 4-inch Fringe at both ends. Tied up with Registered-Sash Tie, and ornamented with the Arms of the Order in colours upon Satin, Silver Spangled Star and Tassel, complete, 11/3 each. (See Illustration). If trimmed with 3-inch Gold Bullion Fringe 1/- extra. Letters, 4d. each extra. Sash 5 1/2 yards long, 10/3; or with 3-inch Bullion Fringe, 11/3

Sashes trimmed with Gold Ornaments, 1/4 extra.



Design of the New Emblematical Sash for the Ancient Order of Foresters. It is 6 ins. wide, and 3 yards long, and is trimmed with Fringe at both ends. The New Arms of the Foresters Society is woven in it in gold wire. The other Emblems of the Order are brocaded upon the Sash in Green Silk of a different shade. Price 12/6 each. I am appointed manufacturer to the Executive Council, but **YOUR SASHES CANNOT BE OBTAINED FROM ME.** They must be ordered from the Executive Council, through the District in the usual manner.

Plain Green Sashes of excellent quality, 6 inches wide, with above design beautifully woven in coloured silks, and trimmed with best Gold Bullion Fringe, price 13/- each. Officers' Sashes in proper colours, same prices.

Fig. 22 : Ancient Order of Foresters' sashes from George Tutill's catalogue 1895

APPENDIX 5: FEMALE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

In this thesis, as in other studies of friendly societies, female clubs have received too little attention. (1) Thomas Hardy's account of the 'club-walking' of the Marlott female benefit-club at the beginning of Tess of the d'Urbervilles is probably the best known description of a friendly society feast day. He writes of the procession of the women two and two round the parish dressed in white:

In addition to the distinction of a white frock, every woman and girl carried in her right hand a peeled willow wand, and in her left a bunch of white flowers ... There were a few middle-aged and even elderly women in the train, their silver-wiry hair and wrinkled faces, scourged by time and trouble, having almost a grotesque, certainly a pathetic, appearance in such a jaunty situation ... The young girls formed, indeed, the majority of the band ... (2)

He noted that:

Its singularity lay less in the retention of a custom of walking in procession and dancing on each anniversary than in the members being solely women. In men's clubs such celebrations were, though expiring, less uncommon; but either the natural shyness of the softer sex, or a sarcastic attitude on the part of male relatives, had denuded such women's clubs as remained (if any other did) of this their glory and consummation. The club of Marlott alone lived to uphold the local Cerealia. (3)

Information on female friendly societies is more limited than for male societies but they were apparently far more numerous in the mid-nineteenth century than might be supposed by Hardy's comments on the Marlott club and they were on the increase in the early Victorian period. In Shropshire the rules of fourteen female societies were 'allowed' by the justices in Quarter Sessions in the years 1840-46. (4)

Many female societies were short-lived and the majority never registered. Of the fourteen female societies in the East Riding 1830-60 of which some mention has been found only four were registered and only two apparently still active by 1875.(5)

The earliest recorded female club in the East Riding and seemingly one of the earliest in the country was Howden Women's Friendly Society founded in 1763. (6) At Bridlington a Female Union Society opened in 1802 and at Beverley the New Sisters' Friendly Society in 1804. In Hull the Sisterly Union Society was founded in 1791, the Duchess of York and Female Fortunate Societies in 1792, and the Benevolent Female Society, the Queen Charlotte Society, the New Sisterly Society and the Princess Elizabeth Society by 1795.(7) A further ten female societies were founded in Hull by 1814.(8) Throughout the country numerous female societies were established at this period.(9)

The great expansion of the male affiliated orders from the late 1830s was matched by a proliferation of female orders, often bearing similar titles: Female Foresters, United Druidesses, United Sisters, Female Gardeners, Female Rechabites, Odd Sisters, Odd Women, Odd Females, Ancient Shepherdesses, Loyal Women, Comforting Sisters and Alfred Sisters.(10) The first female branch of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds was opened at Rochdale in 1829.(11) Links with the parent body were shortlived and there developed an independent Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdesses which was the most successful of the non-temperance female orders. Newspaper reports and an order magazine have provided the following list of East Riding courts.

SHEPHERDESSES - EAST RIDING COURTS
Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses

Place	Court	Opening Date
Hedon	Court [St.Catharine ?]	20 Feb. 1839
Welton	Court ---	7 Nov. 1839
North Frodingham	Court Bethel	9 June 1840
Pocklington	Court Shepherdeses' Rest	c 1840-41
Nafferton	Court ---	1846
Cottingham	Court Blooming Rose	by 1849

Independent Order of Shepherdeses, Pontefract District of
Heptonstall Loyal Independent Female Friendly Society

Howden Court Loyal Orphan's Refuge No.9 Mar. 1839

Sources: Hull Ad. 1/3/1839; 29/3/1839; 15/11/1839; 20/3/1840;
12/6/1840; The Ancient Shepherdeses' Quarterly Magazine, (Hull)
Vol.1, No.1, Jan.1850, pp.12-15.

The Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses was introduced into Hull in October 1838 by the officers of Leeds St.Peter's District. Within nine months five courts were opened in the area. The Welton and North Frodingham courts founded in 1839-40 were closely linked with LOAS lodges in the same village. The Welton lodge and court were opened on the same day and at North Frodingham the Shepherds and Shepherdeses held joint feast days and other celebrations.(12) By April 1848 there had been formed the Order of Ancient Shepherdeses, Kingston Unity which seems to have been set up by the Hull District of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherdeses. In January 1850 the Hull District of the Kingston Unity Order consisted of 32 Courts with 730 members.(13)

The Shepherdeses' Courts although having female elected officers seem to have all had male secretaries. (14) The secretary of Nafferton Shepherdeses for 16 years was William Laybourne, tailor who was succeeded in 1865 by Thomas Ward, wheelwright. (15) Information on the management and fortunes of the Nafferton Shepherdeses can be gleaned from reports in the Driffield Times. Founded in 1846 it had 43 members and funds of £58 in 1861 and 68 members and £117 in 1870. The benefits

allowed were 6s per week sick pay and £10 death benefit for a member or husband.(16) Feasts and funerals were the society's chief public events.

The feast in June 1861 was reported as follows:

Nafferton - On Wednesday afternoon last the members of the Ancient Order of Shepheresses, Ashton Unity, celebrated their 15th anniversary by a tea drinking at the King's Head public house. At 5 o'clock about forty of the members sat down to an excellent tea, which was provided by host Longbottom in his usual first-class style. The tables were set out with almost every kind of confectionery, and there was an abundance of various other delicacies. After tea the affairs of the society were discussed ... After spending a delightful and agreeable evening together the company separated about ten o'clock. Mr Labon, tailor, has again been appointed secretary and Mrs. Longbottom was re-appointed treasurer. When we take into consideration the great benefit arising from such a society we are much surprised that more females, especially married women do not avail themselves of the opportunity of joining such an useful club.(17)

The funeral of a Shepherdess in Driffield in May 1865 attracted much attention:

On Sunday afternoon last a rather unusual funeral scene occurred by the members of the Loyal Order of Shepheresses accompanying to the grave the remains of a departed sister, named Harriet Hope, a young woman thirty-two years of age. The members met at the house of the deceased, in Washington-street, about four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a great number of people. The usual oration was read by Mr. Labourn, of Nafferton. The emblematical hook of the society was laid on the top of the coffin, and the other part of the funeral ceremony seemed to inspire awe and respect amongst the company present. The body was borne by eight of the members in black, wearing white muslin sashes, and followed by a number of the Shepheresses wearing pink and white sashes. A great number of people followed the funeral cortege and the streets were lined with spectators.(18)

The Nafferton society was the only East Riding court to survive into the twentieth century. In 1912 the court joined the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds.(19)

The histories of the various male orders, except that of the Rechabites, do not claim any direct national connection with the various female orders although local male branches often appear to have been the promoters. At Bristol in 1872 there were lodges of Shepherdesses of the Bristol and Ashton Unities 'the second was started by some Shepherds of that unity to compete with the first, which they have done with success, there being about 440 Ashton Shepherdesses against 200 Bristolians'.(20)

Only in the case of the Female Rechabites are formal links with the corresponding male order recorded. The United Order of Female Rechabites was established by the Independent Order of Rechabites in 1836 and met with immediate success and by July 1841 there were 141 tents divided into 22 districts. At its peak in 1843 it had 369 tents divided into 45 districts. A decline set in in the mid 1840s and attendance at the orders annual conference in 1850 was 'not large' and eventually in 1856 it was amalgamated with the male Independent Order of Rechabites and from that time the few surviving female tents continued as part of the parent order.(21)

It was in industrial areas, where a higher proportion of women were regular wage-earners, that female societies flourished. The highest membership of registered societies in 1872 was recorded in Lancashire, 37 societies and 3,383 members, Durham, 28 societies and 3,141 members, Staffordshire, 26 societies and 2,284 members, Leicestershire, 25 societies and 1,689 members and Derbyshire 23 societies and 1,810 members. Many more societies existed in these counties but they were unregistered. In Lancashire the twenty lodges of the Female Secret Insurance Society in Oldham, Saddleworth, Mossley, and Staleybridge districts were wholly unregistered as were many of the lodges of the Loyal Order of United Sisters in Staffordshire. Although only six societies made returns in 1872 from the two counties of Hertfordshire

and Bedfordshire Sir George Young found female friendly societies especially numerous in their straw-plaiting areas where their success was ascribed 'to the fact that a large proportion of the female population are in receipt of good wages. The mother and all the female children earn something at the business; and the girls, as they grow up, become independent and join societies for sick pay, while yet residing under their parents' roof'.(22)

The status of independent wage-earner given to many women for the first time by the the great increase in opportunities for female employment particularly in the textile areas was the major reason for the spread of female benefit clubs and burial societies in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The second decade of the century saw the rise of Female Reform Societies and the first signs of independent trade union activity among women workers.(23) But the precedence given by Samuel Bamford to female political unions in the field of women's organisations whereby he claimed that their practice of having chairwomen, female committees and other officials 'was soon borrowed ... [by] religious and charitable institutions' rightly belongs to female friendly societies.(24)

Eden reported that the female benefit societies that he came across in the 1790s were composed of married women with the specific aim of providing for the 'lying-in-month'.(25) This provision for the time of confinement was however not common to all local societies. Howden Women's friendly society did give 5s per week for two weeks at lying-in but Etton female society had a rule :

That any member after having been in this society fifteen calendar months, who may be sick or lame during the time of pregnancy, if such illness do not proceed from pregnancy or if any lying in woman should continue ill for more than one month after child birth, she or they shall receive the weekly benefit allowed by this society.(26)

The Shepherdesses seem at first to have provided lying-in benefit but in 1850 the Hull district passed a resolution that 'no Court shall after this notice pay to any of their Members any money for Confinements' (27)

Female societies were far less financially secure than male societies for in times of hardship the woman's subscription was more likely to be withdrawn than the man's. Most of the societies founded in the 1830s-40s did not survive more than 20 or 30 years and it was not until the 1890s that women again began joining friendly societies when in response to demand the main affiliated orders began opening female branches. The Ancient Order of Foresters led the way in 1892, followed by the Manchester Unity Oddfellows in 1893 and the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds in 1895.(28) Further research is needed on female friendly societies which must be amongst the earliest of women's organisations.

(1) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.61-62; Fuller, West Country friendly societies, pp.153-155.

(2) T.Hardy, Tess of the d'Urbervilles, 1967 edition, pp.20-21; Local female friendly society anniversaries attracted the nostalgic and romantic writers on rural life. William Howitt wrote 'The most beautiful sight is that of the women's clubs ... Here the contrast between the band and banner-bearer, and the female army that follows them, gives great effect. In some places they are graced with the presence of some of the ladies of the neighbourhood who are honorary members, and their cultivated countenances and style of bearing, again contrast with the simple elegance or showy finery of the rustic train which succeeds, consisting of sedate matrons and blooming damsels of the village. Their light dresses, their gay ribbons and bonnets, their happy, and often very handsome faces, cannot be seen without feeling with Wordsworth that 'Their beauty makes you glad'. W.Howitt, The rural life of England, vol.2, 1838 quoted in E.W.Martin, Country life in England, 1967, p.196. In Banbury the members of the female friendly society marched to church 'each carrying a light staff with a hook at the end and a bunch of flowers tied with a bit of ribbon under the hook'. G.Herbert, Shoemaker's window, Chichester, 1971, p.54; see also E.P.Thompson, The making of the English working class p.460 for 1805 description of female clubs at Eyam and Sheffield.

(3) T.Hardy, Tess, p.20

(4) R.LL.Kenyon, ed., Abstract of the orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, vol.4, 1840-89. The rules of some 80 societies altogether were allowed by Shropshire magistrates in the years 1840-46.

(5) see under Beverley, Bridlington, Bubwith, Etton, North Frodingham,

Hedon, Howden, Nafferton, and Welton in appendix 1.; In 1872 the registrar received returns from 283 female societies with a membership of 27,107 spread through 35 counties, and it was calculated that a further 177 societies failed to make returns. Fourth report of the Friendly Societies' Commission, pp.cxlii-cxliii

(6) PRO FS/1/801 Yorks 67; FS 4/57; In 1803 it had 40 members and was still in existence in 1849. Hull Advertiser 1/6/1849. Howden Friendly Society of Women, which might be the same society, had 95 members and funds of £269 in 1875, RRFS1875.

(7) F.Eden, The state of the poor, vol.3, 1797, pp.843-844. In 1795 the three oldest female societies had a combined membership of 154, *ibid.* p.843.

(8) P.Davis, The old friendly societies of Hull, pp.13-16

(9) Gosden, Friendly societies, pp.61-62; Fuller, pp.153-155.

(10) J.F.Wilkinson, Mutual thrift, p.129

(11) E.Crew, Centenary souvenir, p.74

(12) Hull Advertiser, 15/11/1839; 4/12/1840; 7/5/1841.

(13) Ancient Shepherdesses' quarterly magazine, Vol.1, No.1, Jan.1850, p.14. There were courts as far afield as Doncaster and Knaresborough in the Hull District.

(14) *ibid.*, pp.11-12; Many female societies had men for their chief officers. Bradford Female Society, founded in 1800, which had 102 members and £1237 in 1872, had as secretary for many years a Mr.Blackburn who reported 'that the members take no part in the management, and nearly all is left to him'. Fourth report of the friendly societies' commission, pp.cxlv-cxlvi; similarly the Sheffield Female Benefit Society, founded in 1795, with 121 members and £1425 funds in 1872, was 'entirely managed by women with the exception of the offices of secretary and beadle ... the members take very little interest in the management of the society', *ibid.*, p.cxlvi; Ripponden Female Society which existed from 1802 until soon after 1876 had female officers and committee but male trustees and clerks. J.H.Priestley, 'Ripponden Female Society' Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1943, pp.1-13.

(15) Driffield Times, 5 + 12/8/1865.

(16) *ibid.*, 15/6/1861, 11/6/1870

(17) *ibid.*, 15/6/1861

(18) *ibid.*, 27/5/1865

(19) E.Crew, Centenary souvenir, pp.73-74; LOAS Register of lodges.

(20) Fourth report, p.cxliii

(21) R.Campbell, Rechabite history, pp.219-232; it was not until 1889 however that there were female representatives at the IOR High Movable Conference, *ibid.* p.359.

(22) Fourth report, p.cxliv

(23) E.P.Thompson, The making of the English working class, pp.452-454

(24) *ibid.*, p.454 quoting S.Bamford, Passages in the life of a radical, 1893 edn., pp.141-2

(25) Gosden, Friendly societies, p.62

(26) Etton Female Society Rules 1841 PRO FS 1/817 Yorks 328; Rule 39 of Ripponden Female Society specifically stated that: 'No member to be allowed benefit whilst in a state of pregnancy, except such member produce a certificate from an apothecary or surgeon, stating that the disorder is caused thereby, to the satisfaction of the stewardesses and committee; and that no member shall receive any benefit within one month of her accouchment.' J.H.Priestley, p.8; Howden Womens' Friendly Society rules 1831 PRO FS/1/801 York 67

(27) Ancient Shepherdesses quarterly magazine, Jan.1850 p.11

(28) W.G.Cooper, The Ancient Order of Foresters' Friendly Society 1834-1984 p.22; R.W.Moffrey 'The rise and progress of the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Oddfellows 1810-1904' p.88; D.H.Hague, LOAS historical sketch, p.8