Paternalism, community and corporate culture: a study of the Derby headquarters of the Midland Railway Company and its workforce, 1840-1900

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Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture:
A Study of the Derby Headquarters of the
Midland Railway Company and its Workforce,
1840–1900.

by

George Edwin Revill

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology.

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This thesis focuses on Litchurch, the railway suburb of Derby, the headquarters of the Midland Railway Company and its workforce, during the period 1840-1900. It examines the consequences of factory paternalism and company loyalty for the construction of 'community', exploring the connections between work, family, and wider social and political life.

It begins by looking at Derby as a county town where an early alliance between Whigs and Liberals resulted in the political dominance of the town by a group of Liberal-radical textile manufacturers as a form of extended factory village. There is then a discussion of railway paternalism which investigates the many differences between the family firm and the corporate railway company. The relationship between the railways and the state is examined, through the twin theorization of the railway within the state— intrinsic to national integrity and as a state in microcosm— a form of space management derived from military and civil government. The role of Derby as headquarters of the M.R.is then considered: its decision making and service function; the technological mix of productive techniques; and the distinctive relationship between public and private space.

A model of company loyalty based on the experience of the physical and organizational space of the railway company is developed through the notions of the career and the appropriation to the self of organizational space, the 'bailiwick'. The spatial and social structure of Litchurch is examined and its marriage and residence patterns. In the discussion of social institutions, churches, recreation and self-help, the tensions are explored between vertical integration and horizontal stratification which are intrinsic to corporate culture. The extent and limits of collective action in terms of local and national consciousness are then considered. A model of community is then proposed, founded on the routine practices of everyday life, which recognises the multiplicity of motivations and experiences subsumed within the symbolic affirmations of collective solidarity. It concludes with an examination
of the antagonism between the county town of Derby, with its history and expectations of paternal intervention, and the corporate Midland Railway, which was economically, socially and politically independent of local systems.

Acknowledgements.

I wish to thank Professor R. Butlin and Professor Emeritus R. Lawton for their unfailing help and guidance in the preparation of this thesis. I would also like to thank the former M.R. railwaymen and their families who have willingly shared with me their experiences of railway life and work.
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<td>A.S.E.</td>
<td>Amalgamated Society of Engineers.</td>
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<td>A.S.R.S</td>
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<td>B.&amp; D.J.R.</td>
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<td>I.L.P.</td>
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<td>L.Q.</td>
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<td>M.C.R.</td>
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<td>M.P.</td>
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<td>N.U.R.</td>
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Introduction

This thesis was written with a number of themes in mind, though two perhaps more than others most clearly suggested the substantive directions for research. Firstly, this research was undertaken after reading Patrick Joyce's book 'Work, Society and Politics'. I was particularly interested in his ideas of nineteenth-century factory culture, especially with the way in which the customs and social life of the factory infused social, family and political life outside the workplace. Secondly, there was an interest in a current area of concern in human geography, namely with the mechanisms which structure human behaviour in the geography of everyday and lifetime trajectories. Given a focus on urban industrial life in the later nineteenth century, the concept of factory paternalism came under consideration as an important phenomenon informing the organization of industrial life both at the local level through individual philanthropy and at the national level through the ethos of one nation social co-operation and harmony. Several reasons relating to these initial concerns informed the decision to study the railway industry and Derby in particular. Company loyalty has long been believed a strong and enduring phenomenon on British railways. Railwaymen were believed to be archetypally 'respectable citizens' and to carry their role and responsibilities as railwaymen with the connotations of sobriety, thrift and company identification into wider family and social relationships. Derby was the Headquarters of the Midland Railway Company and by 1891 employed about 10,000 people in the town. However unlike many other railway centres, Derby was far from being a single industry town and its industrialization dates back into the early eighteenth century. Derby therefore presents an interesting environment in which to explore the ideas of company identity and occupational community set out by Joyce, in a situation where loyalties had to be maintained across the competitive terrain of an industrial county town rather than within a clearly defined company village. British railway companies themselves provide an interesting area to examine the concept of paternalism in nineteenth-century Britain, for they bridged earlier and later forms of paternalism by combining the need to train a new workforce within a mid-Victorian social environment.
which emphasized co-operation and self-help. Though railway companies have often been described as paternal employers, the corporate organization of the railway industry set it apart from the form of paternalism described by Joyce for the textile industry, and therefore a study of a particular railway company has enabled an exploration of this complex relationship.

A number of theoretical influences must be acknowledged which inform the structure of the thesis. It has been written in the wake of a renewed interest in regional geography. No attempt, however, has been made to delimit the physical extent of regional systems but rather stress has been given to the idea of a new regional geography proposed by Derek Gregory in 'Ideology, Science and Human Geography'. This is a contextual regionalism which recognizes the inseparability of economic, social, cultural and political realms, operating to create the distinct life experience for groups and individuals in a specific locality. For this reason this thesis endeavours to explore the way in which evolving local, regional and national economic, social and political systems intersect within Derby's community of railway workers to form a distinctive local social milieu. The format of 'community study' was chosen because it allows examination of the various spheres of existence in relation to one another within a particular place. It was also selected because this form of study facilitates the investigation of many forms of historical evidence from company records, census material, newspaper evidence, Government Reports, oral and written accounts, visual and literary images, and therefore creates the possibility of using a variety of historical material in a form of cross-contextualization. The approach to historical evidence has been influenced by work in cultural anthropology, particularly that of Geertz and Darnton, which implies that all phenomena are culturally mediated: that for example, railway company employment records tell us qualitatively as much about labour relations within the industry through their production as part of a comprehensive form of information control as their numerical content does about wages, discipline and career possibilities available within a large scale organization.

The thesis has been undertaken in the light of the recent interest in geography for textual strategy as a major creative force in a 'post-
positive' human geography. Though I would not by any means wish to claim for this study a location at the cutting edge of the geographical 'avant-garde', there are a number of features both in its overall structure and form of writing which need explanation. The spatial scale of various chapters have been carefully chosen in order to experiment with a non-traditional style of writing regional geography. After placing the town of Derby in its regional context, chapter two presents a broad view of employer-employee relationships in the British railway industry and examines the position of the M.R. within the evolving geography of the British railway network. Chapter three focuses down on the place of Derby as part of the M.R. system and both chapters two and three are used to contextualize chapter four. In chapter four the scale of resolution is increased to its most detailed, in an examination of the situation of the individual railway worker within the Midland system. This is used as a basis to move outside the workplace and look at the railway household in the Derby suburb of Litchurch. The spatial scale then increases into chapter eight, which considers the local experience of regional and national political and labour organization, this is in order to mirror chapter two from the perspective of the employee. The conclusion juxtaposes a theoretical consideration of community and company loyalty in the railway industry with an empirical section. It returns to a middle level of resolution and looks at the relationship between Midland Railway Company and the town of Derby in order to address some of the themes raised in chapter one.

There is no theoretical introduction or extended explanation of methodology, but a conscious attempt has been made to try not to privilege either theory or empirical evidence, rather to weave both together in a form of narrative which juxtaposes, for example, oral evidence and social theory without attempting to set one as more or less 'real' than the other. In 'The Iconography of Landscape' Daniels and Cosgrove, following Geertz, demonstrate the technique of 'thick description' as a means of accomplishing these aims. This is founded on the twin foci of 'text' and 'context' as a route to understanding social phenomena as a form of text interpretation. The hermeneutic philosophy of Paul Ricoeur endorses this approach to understanding which he claims is founded on the conjoined tasks of philology - the historical
Introduction

genealogy of meaning and exegesis - the explication of meaning within a specific structured setting. 

To a method of human understanding based on the concepts of text interpretation Riceour adds the role of narrative in unfolding human experience. He claims that as social science reduces its object of study to a set of binary oppositions so it misses the most important aspect which directs the qualitative experience of all life events, that of precedence-consequence-subsequence and that any attempt at understanding must set human activity above all within the context of narrative. For this reason the study has been conceived as a set of interrelated narratives which link the industrialization of Derby: to the expansion of the Midland Railway in its competition for territory and traffic within a cyclical economy; to the development of the Derby suburb of Litchurch; to the careers of men and their families creating a life for themselves within a new urban district and a new industry: and to individual incidents in work family and social life which have crossed the archival silence in the form of anecdotes, family stories and urban folk tales. One must not forget the 'meta-narrative' which exists in intimate relation with those written here, for this is after all a narrative written in 1989 as part of life trajectory of its author. Perhaps its most important role as a Ph.D. thesis is as a vehicle for self-discovery and personal development rather than for its contribution to the body of geographical knowledge.

I have family ties in Derby, and a familiarity with the town from shopping trips and visiting relatives at an early age has made it very difficult for me to gain intellectual distance from the subject matter. During this research an intimate knowledge of place has been far more of a hindrance than a help and as part of the end result I find my unreflected and longstanding affection for the town quite gone. During the research I have come into contact with both contemporary branches of the family of whom I had no knowledge previously and found evidence of historically distant 'kin' living and working for the Midland Railway in Litchurch during the nineteenth century. One such individual, who I only recently discovered was Tom Cash, a top link loco driver for the M.R. during the 1880s whose habit was to bring a toy for each of his seven children after a lucrative overnight trip to Bournemouth. After six such
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journeys over a period of eighteen months he was taken ill and died of peritonitis at the age of 43, leaving his wife and children without any means of support. He was deemed to have forfeited his right to any compensation because he had failed to report an accident several years previously which the M.R. doctors said had led eventually to his untimely demise. This tale is part of my mother's archive of family stories and is told from the perspective of the youngest of the seven children, a girl who became my great grandmother, and the only child who did not receive a present from her father. The family was split, some children went to the railway servants' orphanage, some were farmed out amongst other relatives who were well-to-do railway clerical officers; several (including my great grandmother) stayed with their mother. She opened a small corner shop in Rose Hill and sewed collars on to shirts until the early hours for the railway tailors, to earn enough to maintain her remaining family.

This experience of the vicissitudes of industrial life now nearly a century old, forms an important component in the nexus of sentiment which helps to create a common sense of history, identity and belonging within the family. If 'community' requires a sense of the past in order to be an effective cohesive force, then this study of the railway community of Litchurch inadvertently perpetuates its very object of study; by deconstructing its folk tales, it only reworks them into a different sort of narrative. Given the apparent inevitability of this situation the thesis is written as a piece of creative writing which one wishes to be convincing within its own terms rather than just for the way it appeals to an unrecoverable past reality. For this reason as much as any other, I have tried to combine the theoretical, methodological and empirical evidence in order to clear the stage for a geographer-narrator whose most earnest wish is to tell a good story.
Introduction

Notes.

4, S. Daniels and D. Cosgrove, eds. The Iconography of Landscape. (Cambridge, 1988), chapter 1.
6, Ibid. chapter 11.
Chapter 1

Derby, a Manufacturing County Town

When Derby railway station opened in 1839, the town was already no stranger to manufacturing industry. Many workshops, such as those at Wolverton and Crewe were established on greenfield sites amongst rural villages and hamlets. In contrast, Derby was not only a large town, with a total population of 32,741 in 1841 but also the county town of Derbyshire, combining the social and political institutions which befit such status with an economic base in trade and manufacture.

Derby is situated at the boundary between highland and lowland zones. From here, the low lying Midland Plain stretches eastwards into Nottinghamshire, southwards into Warwickshire and Worcestershire and westwards into Staffordshire and Shropshire. Whilst to the north the ground rises to the region of limestone hills known as the Peak District, which form the southern part of the Pennines. Derby is consequently surrounded by a diverse assortment of agricultural regions which also contain a number of important mineral resources with a long history of exploitation. Derby forms a natural route centre, it is bisected by a land-based routeway of great antiquity which skirts the hills from west to east, whilst the River Derwent flows south to the Trent, facilitating communication between the county's upland, pastoral, mining and industrial districts and the lowlands, Nottingham to the east and (via the Soar southwards) towards Leicester, (see figure 1.1). The river Trent formed a vital export route through the port of Hull for Derbyshire produce during the period before the railways, whilst the canal system based on the Trent and Mersey provided an interregional network from the 1780's.

The town's role as administrative headquarters of the county and its natural position as a route centre linking together the variously endowed regions of Derbyshire, combined to give the town a privileged situation to develop as a mercantile town which from medieval times, formed a vital node in the economic functioning of Derbyshire, connecting arable and pastoral, lowland and upland, and created a
The Location of Derby
Chapter 1

distinct subsystem within the functioning of the East Midlands economy. Camden, in his description of Derby in 1607, portrays town trade in this way, saying that: 'The wealth of this town arises entirely from buying up corn and retailing it to the people of the uplands and almost all the inhabitants are forestallers of this sort'. Increasing industrialization of the East Midlands countryside, evident in contemporary developments of textile industries and the increasing exploitation of the region's mineral wealth, only worked to intensify Derby's position and by the end of the century the town had developed an established economy based on the processing and distribution of local industrial raw materials.

By the first half of the nineteenth century the processing of lead from the Peak District, and its complementary industries of colour manufacture and paint-making were established in the town. These industries combined upland mineral resources with those of the southern part of the county, as gypsum was used to make plaster and other wall finishes. Iron smelting and pottery and brick manufacture related to the medieval forest area directly north and the exposed coalfield to the east of the town gave the town a basis in these trades, particularly iron-rolling for the domestic nail making industry. The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw the development of a number of iron foundries producing specialist castings in Derby. As the nail-making industry can be interpreted as a relict feature of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Derbyshire iron trade, Derby's ironfounding and casting industry can be linked with the transformation of the Notts. and Derbys. coalfield, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, where difficult communications until the coming of the railways, resulted in many coal-iron masters concentrating on high value products, manufacturing the engineering infrastructure for an economy based on coal and iron rather than attempting to compete as primary iron producers themselves.

The town's principal industry at the coming of the railways was, however, that of textile manufacture: out of a total population of 32,741 in 1841, the factory textile industry alone employed 3,023, whilst all the mineral and metallurgical processing industries combined employed about 1,461. The development of the town as a textile
manufacturer dates from the translation of the hosiery industry to the East Midlands from London during the late seventeenth century. The relative contribution to East Midlands hosiery production of each of the three counties can be discerned from the number of merchant hosiers in each of the three county towns; by 1794, Nottingham, had 199, Leicester had 85 firms with Derby in fourth place with just 13.7

The town of Derby may appear only a secondary centre on the western fringe of the East Midlands hierarchy of merchants and bag hosiers who were responsible for putting out work to the domestic industry of rural frame shops centred on Nottingham and Leicester. However, the town's position in the regional system and its importance, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, rests on its early dominance of power spinning, particularly of silk thread, resulting in Derby becoming the principal centre for the silk branch of the framework knitting industry in the region. The first attempt to spin silk by power-driven machinery was made at Derby by Thomas Cotchet, at a water-powered factory by the River Derwent in 1702. In spite of the failure of this venture in 1718-21, a London silk merchant—Thomas Lombe—built a much larger factory nearby on an island in the river just to the north of the town centre, driven by a waterwheel designed by a local engineer, George Sorocold. Lombe's mill was the first successful power-driven silk factory in Great Britain and the model, not only for other silk factories but also for the water-powered cotton mills established in the East Midlands during the last three decades of the eighteenth century.

In the early nineteenth century the Derby silk industry diversified into the production of webs and tapes. By 1838, the factory silk industry of Derby employed 3,004 hands in 17 mills, driven almost exclusively by steam power. During the water-power phase of the industry in the town, mills tended to concentrate in two locations. These were either on the Derwent, site of Lombe's original factory, where sites were limited due to competition from other industries such as iron- and lead-rolling; or along the course of the Markeaton Brook. This stream entered from the west and bisected the medieval core of the town, flowing into the Derwent at the Morledge. Many mills, factories and workshops were located along its course and much of the town's outward
expansion in the period between the late eighteenth century and the coming of the railways was in this direction. 9

In 1771, the Derwent Valley north of Derby became the birthplace of a new textile industry: the factory spinning of cotton yarn when Richard Arkwright moved to Cromford in the Derwent Valley, 12 miles north of Derby, to set up the first water-powered cotton-spinning mill. An early partnership between Arkwright and Jedediah Strutt was dissolved in 1781 leaving Strutt to concentrate on his own cotton spinning business, opening mills at Belper and Milford, six miles north of Derby. Jedediah Strutt and his sons expanded their business and by 1830 they employed 2,700. Derby itself had two cotton mills. Strutts' 1793 mill took power from the Markeaton Brook within the quarter of the town associated with silk factories, reflecting Strutt's early association with the trade in the town. Derby's first cotton mill belonging to Thomas Evans, followed the typical Derwent Valley form and combined a rural water powered mill with a factory village including schools, shop and church, housing 1,170 people. 10 The introduction of steam-power to cotton-spinning brought the end of expansion to Derwent Valley cotton spinning. The Evans' and Strutts' mills were, however, in a better position to stave off competition than more remote Derbyshire mills and both continued to play a significant part in the local economy. 11

By 1839 the town had already undergone over one hundred years of industrialization and had been the venue for pioneering ventures using new technologies and forms of industrial organization, and now had a manufacturing base in metals and textiles. A traditional viewpoint considers that the earlier phases of the Industrial Revolution favoured the fortunes of the countryside at the expense of town manufacture. This position can perhaps be challenged when one vacates the 'thickening countryside' type of industrial landscape represented by single trade proto-industrial workshop regions (exemplified by Yorkshire woollen manufacture and Black Country ironworking) and turns instead to provincial market centres such as Derby. These served to facilitate the functioning of a number of basically separate economic systems by playing an integrating role of mediation and exchange between the production of diverse if neighbouring geographies. 12 The town of Derby fulfilled this role in a number of ways. During the eighteenth century
the town developed a small but significant resource base in engineering technology which assisted in the development of a number of industries. The early promotion of engineering technology was generated by lead-mining which needed machinery to remove water from mines and crush ore. The requirement for hydrological engineering to drive corn mills, tilt hammers, slitting mills and pumping engines is evident by the residence in Derby from 1684 of George Sorocold. Sorocold gained a wide reputation in the late seventeenth century, building waterworks in many large towns and cities including London and Bristol. In the eighteenth century he was responsible for applying lead-mining and corn-milling techniques to Derby’s new industries, textiles and iron rolling. Until the turn of the nineteenth century the lead industry was better able to support technical innovation because of its financial strength, and consequently funded technological development which benefited nascent and poorly developed industries such as textiles, and coal mining.

The development of light engineering in Derby may be traced to the legacy of Sorocold. In the production of factory textile machinery which involves the construction of intricate machinery with a large number of more or less interchangeable parts, cogs, wheels and levers, frame smithing which would have existed in Derby by 1702 and clock-making technology are inextricably intertwined. Sorocold came from an area of Lancashire renowned for its clock-making and it is also possible that he used the contacts he made all over the country building water-works to bring talent to Derby. Derby developed an important clock-making industry during the eighteenth century, John Whitehurst and Sons, established in 1736 gained a national reputation. The amalgamation of clock-making, frame-shop and foundry techniques, produced the machinery for such nineteenth-century Derby industries as printing, stone-cutting and colour grinding. The firm of James Fox, established in 1785, exemplifies a manufacturer diversifying out of specialist textile machinery into general machine tools, steam engines and cast consumer goods. Fox is widely recognized to have been an important innovator in the machine-tool industry in the early nineteenth century and his products enjoyed an international market.

The development of engineering in Derby assisted in the integration of local resources, enabling the transfer of technology and skill from
one local industry to another, promoting some branches of manufacture which might not otherwise have become readily established. The growth of banking in Derby similarly linked together the various local economic systems intersecting in the town. A number of county gentry who made their initial capital in lead and iron moved their business interests into textiles, especially the more capital-intensive cotton industry towards the end of the eighteenth century. The best example was the Evans' family, cotton owners of Darley Abbey, who founded the Derby bank. As a family of north Derbyshire gentry, the family's industrial fortunes began in 1650 when marriage gave access to large mineral deposits in the Peak District. By 1723, the family had opened a copper mill, an iron works, a tin mill, a brickworks, a corn mill and a red-lead mill, basing manufacture at works on the Holmes in Derby. During the 1740's Thomas Evans moved to Derby, to be close to the family's industrial and commercial activity. Accumulating capital from his lead-calamine and copper mines, the processing works in Derby and his activities as a merchant, Thomas Evans set up a bank in Derby in 1771.

Derby society included not only the gentry from the north who had interests in lead but also those from the south and east who received income from coal and iron. Notable amongst them were the Mundys who held a most influential position in Derby, with family seats within one mile of Derby town, yet who also had important interests in coal, iron and pottery on their county estates. Many of these families with interests in both land and industry had accounts at the Derby bank. The Evans' bank formed a local reserve of capital based on the surplus from regional industry, which played an important part in financing the textile industry and in particular the new cotton mills of the Derwent Valley. Although Evans' Bank cannot be demonstrated to have had the influence over a wide area of the EastMidlands region which Nottingham bankers enjoyed, within the context of Derby and its sphere of influence Evans' Bank played a key role in re-directing supplies of capital as various sectors of the local economy enjoyed differential rates of expansion and decline during the course of over-all industrialization.

As the county town of Derbyshire, Derby formed the political and social focus for county society. The administration of the law within
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Derbyshire centred on the Quarter Sessions and Assizes held in Derby. These brought the problems and grievances of county life in all their manifestations to public view in the town at least twice a year. As well as their judicial function, these occasions provided an opportunity for social intercourse between the widely dispersed members of county society who to a great extent formed the magistrature and filled the ranks of Deputy Lieutenants, who were required in an official capacity on such occasions. A number of social institutions developed to run concurrently with the Assizes and provide a social and cultural dimension, making these major county events. These included Assemblies, a Music Festival and Races. Both the official and social aspects of Assize Week were led by the Duke of Devonshire, whose seat was at Chatsworth, in the north of the county, and who was the administrative and social figurehead for county affairs: this may be observed in his physical and financial patronage of the institutions surrounding the Assizes.

The 'Whig' Cavendishes were the dominant interest in the county but it was generally understood that there was a rough balance between their estates in the north and those of the Tory gentry in the south of the county, the town of Derby being situated at the point of intersection between the two factions. The county was traditionally carved up by these two groups with an amicable gentleman's agreement saving the antagonism and expense of an election, giving the Cavendishes one seat, leaving the second to the Tory gentry. The borough of Derby was similarly influenced by the Cavendishes, and depending on the whims of the particular Duke, the Cavendishes could control either one or both of the Borough seats. The Report on Municipal Corporations of 1835 describes the means by which the Cavendish family maintained control of borough politics up to the passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832. This was accomplished by creating large numbers of honorary freemen loyal to the Devonshire cause.

The erosion of Cavendish domination had begun before 1832, whilst their actual power continued in an increasingly modified form long afterwards. Prior to the Reform Bill, Derbyshire's most wealthy and respected manufacturers, the Strutts, had been accepted by the Cavendishes in a left of centre political alliance which could appeal on
a broad front, ensuring that the Whig influence was maintained in the industrializing borough and the north of the county.\textsuperscript{22} The Strutts stood mid-way on a continuum of Whig-Liberal opinion which meant that Strutt's more radical friends were no more acceptable to the Devonshire contingent than the Strutts themselves were to the more conservative of Devonshire's Whig gentry supporters. These circumstances may be observed at the elections of 1832 and 1837. In 1832 the radical Gisborne, a relative of the Strutts, was elected with Lord William Cavendish for the north of the county and Edward Strutt for the Borough. Whilst in 1837 William Evans, the Derby banker and cotton mill owner, another relative of the Strutts, was returned with George Henry Cavendish. Like Gisborne, his liberal principles extended to equal rights for the Irish, relief of dissenters from paying church rates, free trade and extended franchise. The Tory Derby Mercury made great play with the association of an old aristocratic family with a radical and republican.\textsuperscript{23}

The political alliance only recognized a situation which had been developing for some time, for the growing industrial interest and its intrusion into the erstwhile domain of the aristocracy and gentry had been apparent since the later eighteenth century. Many Derbyshire gentry, including the Cavendishes, had industrial interests in lead, iron, coal and textiles, and it is believed likely, for example, that Arkwright's move to Cromford was at least partly due to the fact that he believed a manufacturing interest would be more socially acceptable amongst Derbyshire's mining gentry. However, at this time there was in the town of Derby an evolving community made up principally from the growing number of manufacturers and professional men, liberal-radical dissenters, sometimes atheists, with a scientific, rational and philosophical humanistic turn of mind, who were to be by far the most influential group on both the social life and physical fabric of Derby during the first half of the nineteenth century. This group revolved around the Strutt family.

Jedediah Strutt was born in 1726; his father was a small farmer and maltster. His rise to fortune was prolific, and by the early years of the nineteenth century his business was the largest of its kind in the country.\textsuperscript{24} The factory villages which the Strutts built at Belper and Milford were organized along classically paternalist principles. Factory
and village rules combined both stick and carrot in an effort to both maintain and regularize the habits of their factory workforce. The Strutts were Unitarians and the children grew up charged with the missionary enthusiasm of middle-class liberal-radical dissent, as Elizabeth showed in a letter in which she enthused over William Godkin's 'Enquiry Concerning Political Justice' of 1796. She hoped this would encourage her brother Joseph;

- to despise riches and finally dispose you to use all your efforts to ameliorate the condition of mankind. The grand desideratum in politics is the diffusion of knowledge and morals amongst the poor - this the manufacturer has it in his power to promote and is culpable in the neglect of it.

When Jedediah died in 1797 the business was carried on by his three sons: William appears to have been mainly concerned with the technical side, Joseph with the commercial aspects and George, who lived at Belper, was in charge of the mills. William and Joseph both lived in Derby. The Strutts formed their friendships from a narrow band of professionals and manufacturers who met at a number of venues within Derby, forming a middle-class elite, which included the Evans's, the Cromptons and the Lowes; also bankers, professional men like the solicitors, John Leaper, Richard Bateman and Charles Upton and the doctors, Erasmus Darwin, Richard Forrester and Francis Fox. Many of these met socially at the Strutts' town-house and this small group was further strengthened by intermarriage. On a more public level members of the group met at the Unitarian Chapel on Friargate, at Drewry's Book Society and the Derby Philosophical Society.

The Philosophical Society was founded in 1783 and was the creation of Dr. Erasmus Darwin - grandfather of Charles - a member of the Birmingham Lunar Society. He founded the Derby society in its image when he moved from Lichfield to Derby. The Lunar Society was composed of a number of notable manufacturers, scientists and reformist thinkers including Mathew Bolton, Josiah Wedgwood, William Withering (the discoverer of Digitalin) and R.L. Edgeworth (an influential education reformer) as well as John Whitehurst of Derby, (a leading scientific instrument maker, clockmaker and author of a book on Geology) and Joseph Priestly, a Unitarian minister and radical philosopher. Darwin's Derby Society...
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included William Strutt, Dr. Crompton, John Leaper, Samuel Fox and the painter of scientific and industrial scenes, Joseph Wright; whilst non-resident members included John and Ralph Wedgewood and Jedediah Strutt. Through Darwin and his connections in Birmingham, William and Joseph Strutt gained the friendship of the Wedgewoods, Matthew Bolton, the Edgeworths and Samuel Galton, creating a firm connection between the activities of the Strutts' circle in Derby and the scientific culture of the West Midlands. Though not all members of the Derby Philosophical Society were radicals, like Darwin, a significant proportion did have Jacobin tendencies. The society held a dinner to celebrate the French Revolution and the storming of the Bastille and sent a message of condolence when Joseph Priestly fled to America after being hounded out of Birmingham for his continued support of the revolutionary cause. The Derby Society for Political Information, active from 1791 to 1793 was outspokenly radical and appears to have been amongst the earliest provincial corresponding societies. William Strutt, Peter Crompton and Samuel Fox were closely involved with its formation. The society's aims included full, free and frequently elected representation and universal manhood suffrage. As an attempt by the liberal-radicals of the urban middle ranks to heighten the political consciousness of the labouring-classes, it was a clear manifestation of the growing self-assurance amongst Derby's community of manufacturers and professionals.

It is from the period around the 1790's that the manufacturing and professional interest combined with the sanction of the Devonshire faction to take a steadily increasing part in town affairs, slowly eroding the power of the unreformed municipal corporation. The Improvement Commission set up in 1788, was an important vehicle for the appropriation of municipal control by the new middle-class well before 1835. This was because it was formed by amalgamating committees for the Mansfield and Nottingham turnpikes (on which the manufacturers had a dominant interest) with the town Corporation on which they were not represented. When the Commission planned to rebuild the town's major entrance to the east in 1788, the original signatories to the agreement for the new bridge included, as well as the Mayor (representing the Corporation), Samuel Crompton, Thomas and William Evans, William Strutt, Thomas Lowe and William Leaper Smith (representing the manufacturers and
professionals). Though the town Corporation were most reluctant to proceed with the work, they were presented with a powerful group which combined middle-class drive and organization with the sanction and finance of county society personified by the scheme's major subscribers: the Duke of Devonshire and Edward Millar Mundy. When the Improvement Commissioners planned to pave and light the town, the Corporation again refused to cooperate, claiming cost as a reason. However under the influence of the middle-class a scheme was proposed to finance the project in 1791.\textsuperscript{32} This involved enclosing and selling off as building plots an area of common land adjacent to the town centre called Nuns' Green. A subscription list was raised to finance the Parliamentary Bill which included the Duke of Devonshire, William Coke, Jedediah Strutt and the Cromptons. A committee was formed including the Aldermen, the town's professional and business men, and the Bill was passed in 1792, having been taken to the House of Lords by Lord George Cavendish, against the wishes of Derby's tradespeople and Corporation. Perceiving the plans to be the charge of the Devonshire-Strutt connection, there was fierce opposition. The Tories claimed that the rights of Derby's poor people to use the Green were being removed by the uncaring, insensitive Whigs and liberals.\textsuperscript{33} One particular broadsheet illustrates this and includes an attempt to portray William Strutt, seen as instrumental in events, as an upstart of lowly background who, risen to a position of financial wealth and influence, is all set to impose his dictates on the traditional rights of the defenceless poor burgesses of Derby town:

\begin{quote}
Next one from beggars' blood that sprung.
To opulence grown is he;
And Struts along with iron rod,
And swears you shan't be free.\textsuperscript{34}
\end{quote}

The liberal-radicals under the leadership of the Strutts played an increasing role in the expansion of Derby's social institutions during the first half of the nineteenth century. Derby Infirmary, which was largely designed by William Strutt and shows the influence of rational forms of heating and ventilation, derived from the design of his 'fireproof' cotton mills at Belper.\textsuperscript{35} The Strutts' interest in education for the working classes may be perceived from their efforts in 1812 to
organize a non-denominational Lancastrian school in Derby for which they were the principal benefactors.36

William Strutt's highly developed views on education can be detected both from his friendship with the Edgeworths and from the education of his own son, Edward, at Manchester College, York, an important disseminator of liberal education. Edward's uncle Joseph was actually President of the college between 1817 and 1826. Intended for a political career, he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he made a number of significant friendships, in particular with Charles Austin who was influential in broadcasting the principles of Jeremy Bentham. William met Bentham in person for the first time in 1823 and came to know him well. Edward Strutt became identified with a group known as the 'philosophical radicals' which included James and John Stuart Mill and Henry Brougham who were known as the 'education-mad party'.37 Another significant friend was James Abercrombie, sometime steward of the Devonshire estates. The unwritten Strutt-Devonshire alliance in Derby and Derbyshire affairs was solidified into a mutual social acquaintanceship which prepared the ground for Devonshire support of a non-conformist liberal candidate in 1832. William wrote to his son about Abercrombie:

He, you know, is a first rate man both as to his talents and connections - this will, of course, lead to the attentions from the Duke of Devonshire. These things are coming in some degree to your own merits, and somehow, or other, derived from Cambridge, I suppose. I think I remember observing to you that the eye of the public would be upon you at a certain time, that time is arrived, and you are beginning to be thought of for a public station of which more when we meet.38

In the 1820's, the Strutts became involved in the promotion of adult education, a subject on which William Strutt was to become something of a recognized expert. Through Edward the Strutts became closely involved with the setting up of University College, London, which they supported financially and campaigned for in the East Midlands. Abercrombie was a member of University College's first council, whilst Edward was elected to it in 1831. In Derby William Strutt was instrumental in the establishment of the Derby Mechanics' Institute in 1825.
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envisaged this institution as an extension of the Lancastrian school, designed for a similar clientele of relatively well-off artisans seeking education and elevation into a more "polite" society. The Mechanics' Institute hired rooms from the Lancastrian school until the opening of their own lecture hall and school rooms in 1830. William Strutt conceived the Institution as a vehicle for the espousal of a utilitarian doctrine of self-improvement and he fought long and hard to develop the educational aspects of the Institute, against the more recreational interests of the petty bourgeoisie who dominated its classes and library almost from its opening. In addition to the Strutt family, the Institute's major benefactors included both James Abrecrombie and the Duke of Devonshire who, in 1830-31, became the only person other than a member of the Strutt family ever elected Institute President.29

The last major piece of Strutt philanthropy was the Arboretum, England's first public park. Designed for Joseph Strutt by the eminent Victorian gardener, John Claudius Loudon, it had eleven acres of 'tastefully laid out grass intersected by broad gravel walks and planted with a great variety of trees, shrubs and flowers, botanically arranged'.30 It was given to the town as a token of gratitude when he was elected first Mayor of Derby on the reformation of the Municipal Corporation in 1835. The site to the south of the town, close to the future railway district of Litchurch, had originally been a summer retreat for the Strutt family. In line with the Strutts' other projects in Derby, it was designed to elevate the aspirations of the lower orders, and setting the standards for countless municipal parks to follow, the park was organized in both its strict rules of behaviour and its formal landscape design aptly reflecting the Strutts' utilitarian chemistry of rational recreation, education and improvement.31 When Joseph died, in 1844, five years after his brother, William, it was impossible to find a walk of life, or an area of the town in which the influence of their particular brand of liberal paternalism had not been felt in some respect.

Within Derby's diversified economic base, the labouring classes experienced widely differing wage rates and conditions. Craftsmen in the expanding foundry and engineering work were amongst the best paid and
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Most regularly employed of all workers. In 1829, within a few miles of Derby, Glover reports wages of 17s.6d to 21s. for furnace men, 18s. to 21s. for smiths and 16s to 24s., depending on type of work, for engine fitters, turners and other mechanics. In contrast, a Derby framework knitter, working at home on a stocking frame could in the same year be receiving as little as 5s. per week for a 17 hour day. Working hours and conditions in the cotton factories appear to derive directly from those established at the Derby silk mill, the first power textile factory, as suggested by a comment made by the Strutts in 1816:

The working hours are twelve six before dinner (which is twelve till one) and six after, each of which six includes time for breakfast and tea. This has been the invariable practice at the silk mill in Derby (and) in this neighbourhood for more than one hundred years.

Both building design and administrative details at the Derby mill appear to have been absorbed into the local business community and accepted as precedents. There is a sharp contrast between the experience of employment in cotton and that in the silk factories of Derby. Employment at Darley Abbey, was better paid than silk factory work, around 18 to 20s. per week for an adult male. Employees had subsidized housing, schooling and guaranteed employment, though they had to accept the rules and regulations of the factory village. Silk hosiers and throwsters were of small and middle ranked status. They stood very much on the periphery of the circle of gentrified urban manufacturers and showed none of their Owenite tendencies. The silk mills were beyond the jurisdiction of the Factory Acts which limited the hours children could work. Clustering along the River Derwent and the Markeaton Brook, the labourers lived in adjacent low-lying, marshy and damp valley bottoms, in narrow courts and streets. Some resulted from the overcrowding of Derby's medieval town core, whilst others were the product of speculative building generated by the sale of Nun's Green.

If the middle-class attempts of the 1790's to rouse the political awareness of the labouring classes did not succeed in Derby this was perhaps because of the different economic fortunes amongst metal, silk, cotton, factory and domestic workers in the town. Even so the potential for mass political and trade protest certainly existed on a number of
occasions. Derby never generated the same almost revolutionary atmosphere which agitators created in neighbouring Sheffield, even though some of their number were active in the town.\textsuperscript{47} Though Luddism was present in Derbyshire, it never reached the turbulent proportions experienced in nearby Nottinghamshire, where town and country were far more dependent on framework knitting. Derby’s peripherality to the East Midlands framework knitting region and the special conditions of the silk trade may well have been important factors. The town experienced only occasional shockwaves from the violence and bitter protest in adjacent manufacturing districts.\textsuperscript{49}

The town did not have any real experience of indigenous labouring class protest until 1816. Yet it was only Derby’s role as a county town which made it party to events, when the July Assizes, of 1816, hosted the trial of the Pentrich Martyrs. Calhoun suggests that the uprising was the inspiration of Government inspired agitators. If this is correct, then the choice of Derby and Derbyshire may not be mere coincidence. The twin Government aims- to make an example of radical labourers to set before the working classes of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire- whilst avoiding deliberate provocation in any particularly sensitive districts- would make Derby appear an ideal location.\textsuperscript{49}

It was not until the 1830s that any concerted collective action involved the labouring classes of Derby. This was under the particularly receptive conditions which combined general economic depression, felt for the first time by the factory silk trade, together with the middle-class pressure for political reform, the repeal of the Combination Acts and the Owenite campaign to establish co-operation amongst workers through an all trades Union. After serious disturbances during the Reform Bill crisis of 1831-1832, working-class agitation became etched into the town’s repertory of social practices.\textsuperscript{50} Following the Reform Bill Derby’s silk workers became involved with the short-lived National Association for the Protection of Labour, which found particularly receptive ground in the North West and Potteries.\textsuperscript{51} In spite of the demise of the N.A.P.L. as a national organization, unionism continued in the Derby silk trades, where a strike fund was built up. In November 1833, a silk manufacturer dismissed a worker who refused to be fined for
'bad workmanship'. As the culmination of previous events and general discontent over wages and conditions, the Derby combination decided to make an issue of this incident and brought its members out on a strike involving two thousand people. At this time Robert Owen was propagating his plans for a Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. In Derby the masters and manufacturers had stated that they would sack any unionists and, therefore, the Derby strike became a national rallying point. Both Owen and his collaborator, Morrison, visited Derby, and encouraged support from other regions, even though the G.N.C.T.U. was not formally established until the strike was actually well under way.62

The dispute cut across a variety of trades. Led by the silk workers it included many who certainly would not have had the resources or power to protest otherwise. The manufacturers brought in labour from other areas to break the strike. Faced with a bewildering number of disputes involving their affiliated unions up and down the country during 1834, Owen's G.N.C.T.U. became increasingly unable to provide support on the ground. In Derby the strike pay soon failed and the strike began to collapse: by early April some men had applied for work, by the 16th most mills were fully employed.63 The resulting deep-seated discontent was to find further expression in the Chartist movement. The continued plight of the weavers who, by 1837, were said to be 'about one third employed' and depression in the silk trade, helped to fuel the fires of hostility. The Derby Shrovetide football match became during this period a major vehicle for solidarity amongst textile workers. Before the Derby turnout, the unionists, desiring respectability, had whole-heartedly condemned this practice. However, this changed dramatically into open support when the unionists were faced with the defeat of 1834 and the match became increasingly associated with the destitute stockingers and hand loom weavers who gathered in Derby from the surrounding hosiery districts to take part in the match. When the town authorities became increasingly worried by the potential for violent protest which the game presented in the growing tension of the late 1830's, the unionists viewed these middle-class moves as an attack on their leisure time and by implication their wages and working conditions. Therefore, defence of the traditionally rowdy festivities, translated the 'traditional' violence of the public holiday into a politically charged protest,
creating a precedent to be exploited by the Chartists as Derby became one of the most fertile grounds for early Chartism. At the Peoples Convention in February 1839 George Julian Harney, an influential left-wing Chartist leader, reported that 'physical force' Chartism was in the ascendancy in three provincial towns, one of which was Derby.

In conclusion, a common quotation used to describe pre-railway Derby, comes from A.B. Granville's 'Spars of England' of 1841:

The town is emerging all at once from an almost sepulchral lethargy.... thanks to the intersecting lines of the railroad which will bring people from all quarters of England.

Granville may have been correct in highlighting the great changes likely to follow the railways, but it has been a common mistake subsequently to interpret this view as an indication of Derby's prior rusticity. A number of factors intrinsic to the manufacturing county town have compounded this misunderstanding. Although Derby experienced significant population growth during the early 19th century rising from 11,084 in 1801 to 33,960 in 1841, this was far behind the growth of Manchester, Leeds, or Bradford. Co-operation between the aristocratic Derbyshire whigs and the urban Derbyshire liberals, gave the liberals a significant share of power well before 1835 and there was in consequence no bitter power struggle, as experienced by unincorporated industrial cities such as Birmingham. Transfer of power was rather gradual and relatively painless because many Derbyshire gentry were themselves manufacturers and a basic administrative and political framework already existed due to Derby's county town status. The early nineteenth century lacked the labour unrest which took place in other textile districts, partly because of the diverse industrial structure of Derby, resulting in a lack of awareness of common economic and political destiny amongst the workers. Glover, writing in 1833, remarks on this:

ing owing to the variety of manufacture carried on here the inhabitants seldom experienced those serious changes caused by the failure, or temporary depression of any one in particular, which is so frequently felt in those towns where manufacture is confined to one.
Figure 1.2. Engraving of Derby from the Meadows.
Significantly, even during the upheavals of the 1830's and 40's, metal workers and engineers are noticeably absent from the protesters.

In 1839, Derby still retained the prominent buildings and institutions derived from its role as a county town; County Hall, Assembly Rooms, the Church of All Saints and the Race Course. These together with the Georgian buildings and fine town houses of the gentry combined to present a picture of provincial elegance. Figure 1.2 is a prospect of the town from across the river Derwent in 1848, nearly ten years after the establishment of the railway station, and illustrates the manufacturing county town well. In the centre of the picture is the elegant perpendicular tower of All Saints, the main town church and balancing this to the left the Guildhall and Assembly Rooms in the market square. To the extreme right of the picture are trees on the perimeter of the Race Course and to the left the high ground location of the Infirmary and the Arboretum representing balance between aristocratic and middle-class interests. Cattle graze and polite citizens sit in pastoral calm sketching on the river meadows. Yet the symbols of industry interpolate the scene from the bell tower of Lombe's silk mill middle right to the lead shot tower centre left closeby the Morledge with its agglomeration of lead works, paint works, copper rolling and iron slitting mills. The height and aspect of a church steeple, the shot tower was a constant reminder as to the town's key role processing and redistributing the products of regional industry. The manufacturers played a guiding role in the development of Derby from the 1780's, the Strutts' and the Evans's fostered in their work-force a deferential and paternalistic relationship. In spite of the fact that Derby itself was not a major cotton town, the improvements and services created for the town during the whole period from 1780 to 1839 were founded on paternalist principles. The new disciplines of factory organization and management infused the Strutts every move in Derby as well as in their own factory villages. When William Strutt reorganized the Derby Night Watch, for example, making it more efficient and reducing the number of men required from twenty to ten, he did so by introducing 'watch clocks', developed as clocking-in devices for the Strutt cotton mills, into strategic locations around the town ensuring that the watchmen undertook their rounds at the appointed hour. In Derby
it seems, there was no escaping the new culture of the factory no matter what one's trade or social station. Rather oddly, in this scene of commerce, industry and agriculture in harmony, the railway, eight years old by this date, should cross the scene almost in front of the weir on the river and yet is totally omitted.
Notes.


5. Until the mid-eighteenth century ironstone was smelted in charcoal furnaces in the Duffield Forest area to the north of Derby. In 1734 a water driven iron rolling and slitting mill was set up in Derby to provide iron for domestically organized nailmaking. Ibid. pp.49-52. Because the adjacent Notts. and Derbys. Coalfield was landlocked when joint stock companies dedicated to the large scale complimentary exploitation of coal, iron and clay reserves came to Derbyshire in the late eighteenth century, they concentrated on the production of high value engineering infrastructure rather than primary iron production. Ibid. pp.56-61. and D.M. Smith, Industrial Archaeology of the East Midlands. (Newton Abbot, 1965), chapter 2. 1841 Census shows about 700 people engaged in the ironfounding trade in Derby, Nixon Ibid. p.59.

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8. Lombe's Mill consisted of two main buildings, the larger of the two was 110ft. long and five storeys high. All spinning and winding machinery was driven from a single power source a water wheel of 23ft. diameter. 300 employees worked under factory conditions summoned to work by a bell located in a tower above the factory, output was 221,184 yards per minute. S. Glover *The History Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derbyshire* (London, 1833), pp.422-3. also Anon. *A Walk through Derby, containing A Concise Account of the Public Buildings* (Derby, 1827).


16. Lindsey *op.cit.* pp.24-25.

18. Amongst the banks major customers were Arkwright, Strutt and Oldknow of Mellor. Chapman *op. cit.* p.22. and Lindsey *op. cit.* p.30 and pp. 62-64.


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32. Heath (1979), \textit{op.cit.} p.185.
34. Hatcher, \textit{op.cit.} p.60.
42. Glover (1829), \textit{op.cit.} p. IX. Figures given by Glover Directory of Derbyshire 1858 p.XXVII,XXXIX.at which time wages would probably have been 15 percent higher than their 1829 level support this. See P.Dean and G.D.H.Cole, \textit{British Economic Growth.} (Cambridge, 1959), p.23.
43. Crane, \textit{op.cit.} p.133.
44. Chapman, \textit{op.cit.} p.159.
45. Peters, \textit{op.cit.} pp.74-75.
46. For a description of the poor state of the Nun's Green area see, \textit{PP.} (1845), \textit{op.cit.} pp.575-578.
50. Wigley, \textit{op.cit.} pp.142-146.
54. A. Delves, 'Popular Recreation and Social Conflict in Derby, 1800-
1850', in E. Yeo and S. Yeo, Eds. Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1850-
55. Crane, op. cit. p. 137.
57. Standen, op. cit. appendix 1.
Chapter 2

Paternalism and the Railways.
the case of the Midland Railway.

It is convenient to divide nineteenth-century factory paternalism into two phases, pre- and post- 1850. This partly reflects changes in the nature of industrial organization, but also the political and social developments which culminated in Chartism and led to the social stability of the mid-Victorian period. It is now proposed briefly to outline the nature of these two phases and then consider how paternalism on the railways relates to these two models, before looking at the example of the Midland Railway and the case of Derby in particular under three headings: the built environment; philanthropy and benevolence; and discipline.

Factory Paternalism

It can be argued that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century paternalism was very much a matter of producing a trained factory workforce instructed to and schooled in the necessary regularities of habit, both at home and during working hours, to enable the consistent output of goods of a uniform quality. As a management strategy, this facilitated the efficient use of plant and equipment newly concentrated into places of mass manufacture. The creation of a new orderly way of life involved the establishment of ordered environments, the construction of factory villages and industrial communities. In one sense this was often a simple practical response to the necessity of establishing a labour force often in remote country, in the case of the early water-powered textile industry for example. However, a most important factor of the separation of new factory labour forces into isolated communities focused on the workplace was that it conveyed to the manufacturer a hitherto unavailable power to control the lifestyle of his employees. Forms of industrial employment were by no means uncommon in eighteenth century England, yet, instead of making the transition to factory manufacture easier for the entrepreneur to manage,
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it can be argued that it actually made the change more difficult. In the
domestic system in handloom weaving for example, workers took pride in
both organizing their own work schedule and in retaining control of the
actual means of production, though ownership of both raw materials and
machinery were in the possession of bagmen, small entrepreneurs and town
merchants. Such effective control of the workplace was associated with
the high status of skill which was both very real and socially
reinforced. This formed part of the strong independent society of the
domestic textile communities, which were expressed in the strong
articulation of consciousness evident in the political movements of the
first half of the nineteenth century. The organization of manufacture in
family units strengthened pre-industrial social rhythms, creating a
cultural form which revolved around informal holidays and breaks in the
production process such as the proverbial 'Saint Monday'. Recruitment
into the factories presented considerable problems, whilst actually
maintaining a stable factory workforce often posed even greater
difficulties.³

Because of its isolation from wider society, the factory village
enabled the entrepreneur to make firm connections between the work,
family and social life of the labourer so that the behaviour in one
sphere was directly linked to fortunes in another.⁴ The Strutts at
Belper, for example, subsidised food and housing, with money deducted
from wages, and ensured that all children entering employment had spent
a required amount of time at their own school. The effective dependence
of the labourer and his family, whilst resident in the factory village,
on services provided by the company, enabled an employer to clearly
associate the fortunes of the labourer both individual and collectively
with those of the entrepreneur. The simple managerial framework of the
entrepreneur-led concerns of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth
century, with their highly legible structure of ownership, in which the
owner and his family actively participated in the day to day running of
the enterprise, led to an explicit line of command and responsibility on
to which the metaphor of the family fitted quite easily. It may be
argued, that such a set of power relationships bears some similarity to
the 'traditional' connexion of lord and tenant, which was also
articulated by a metaphor of pastoral responsibility. This expressed the
legitimacy of a similar set of relationships, for example, rule by authority vested in kinship. Though this may seem a superficial analogy, the form of paternalism manifest in the factory village adopted, however fortuitously, a mode which would have been quite familiar in both a secular and religious form.

Perhaps the most significant difference between factory paternalism pre- and post- 1850, was the way it reflected the general change in relationships between capital and labour, precipitated by the social and political events of the Reform Bill and Chartist agitations of the 1830's and 1840's. As a result and in the light of the struggle for some form of political enfranchisement, employers needed to adopt a somewhat more accommodatory position, at least in their public pronouncements, than that of many of the pioneer entrepreneurs of forty years earlier. In this context, factory discipline, and employer loyalty came to be generated and maintained largely outside the controlled environment of the factory village, as part of a widespread transition to factory production, particularly in the textile industry. This is not to say that factory villages were not constructed. However, these were often created by manufacturers with an openly social motive and now had a function expressed in explicitly ideological terms, purporting to represent the community of interest between capital and labour. The change to a factory community designed as an environment for social engineering as well as technical training, may be observed early in the century in the work of Robert Owen, a manufacturer with Utopian socialist views. His mill village at New Lanark, was transformed from a factory dormitory into a settlement inspired by socialist principles during the years 1809-1816. It was perhaps a significant change in the development of factory communities: according to Pollard the company villages of the earlier 'industrial revolution' had primarily been simple residential units for training a disciplined workforce where little attention was paid to the overall design of the built environment. For the new generations of company settlement, the physical layout and planning appear to have been much more important to the overall conception than previously. Settlements created by the socially aware liberal entrepreneurs of West Yorkshire, such as Edward Ackroyd at Copley and Ackroyden and Titus Salt who built Saltaire, whilst not
entertaining the radically philanthropic philosophy of Owenism, certainly followed this example in a carefully organised townscape of social co-operation.

It is relatively straightforward to understand the mechanisms by which discipline and company loyalty were maintained by the total experience of the factory village, whether in the early, or later stages of industrial transformation. More problematic, is the construction of paternal relationships during the general move to factory production from the 1840's, in textiles for example. This involved the construction of a bond between worker and employer across the somewhat more openly contested space of the factory suburb and industrial town. Perhaps the key to an understanding of this is a fuller appreciation of how paternal bonds are created and maintained. It may be argued that the use of the term paternal with its associations of power and authority rather than maternal with its contrasting associations of care and compassion is of some significance. One may suggest that factory paternalism, is fundamentally concerned with training through discipline in a situation of dependence, the establishment of a set of rules to govern normal conduct and their enforcement by constant surveillance to create patterns of appropriate behaviour. If this is so then social provision, like the care of a mother, or the philanthropy of an employer, may play a secondary though still important role in the maintenance of the family. The factory village becomes less necessary to the functioning of paternalism, when the power of discipline and dependence can be enforced by means other than the constant physical presence of an entrepreneur.

The question of a change in the construction of work loyalties is closely interwoven with the social and political developments of the 1830's and 1840's and a number of historians working in this field have claimed a definite causal link between the new structure of discipline in the textile factories and the consensual capital labour relationships of the mid-Victorian period. Smelser, for example, argued that the political agitations of the 1830's and 40's in West Yorkshire could be understood in terms of tensions on the traditional patriarchal authority structure maintained in the family structure of domestically organized textile manufacture during the transition to factory based production. A number of studies have further emphasized the delegation of authority
as a powerful means of social control after mid-century. The study of three English towns by John Foster which focuses particularly on Oldham during these transitional decades, stresses the importance of the creation of a supervisory class intermediate between workers and capitalists. He suggests that mid-Victorian stability was engineered by the capitalists through a system of overseers, in which better-paid skilled charge hands as 'pace-makers' were made to impose the disciplines of industrial capitalism on their fellow workers by proxy. In this way, the most articulate artisan section of the working-class, previously so vociferous, were bought over to become mere puppets of the factory owners.

In itself the enforcement of discipline by systems of overseers was far from new; in the factory villages of the late eighteenth century such methods of enforcing the rules and regulations of employment were common practice. What is arguably different was the generality of the process in the mid-Victorian period and its consequences in apparently separating a relatively affluent artisan elite from the bulk of the working population. Similarly, the establishment of company loyalty by using the workforce to enforce the discipline of the workplace upon itself within the factory neighbourhoods of industrial towns, did not displace the welfare provision and philanthropy of the factory village as part of the paternal bargain, though it did create a new emphasis. The philanthropic acts of employers such as the endowment of schools, chapels, churches, libraries and parks etc., now happened as much outside the private, closed space of the factory as within it, and competed for attention with many other attractions and concerns of urban life. It may be argued, therefore, that though more limited in scope and scale, the isolation of such acts, amongst a myriad of other activities, made individual acts appear considerably more prominent than would otherwise be the case, as precious jewels of orderliness amongst the confusion of urbanization. Joyce shows how the confidence of the big textile employers expressed in the moral and religious connotations of organized, efficient and worthwhile labour, lay at the roots of the new paternalism and frequently led to general acts of municipal philanthropy, rather than active community building focused on the particular factory workforce. These, he suggests, may be 'understood in
terms of an almost messianic faith in the civilizing power of
industry' As well as the grand gestures of entrepreneurs often
engaged in the strategies of municipal politics, Joyce argues,

The paternalism that mattered most widely was in fact a
paternalism largely unknown to the historical record. Below
the level of deliberate community-building and lavish
provision in the factory, what took the greatest effect was a
church here, a school or canteen there, and always the stream
of social life that characterised all factories.

Railway Paternalism

The development of the railways took place during the decades of the
mid-nineteenth century, when the changes in the social order were
beginning to make themselves apparent in relations between capitalist
and worker. In certain ways the management of the railways posed similar
problems to those experienced by the early factory masters, though they
existed in rather different circumstances. It was necessary to recruit
and train workers into the ways of a new industry and, having made the
investment, to maintain a stable labourforce. The necessity of providing
housing for its labourers had been with the railways from their earliest
days. This took two forms: firstly, provision for those members of the
operational staff whose work tied them to the line and were dispersed
around the railway system particularly station staff, signalmen and
crossing-keepers. Secondly, there were the large collections of houses
for the workforce concentrated at the locomotive and carriage depots and
workshops which were fundamental to the maintenance of the railway
network. The practical necessity of providing housing for railway
workers may be observed from the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire
Railway, on which according to Kingsford, the shortage of accommodation
affected recruitment and required a search for single men and the
removal of married men from their families. This account, which harks
back to the early days of factory recruitment, must be set in the
context of a report in the Railway Times of 11 April 1840 which reveals
the social tensions which lay behind the conciliatory gestures of the
new paternalism. This advocated, for the large concentrations of men, a
system of large dwellings complete with public kitchen, hot water, gas, schoolroom, public eating and reading rooms and, for the men scattered over the country, cottages with gardens. These were suggested not only as a means of rewarding conduct and leading to the recruitment of the best class of worker, but also to have the added benefit of creating 'a kind of local militia devoted to peace and order and opposed to the Chartists in the realization that their own welfare depended on the security of railway property.' This statement clearly shows the way railway development fused an early paternal model emphasizing the establishment of a stable workforce with the new moral imperatives of social harmony.

A number of notable communities were built as part of the construction of the British railway network, particularly as centres for maintenance and engineering. These were located at important and strategic nodes on the railway network, often at junctions where locomotive and rolling stock were stabled in the course of day to day operation. A number were constructed on greenfield sites where only a small hamlet existed previously, as at Crewe, Wolverton and Eastleigh. Several others were grafted onto small market towns at Ashford in Kent and Swindon. Only at Doncaster, and Derby were railway townships developed during the first thirty years of railway building. In spite of some contemporary opinion, there is little evidence to suggest that the railway communities were constructed as overt attempts at social engineering. However, a number of railway villages certainly echoed the spatial relations of the new paternalist factory village; Swindon and Crewe are good examples. Crewe in mid Staffordshire was constructed in 1840 on a greenfield site at an important junction of the Grand Junction Railway, later the London and North Western Railway, as the principal establishment for repair and construction. Perhaps more than any other this railway settlement echoes the new paternalist factory village. The village was wholly owned by the L.N.W.R. and built specifically for the workforce of its loco engineering shops. Though development appears to have been rather piecemeal, Crewe which by 1851 had 8,000 inhabitants, demonstrates some coherence of overall plan. It incorporated all the facilities of the factory village, the railway company provided schooling, baths, mechanics' institute and churches of
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Anglican and later other denominations. In common with other factory settlements work discipline and status was reflected in the housing arrangements, four different grades of house were provided to equate with status differentials. These were described by a contemporary,

First, the villa-style lodges for superior officers; next, a kind of ornamental Gothic constitutes the houses of the next in authority; the engineers domiciled in detached mansions, with accommodation for four families, with gardens and separate entrances, and, last, the labourer delights in neat cottages of four apartments, the entrances within ancient porches.

The non-working lives of townspeople were strictly controlled by the Company, and 'influence was maintained' on the activities of the Mechanics' Institute. According to Challoner, even after the town administration gained independence with the instigation of a Local Board of Health in 1860, the L.N.W.R. stranglehold on the economic, social and political spheres of Crewe life remained virtually unrestrained well into the twentieth century. The railway town of Swindon built to serve the locomotive workshops of the Great Western Railway, was visually perhaps the best designed of the railway towns. It was laid out on a regular grid plan focused on Emlyn Square where the Mechanics' Institute and the covered market formed the centrepiece of the design. An Anglican church and a town park formed part of the scheme. Housing for the G.W.R. management staff was not wholly separated from that of lower grades, but was located across the ends of streets conveying the surveillance of authority in the workplace into the structure of the railway community. The houses, designed by the noted architect Mathew Digby Wyatt, are of some architectural merit. Considerable attention was paid to the facades of the properties: each had a small front garden and an entrance hallway, granting an effect of high status. Unfortunately, the image was only skin deep and the rears of the properties have been described as 'cramped and badly organised', this lack of quality extended to the whole site which suffered from very poor drainage and inadequate sanitary facilities, resulting in a serious outbreak of typhus fever in 1853.
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The problems in the design of Swindon strike at the heart of the difference between the new paternal textile villages of the West Riding and the provision by railway companies for their workers. As joint stock companies rather than entrepreneur-led family firms, railway companies were unable to spend the funds deposited with them in any other way than for their original purpose. No matter how enlightened individual managers, or directors might be, they were only the purse keepers for the money of others. The G.W.R decided to go ahead with the construction of Swindon at the height of the second 'railway mania', and the Company, overburdened with the financial demands of new schemes and works, were unable to afford the expenditure of further sums of money, or to divert available funds from revenue generating railway construction to the 'unnecessary' and unremunerative provision of accommodation for its employees. They, therefore, confined their expenditure to the purchase of the necessary land and the construction of the workshops, contracting the whole of the plan to erect 300 houses to the firm of J. and C. Rigby. The agreement was for them to build the houses at their own expense and recover the money from rents collected from the company's tenants. To further help defray costs, Rigby's were granted the profits of the refreshment rooms at Swindon station. The model railway town of Swindon was little more than a block of speculative housing.

There was much debate during the late 1830's and early 1840's regarding the powers available to the management of railway companies in the stewardship and allocation of shareholders' money. The directors and managers of railway companies were legally constrained in their activities and this restriction was built in at their very conception. Initially incorporated by Act of Parliament, every new section of line required further parliamentary sanction. Railway companies were born and could only grow through the extension of their powers by Parliamentary decree. Shares could only be issued and capital received by companies for the purposes specifically stated in the relevant Parliamentary statute which delimited the company's terms of reference. Accommodation and provision for the social needs of its workforce did not form part of the remit of any railway company as laid down in its Act of Incorporation, and therefore any social expenditure on the part of a railway company was made a matter of public debate. This may well have
involved a direct appeal to the proprietors of the line at the half-yearly General Meeting, when either the necessary vote, or a voluntary subscription would be called for and the pros and cons of every penny spent would be thrashed out in the correspondence columns of the railway press. The example of the London and Birmingham Railway village at Wolverton was perhaps the first case in which the parameters of railway management were explored in this respect. Wolverton, opened in 1838, was the first of the railway villages to be fully developed and its example served for others. However, the directors of the company ran into difficulties when in 1840 they proposed to build an Anglican Church in the village and employ a clergyman at the expense of the Company. At the half-yearly general meeting a group of dissenting shareholders vetoed the proposal ostensibly on religious grounds and this sparked a considerable debate in the contemporary railway press. A report from the Sheffield and Rotherham Independent reprinted in the Railway Times claimed of the matter, 'We now come to one of the most important questions that have ever engaged any railway meeting in our recollection; being no less than whether any majority at such general meetings shall be at liberty to apply the shareholders' funds to other purposes than those contemplated by the acts of incorporation.' Suggesting that a motion granting the money to build the Wolverton church had only been passed because it was sprung on the general meeting without warning, the article continued with a measure of humour.

Not a few shareholders were taken by surprise and the resolution was almost unanimously carried. It was not long however, before the true bearing of the resolution became apparent. If a meeting had the power to do this, they might also, if the parties could obtain a majority, make another grant for a Wesleyan chapel, or Independents, or Friends' meeting-house, or Jews' synagogue. They might build a hospital for any of their men who had been injured in their service, to say nothing of mechanics' institutes and newsrooms, to keep their men from the public houses.

A shareholder claimed that the appropriation of funds for this purpose was illegal and a second meeting was convened at which the illegality of the proposal was upheld and as a compromise the proprietors were invited
to show their munificence by making an appropriate donation to the scheme. Thus this precedent set the example for all British Railway Companies whereby acts of philanthropy became the prerogative of a benevolent generality, whose anonymity and the apparent democracy through the system of debate, comment and voting in a public domain rendered unto the proprietors all the majesty of the common law.

Though generated by several specific incidents, a number of separate issues were drawn together in the London and Birmingham debate and the whole problem of a railway company's responsibility to its workforce and the generation of company loyalty became the focus of attention. An editorial in the Railway Times, commenting on the London and Birmingham case, stated that it was agreed amongst all parties concerned that the railway companies had a 'moral duty' to provide for 'a class of men whose welfare is acknowledged to be the legitimate care of the railway public', and that all that was at stake was whether provision should be made from company funds or private subscription. The use of the term 'railway public' rather than the more specific directors or managers, is of some significance in this passage. Emphasizing the value to railway companies in terms of the loyalty of its workforce, the article continues,

In truth, we cannot see how such an application of a Railway Company's funds can be deemed, as some appear to deem it, inconsistent with the spirit of the several Acts of Incorporation. A fairer exercise of the powers conferred by the legislature cannot, in our judgement be imagined. This is more especially the case in regard to a provision for the instruction of those who may be called the permanent servants of a Company; and if the proof were wanting of the beneficial results which follow from such arrangements, it would be found in the very gratifying statements made at the recent Birmingham meeting, from which it appears that the care of the Directors of that splendid work, for the physical and moral and religious benefit of the subordinates on the line, has been repaid by the good conduct of the parties thus advantaged, and by their attachment to their several
The earliest railway development at Derby reflects well the link between the railway town and the factory village. There is a relatively small area of railway housing adjacent to the Derby station and this along with the repair workshops, were laid out by the North Midland Railway Company as their headquarters in 1838/39. The N.M.R. was one of the three constituent companies whose lines met at Derby and amalgamated to form the Midland Railway in 1840, and the only one based at Derby. The station complex was built by the N.M.R. and designed by their architect, Francis Thompson. Its cost totalled in excess of £100,000, a most substantial sum and the two other companies paid construction costs and rent in proportion with their use of the facilities, (see figure 2.1). Francis Thompson is a somewhat enigmatic figure as so little is known of his background or later career. It is believed that he came from a wealthy London tailoring family who counted amongst their patrons several railway directors. These were instrumental in gaining him the appointment as architect to the company at the inflated salary of £1,103/12s. His work spans two narrow periods from 1839 to 1841 and from 1846 to 1850, during which he was responsible for some of the finest of all railway station architecture undertaken in this country. Like his other work, the designs for Derby were in a classical style and draw strongly on non-railway practice. The design of the station itself constituted the archetypal example of the single-sided principle. The station was long and thin (over 1000ft. long) and the two ends of the platforms were used for terminal trains which accessed the platform via a cross over road from the outer tracks used for through trains. This rather awkward station form, which generated severe bottlenecks in everyday use, had been replaced in Britain and Europe by more modern plans by 1850. Weeks suggests that this plan form directly relates to the practice of drawing-up horse drawn vehicles at coaching Inns. He equates the station building with the Inn itself and the train-shed with the forecourt, or through yard, showing how this minimised the distance
Figure 2.2, Plan of Derby Station and Workshops 1844.
a traveller needed to walk to a vehicle travelling in either
direction. Thompson's intermediate stations on the line in a variety
of ornate Georgian, Elizabethan and Jacobean styles, adopt a form
closely reminiscent of the architecture of road and canal toll houses
and their close neighbour in design the landed estate entrance lodge.
J.C.Loudon, designer of the Derby Arboretum, included a number of
Thompson's designs for the N.M.R. as 'cottage ornee' in his Encyclopedia
of Gardening. The design of the N.M.R. railway workshops south-east of
the station present many problems of interpretation, primarily because
of their innovative layout, (see figure 2.2). The design consisted of an
L-shaped block of buildings divided into engine workshops and carriage
workshops with access through a central circular building with a railway
turntable in the middle which gave access to radiating tracks. Joining
the two wings of the workshops and facing the station was an
administrative block containing the offices for the workshop's design
and supervisory staff. This was surmounted by a large clock tower
containing also a steam whistle used to control the hours of labour in
the shops. Though there is no documentary evidence to substantiate this,
it is possible to suggest that this design owes much to practice in
textile factory design. The overall plan of the workshops lead one to
this conclusion: the symmetricality of the layout, the carefully
organised circulation of work along two radiating axes, with for
example, heavy smith work furthest away from the central running lines
and the location of the offices at the hub of the workshop complex,
facilitating ease of surveillance and administration. In all these
respects the Derby workshops differ from the layout of other British
railway workshop practice and from later practice at Derby, which
adopted the form of parallel adjacent workshop buildings. The
resemblance between the design of these original Derby workshops and the
design of a number of early factory complexes is quite remarkable. It is
particularly tempting to suggest that they too owe much to the designs
of William Strutt in particular, perhaps reflecting his circular mill at
Belper of 1819 which was designed on explicitly Benthamite principles.
Whilst it is impossible to find a direct link between Francis Thompson
and the Strutts, it is true that the Strutts were shareholders in the
N.M.R. which passed through Belper and within a quarter mile of the
Strutt's circular mill, it is possible that because of his family background as textile merchants, Thompson had association with the Strutts in this capacity. Further, the interchange of ideas between Loudon, who the Strutts employed to design the Arboretum, and Thompson regarding cottage ornée, indicates the possibility of some exchange of ideas between the two parties.

To the north-east of the station the N.M.R. constructed 80 houses between 1841 and 43, sufficient to accommodate around 26 per cent of the company's Derby workforce. This area of housing, like the rest of the N.M.R. property in the town, was very carefully planned in a triangular design, which bears the mark of the N.M.R. as clearly as the rest of the station. The housing which is of some architectural merit is to a similar refined classical style. The initial letters of the street names of the three principal vertices of the triangle of houses, North St. Midland St. and Railway Terrace, spell N.M.R. the initials of the Company, whilst the two short streets leading off Railway Terrace, Sheffield Place and Leeds Place, were named after the two principal destinations of the N.M.R. line. The houses were constructed to a high standard, and gradations of work status were reflected in the allocation of properties by the Company. Railway Terrace, which faces the station was used to house the N.M.R.'s most valued staff, Officers, Foremen, Engineers and Administrators, plus men of lower grades who had extra responsibility and were on call to the Company outside normal hours. The status of Railway Terrace is reflected in the architectural detailing of its houses which had stone-dressed doorways, stone corbels and a roof sunk behind a low parapet, whilst the other streets had more simple brick detailing (see figure 2.3). This row of houses were regarded as most prestigious, contemporary accounts suggest that the 'award' of one of these by the Company was acknowledged as a sure admission of worth. There is no indication of the rent charged for these houses in the earlier years, but figures for 1875 suggest that the Railway Terrace houses realized between 6/- and 6/6 per week and the others 4/-. Given the quality and status of this housing, these may be interpreted as somewhat on the low side, perhaps 66 percent of their potential economic rent, though they were high compared with rents charged by some other railway companies. It is difficult to say how much the N.M.R. planned
The Brunswick Inn at the North end of Railway Terrace.

The Brunswick Inn shares the architectural detailing of the other railway houses on Railway Terrace and contrasts with the plainer housing on North Street and Midland Place which face away from the station.
to build at Derby. It is true that they certainly planned to construct a Railway Hotel on the site where one was eventually constructed privately. The triangle of houses may therefore have formed part of a more comprehensive railway village had the N.M.R. remained in existence.

Though the block of N.M.R. houses at Derby were overall, probably the best designed railway village houses of any constructed in Britain at this time, there is considerable ambiguity about the N.M.R.'s intentions regarding the extent of their engagement in 'community building'. The Company constructed enough houses to contain only the most essential segment of their workforce on the extreme edge of the built up area of Derby town, there is no evidence to suggest that the company intended to construct any facilities for their workers, churches, literary institutes and schools, for example. However, a Public House 'The Brunswick Inn' named after the colour of the N.M.R. locos, did form part of the scheme on the corner of Railway Terrace and North St., as did three shops located one at each corner of the triangle of streets. The N.M.R. was incorporated into the Midland Railway within several years of the completion of the majority of the building work and it is, therefore, impossible to say how much N.M.R. policy would have echoed that of other types of industrial organization had the Company continued its separate existence. The dominance of the N.M.R. Board of Directors by Liberals, Quakers and Dissenters, such as George Carr Glynn, Edward Pease, Edward Ellis and William Leaper Newton, may give some indication of this, particularly given that under the chairmanship of G.C.Glynn the L.N.W.R. became something of a model employer amongst railway companies. It may further suggest why the N.M.R. so much reflected the modes of liberal textile manufacturers in the arrangement of its built environment. In the financial stringency which both preceded and followed the amalgamation, staffing levels were significantly reduced and wages cut. In 1842, for example, in the middle of its building programme, the N.M.R. shareholders instigated a Committee of investigation to sort out the Company's over-expenditure, and which was strongly encouraged by its proprietors to make cuts in expenditure of £17,000 per annum. Thompson was dismissed as architect and no further building schemes were undertaken. The design of all three elements of the original N.M.R. Derby station complex show their
relation to other forms of industrial organization; the station itself related to means of communication by coach; the workshops laid out on a plan most reminiscent of the textile factory of the 1820's and 1830's; whilst the Company houses demonstrate a care of environmental design and a pervasiveness of company identity only found in paternal factory villages and the earliest years of railway town building. Amalgamation was to see no similar developments.

The Midland Railway formed in May 1844, was created from the amalgamation of the North Midland, Midland Counties and Birmingham and Derby Junction Railways. Competition for London-bound traffic on the M.C.R. and B.& D.R led to a suicidal reduction in transport rates on these lines. George Hudson who had taken control of the N.M.R. in the aftermath of the Committee of Investigation, used the threat of cutting off one or other of the M.C.R. and B.& D.R.s north bound traffic at Derby, to precipitate a merger. As the conjunction of three regional lines seeking the expansion and consolidation of its traffic under the ambitious George Hudson, the Midland Railway was almost immediately precipitated into the railway mania with a programme of new lines with a total cost of around £7 million. Railway history, as told by the many partisan company historians, is frequently portrayed as a battle for territory and a pilgrim-like quest for a London terminal with its connotations of commercial maturity. Naive as these may appear, the outcome of the mania left the Midland Railway in a situation where the myth certainly bears some resemblance to the actual course of events. The M.R.'s origin as a merger of three regional lines which relied for the bulk of their revenue on through north-south traffic linking into rival companies at Rotherham, Hampton-in-Arden and Rugby and its geographical position running through the centre of midland England, rendered the Company very vulnerable to competition. Because of its inception without the assured traffic of the major truck lines, and its existing dependence on the L.N.W.R to the west, the result of advancing rival schemes during the mania was to further outflank the M.R., this time to the east, by the London and York, later called the Great Northern Railway. Such were the implications of this scheme for the M.R., that it was as a consequence of desperately trying to make an
arrangement with the London and York that the sharp-trading Hudson had
his career of railway entrepreneurship brought to an untimely end. 28

Even without Hudson, the M.R. was set on an expansionist policy,
breaking from its restricted regional situation and its dependency on
other companies into a trunk route railway of major national
significance. Between 1849 and 1876 the M.R. constructed, purchased or
negotiated running agreements which gave their trains not only an
independent London terminal but also free access from Bournemouth to
Glasgow and from Holyhead to Gt. Yarmouth. This was a very expensive
process: one of the last elements in the M.R.'s almost national network,
the Settle and Carlisle line, alone cost £3,467,000 or £48,152 per
mile. 29 Simmons has recently described the Company as, 'the most
ambitious empire-builder of all railways in the Mid-Victorian age'. 30

The near-pathological concern with expansion almost totally occupied the
Board of Directors for years on end and fills volume after volume of
board minutes. This, coupled with a few notable examples of sharp
practice by way of purchases and take-overs, gave the M.R. a reputation
with contemporaries, as well as modern commentators as rather aggressive
and acquisitive. F.S. Williams' 1878 history of the company 'The Midland
Railway, Its rise and progress. A narrative of Modern Enterprise', is
written as something of an apologia for its conduct. In a section
subtitled a 'Defence of Midland Policy', Williams claims

It has... become a fashion in certain quarters to assert that
this company has become "ambitious and aggressive", consumed
with a greed of power that has led it to encroach upon the just
rights of innocent and injured neighbours.... who can deny that
the Midland extensions have been legitimate in themselves, and
likely to be remunerative to the company and beneficial to the
public? 41

This background sketch of the development of the company is
important, because, it informs much of the M.R.'s policy towards its
employees and others in the period under consideration. As both
Kingsford and McKenna have shown, within the atmosphere of intense
competition for traffic, territory and investors and the consequent
desire to maximize shareholders' dividends and the frequent investment
in new works, the British railway companies were always anxious to keep
so called unnecessary expenditure to a minimum. As a result of its geographical situation and course of historical development the M.R. became more severe than most.

Though, for example, the M.R. had a workforce at Derby in excess of 9,500 men by 1893, the Company never built any more houses at Derby, after completing six houses during 1846. Even when the M.R. required accommodation for its fire brigade adjacent to the workshops during the expansion of the railway workshops in the 1870's, the Company chose to rent a block of seventeen speculative houses then in course of construction rather than build their own property. The injunction to minimize costs and maximize income may be observed in the many directives from the Board of Directors to the Loco and Way and Works Committees to dispose of any surplus land or buildings; these commenced as early as 1845. With the expansion of the M.R. network it did become necessary for the Company to provide housing for traffic staff in particular at parts of the system where depots were set in remote locations, or where housing was otherwise expensive or scarce. The Loco depots of Childs Hill, London and those at Hasland and Staveley in the Derbyshire Coalfield provided the most problems. The problem in London was cost rather than the availability of housing, and memorials of complaint from the men resulted in several reviews of London wage rates by the Company and the eventual construction in 1883 of just ten cottages. The problem of accommodation for Locomen on the Midland system was beginning to become pressing by the early 1870's when plans were drawn up for house construction and then shelved because of cost. A table of houses controlled by the Loco Committee for 1875 shows their location to this date, with the most substantial numbers of cottages at the important rurally located loco depots of Toton, Manningham and Wellingborough. The loco depots at Hasland and Staveley, expanding during the late 1860's and 1870's to service the growing coal traffic from this district, were the cause of much complaint from workmen regarding the lack of housing close to these greenfield sites. Company policy was that enginemen, who may be called to duty at any hour of day or night, must live within one quarter of a mile of their place of employment and a survey taken at Hasland in 1880 shows 21 men living one and a half miles or further from a depot which had no proper road access.
and other men living as far away as Staveley and Belper. Yet even so, the M.R. working with a return of 3.5 per cent per annum on their investment in such housing projects, further delayed construction: in 1882 the M.R. still only had 24 cottages here for staff of 158. M.R. housing provision shows rather badly against the experience of other major companies later in the century, when the G.W.R built the garden suburb of Hayes on the edge of London and other expanding railways the G.N.R. and the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway both built settlements for their employees. Statistics for 1892, show the M.R. had a total of 2,119 workers' cottages for its 52,000 men accommodating just 4 per cent of the workforce, though this was distributed very unevenly amongst the grades of employee, with around 80 per cent of Station masters, for example, housed in company property. Compared with a total for the L.B.S.C.R. in 1871 of 10 percent and given the difficulty of comparing figures calculated twenty years apart, this suggests that the M.R. housed rather fewer of its employees than other major railway companies.

Philanthropy and Benevolence

Only a small number of railwaymen were ever accommodated in railway townships, though a further modest proportion did reside in tied property about the railway network. Therefore, in a similar manner to the transition to widespread factory production in the textile industry, the maintenance of company loyalty must be sought through mechanisms operating in a wider sphere than the immediate confines of the workplace. Joyce argues that the 'military bureaucratic' model of control on the railways was never remotely as effective in generating company loyalty, as the 'single family firm' mode of organization where the traditional hierarchy of paternal authority and the new morality of a harmonious industrial society were most easily combined. The railways were owned by a large group of shareholders; the M.R. had 25,000 shareholders in 1901. The development and day to day running was the concern of professional managers, engineers, accountants, lawyers and clerks. The traditional direct line of authority in which control and ownership were vested in one easily identifiable and often
highly visible entrepreneur capitalist could not exist. Yet, as noted above, railway companies certainly admitted that they had to provide certain benefits for the men in their 'charge' and it is well established that strict company discipline and vehement company loyalty formed a part of labour relations on the railways well into the twentieth century. To a certain extent philanthropic acts by railway companies were always part of a consciously crafted public image.

The ornate decoration of the property on Railway Terrace at Derby was as much, if not perhaps more, for the benefit of the travelling public arriving at the station, as it was to reinforce work status of selected railwaymen in the wider community. From the earliest days of public passenger service on the British railway, companies were particularly conscious of their public profile. This was a matter of allaying public fears in two directions. Firstly, companies needed to demonstrate they were taking steps to reduce the poor safety records of the railways, which were a matter of widespread public concern even as late as the 1880's. Secondly, it was important for railway companies, like any bank or investment house to appear a confident, respectable and well established repository for the potential investor. An examination of the M.R. policy of welfare and social payments demonstrates the often contradictory, threefold concern of railway companies in this respect: to maintain the efficient working of the system; to reduce recurrent and non-revenue generating expenditure to a minimum, and to present a good public face to the travelling and investing public.

The provision of medical services for the Company's employees portrays these three aspects well. Because of the large number of accidents on the railways, it was necessary to cater for workmen requiring hospital treatment. The M.R. like other railway companies adopted a policy of subscribing to established hospitals at key locations on the network so that a system-wide coverage could be obtained at minimum cost. As the M.R. network expanded, so the Company increased its subscriptions from those at the route centres and major termini of Derby, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leeds, Birmingham, Bristol and London to more peripheral locations such as Stamford and Cambridge and more minor institutions in between key locations on the trunk routes such as those at Chesterfield and Loughborough. Between 1845 and 1890
### N.R. Hospital Subscriptions: 1845-1890

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Source: M.R. Board of Directors Minutes 1844-1890.
the M.R.'s hospital subscription list increased from £31/10/0 distributed to three institutions, to £499/14/0 shared among 36 institutions, (see figure 2.4). The importance of the location based on the potential and actual usage of the hospital or dispensary, was reflected in the amount granted. It is possible to compare the figures for 1872 with those for the L.N.W.R. a company of similar size, which in that year made contributions of £443 to forty-seven separate institutions. In the same year, the M.R. granted £408/7/0 to twenty five institutions. Though the M.R. subscribed 92 per cent of the L.N.W. total it did so to just over half (55 percent) the number of institutions indicating the M.R.'s concentration of funds into the larger city Infirmarys. In order to minimize expenditure, it was Company policy only to subscribe to medical institutions which were already functioning.

By far the largest hospital subscription by the M.R. was to Derby Infirmary, confirming the large numbers of both traffic and workshop staff who would require its services. However, other evidence of welfare provision in Derby is noticeably absent. The M.R. constructed no schools for its workmen's children, did not provide a purpose-built Literary Institute until 1898 and did not construct any Company churches or chapels. During the 1870's when the Railway Servants' Orphanage was opened in Derby, operated by a charitable institution of national status, the Railway Benevolent Institution, the M.R. as a company, consistently distanced itself from the venture by refusing any form of subscription, even though the dependents of M.R. workers were to benefit most from its charity. There are isolated instances of divergence from this policy. In 1857 for example, the Company subscribed £10 per annum to the Canal St. Wesleyan Day schools, breaking for once only with a policy of dismissing such applications instantaneously. Two factors may play a substantial part in explaining for this unusual course of action: firstly, the schools were located close to Derby station in an area adjacent to the M.M.R. housing and the largest concentrations of railwaymen at this date, and were the most appropriate schools for railwaymen's children; secondly, the schools were attached to the London Rd. Wesleyan Chapel whose elder members included James, later Sir James Allport the highly respected General Manager and later Director of the Company. Also during 1857, in response to a memorial from staff, the
Chapter 2

Company granted £25 plus the use of a house in Midland Place for the purpose of establishing a library and reading room for M.R. staff. Significantly, these gestures came at a pause in the Company's expansion plans, coming several years before the extension of the network to Manchester in the early 1860's and an independent route to London, a major scheme which was completed later in the decade. These acts of munificence appear meagre compared with those of other major railway companies. On the G.W.R. and L.N.W.R. for example, such provision and more besides had been in existence for over fifteen years.60

Thrift was a very clear component of the railway company's public image, especially after the almost universal claims of profligate and indulgent overspending made by shareholders in the 1840's. This, combined with the legal limitations on the appropriation of company funds, must have made some of the most extremely insensitive decisions by the directors appear simply as strong and dependable management in the eyes of those concerned with the financial standing of the Company, the shareholders and proprietors. In the case of the M.R. there are many harsh examples, these instances are typical; the decision in 1869 to make a piece of land available for a chapel on spare land at Ancoats, Manchester, only at the very high economic rate of £200 per annum; the reluctance to compensate a chapel at Duffield when the M.R. closed its only access, with the construction of the Wirksworth branch in 1884; and the withdrawal of concessionary travel to invalids travelling to coastal convalescent homes.61 The M.R. was forced on several occasions to step into line with other companies in respect of the provision of welfare institutions, where the M.R. was involved with joint running agreements or in towns where the Company did not have a monopoly.62 Towards the 1880's and into the 1890's there is a clear change in M.R. policy regarding grant aid for social purposes. This coincided with the maturity of the Company, for with its network well established status and respectability were conferred upon its operations. Sir James Allport became one of the industry's senior statesmen, the Derby headquarters received visits from professional organizations of British, European and American origin, whilst its rolling stock were honoured with international awards.63 The Company expanded its facilities at regional loco depots, constructing, for example, Literary Institutes at Childs...
In Derby the M.R. contributed the substantial sum of £5,000 towards the extension of the Infirmary in 1891 and planned a large new purpose built Railway Institute. This included a library, classrooms and recreational facilities, and was located on the corner of Railway Terrace immediately opposite the station entrance. Opened in 1894, the first stage alone cost the company £4,900.

A most significant factor at this time was the extension and development of Local Government services in England and Wales. This is most evident in the requests for subscriptions by schools adjacent to the Midland system, an average of two requests per annum for donations were received during the 1860's, all of which were flatly refused. By 1885 the M.R. had as many as twenty-five claims per annum to deal with. Given the Company's desire to save money, agreement to an increasing number of these requests became a strategically justifiable response. Because of the great amount of land owned by railway companies, much of which was situated within rapidly expanding urban areas where new municipal services, schools, hospitals, sanitary and drainage schemes were increasingly necessary, the railways became very sensitive to the question of property valuation taxation and rating. It was M.R. policy, in common with other companies, to resist all attempts to rate their property at any point of the system where this may be threatened. Increasingly, for example, those parishes seeking a donation for the construction of a school, would give the Company two choices: a one-off voluntary contribution based on a valuation of their property within the parish; or the formation of a school board with the power to levy a mandatory annual rate for its maintenance. Given these circumstances, the Company had little alternative in its attempts to resist expenditure than to pay a single voluntary rate.

The growing apparatus of local government administration, forced the railway companies, to fulfil their duty to the localities through which their lines ran. There are a remarkably large number of memorials and requests for assistance from churches, schools, hospitals, workhouses, charities, relief funds and friendly societies, not only adjacent to the M.R. but from locations all over the country. This makes one suspect that these major companies were expected to have a similar sense of
social responsibility to that of the liberally paternal entrepreneur in mid-Victorian Britain. Yet, there is little in the actual activities of the M.R., and British railway companies in general, to suggest any profound notions of duty to the wider community in welfare terms. In this case, the creation of this myth must be due to something else. Certainly, the pronouncements of directors and managers were sufficiently replete with references of moral responsibility to the nation. It was necessary for the very economic survival of a railway company to convey an image of assiduous care and stability, so the creation of such an image may be interpreted as resulting from the success of the railways' own propaganda. However, perhaps most important for the creation of this view, was the structural necessity of the railways to the growth and development of the British economy. In 'Our Iron Roads' first published in 1853 the M.R. biographer, F.S.Williams, recounted the benefits of railways to the nation in defence of the railway owning classes:

Nor let it be forgotten that if the benefits conferred by railways have been vast-enriching every class of the community and making the trade of England the wonder and admiration of the world—the share of profit which railways generally have been permitted to appropriate is sufficiently modest."

As early as 1843, for example, almost before it was fully open, a newspaper columnist could remark of Derby station that 'This vast and unrivalled Station has given great importance to the town of Derby', further suggesting, that the townsfolk should be grateful for the way the railway had bestowed so many economic benefits on the town. This example could be duplicated many times in a variety of contexts, from the specifically local to the national. The importance of railway transportation to the infrastructure of British economy was fully recognized by contemporaries at the time of its greatest strength. As an indication of its importance, there were legal statutes available to the Government to enable the nationalization of the British railway system from the late 1840's. The sense of dependence and the debt of gratitude which the general public were encouraged to feel for the railways, created a paternal bond into the wider sphere of British
society which was unjustified on any grounds other than through the abstract idea of an economic midwife.

In some respects the railway companies did fulfil their part of a paternal bargain and provide certain benefits of employment for their workers. The ideology of thrift which infused many aspects of railway working was equally apparent in this sphere. The liberal doctrine of guided self-help, dominant during the formative period of railway development, was most convenient for the railway companies as it justified the donation of small sums spread thinly over a wide range of activities to create the maximum effect for the minimum outlay. The Literary Institute, for example, was established as the result of pressure from a section of the workforce, rather than initiated by the Company itself, as had been the case on other major railways. Like other companies, the M.R. had a Friendly Society which provided sickness benefit of between 12 and 15s. per week for a contribution of 8d. Originally started in 1841 under the auspices of the N.R. the M.R. contributed £1,000 per annum increased to £2,000 in 1875 its terms and contributions were in fact amongst the best of railway sick clubs ranking alongside the model G.W.R society. In 1869 the Company initiated a Superannuation scheme for the provision of retirement allowances, though membership was limited to salaried staff. A little later in 1877 the M.R. established a savings bank for its workers. Both these schemes, whilst providing much needed security for railwaymen, actually served to distance the Company from its responsibility to care for aged and injured employees, because membership of such institutions could be used as an excuse for withholding any payment sought directly from company funds. On the M.R. for example, between 1862 and 1866, £6,240 was paid out for accident relief and death benefit whereas the company's contribution was only £2,500. In 1873, according to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, M.R. accident pay was £3,040, whereas the Company's subsidy was only £1,000. leading the Commissioners to conclude that 'the Company's donation is very far from making up to the society for the special risks and liabilities of so dangerous an occupation'.

The railway companies did provide a limited amount of aid for employees who had been injured at work. Partly this reflects the
## Figure 2.5

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(1) First year of operation for the Employers Liability Act.

Source: M.R. Board of Directors Minutes 1844-1890.
dangerous nature of railway work. Between 1874 and 1876, for example, 2,249 railway workers were killed and 10,305 injured. According to a survey conducted in 1865, the risk of accident was fifty times greater among railway servants than railway travellers.\textsuperscript{76} Statistics collected for 1853, suggest that railway work compared only with mining in the league table of dangerous occupations.\textsuperscript{77} On the M.R. the payments for injury and death appear to correspond with those for other Companies.\textsuperscript{77} For much of the period up to the 1880's the M.R. gave on average five pounds to defray the expenses of an artificial limb, ten pounds for a fatal injury and on occasions three pounds ten shillings for a coffin.

Data collected from the minutes of the Loco Committee, who were responsible for about 70 per cent. of the injured staff on the M.R. suggests that until the passing of the Employers' Liability Act in 1880 this committee paid out approximately £27 per annum to around 3 cases an average of £9 per case (see figure 2.5). With the passing of the Act, the number of cases before the Committee dramatically increased. In 1882, for example, there were twenty-five cases and compensation for death or serious injury could be in excess of £100, the annual sum granted was £462/10/6. Perhaps more than anything, these figures reveal the great number of accidents and injuries previously unreported and uncompensated, making the pitiously small amounts granted for this purpose appear even more inadequate.

Evidence from the M.R., suggests that liability for compensation instituted by Governmental statute fundamentally changed the previous traditionally paternal metaphors by which such matters had been articulated. Until the passing of this act, pleas for pecuniary assistance were made directly to the Committee concerned by either a member of the family, or on their behalf by a local clergyman, doctor or 'person of responsibility'. Such requests couched in polite and deferential language, begged appeal to the good nature of those who sat in adjudication. Typically these stressed the long service, good conduct and the desperate financial plight of the family concerned. Frequently, the grant of pecuniary assistance was followed by a letter expressing grateful thanks from the party concerned, which was duly recorded in the minutes. These exchanges come as close to the model of a traditional paternal relationship as was ever evident on the railways. After 1880,
requests for assistance were predominantly made on behalf of clients by professional solicitors, and after initially attempting to deal with these in a traditional way, resulting in a number of high compensation awards in the early 1880's, the M.R. transferred all further cases directly to their solicitors. Distanced from the claims of injured workmen by the counsel of eminent professional advisers, the M.R., was soon able to reduce payments under this Act to a more 'acceptable' level. In what became a somewhat unequal battle through the courts by the late 1880's, annual compensation sums had been reduced to under £70 per year.

**Discipline.**

In the introduction to this chapter it was said that paternalism on the railways, if any such thing can be said to have existed, represented a mixture of both older and later forms of paternalism. The systems of reward and punishment which were a special feature of railway operation, certainly constituted part of a strategy for training and maintaining a rigorously ordered and obedient workforce in a new industry with few direct precedents. Yet these mechanisms of control were largely enforced outside the all-encompassing experience of the factory settlement, in townships, villages and across the open terrain of the industrial suburb. This was accomplished by a form of delegated authority in which individual employees maintained a degree of surveillance over each other in a manner similar to that observable in the later Victorian textile factory. Given the nature of the railway network and the great territorial extent of the system it was perhaps inevitable that the structure of authority and power should take on a refracted form. On the M.R., loco men, whether resident in company property or not were requested to live within a quarter mile of their depot. Similarly, the M.R. rule book stated that men were not allowed to own shops, or undertake any other form of business outside their railway work. The M.R. had a particular purge on this matter in 1878-79, which resulted in the investigation of seventy such cases on the Midland system, fifty of which involved workmen at Derby. The Company also took particular interest in the moral conduct of their workmen outside work. After a
### Grades of Staff Disciplined: 1845-1849

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<td>18</td>
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Source: Committee of Management Minutes and Board of Directors.

### Discipline of Locomotive Department Staff: 1849-1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reprimand</th>
<th>Demoted</th>
<th>Fined</th>
<th>Suspended</th>
<th>Sacked</th>
<th>Prosecuted</th>
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<td>1</td>
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(No more cases appear in the minutes until 1870. (2) )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
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<td>0</td>
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(1) The rise in reprimands in 1857 and dismissals in 1858 result from the operation of a fine system for excess use of coke, the falsification of coke returns by drivers led to the large number of dismissals in 1858.

(2) There must be some doubt about the accuracy of these figures, however the notable features must be an overall reduction in the number of serious disciplinary cases and the end of recording numbers of small fines and reprimands in the committee minutes as these become too routine to merit inclusion.

Source: Locomotive Committee Minutes October-1849 December-1873
Stationmaster and Clerk were dismissed for gambling in 1854, a memorial was sent to all stations on the line stating that any instances of gambling amongst the staff inside or outside the workplace would be similarly treated. Habitual drunkenness outside work was similarly perceived. There were three such dismissals on this account recorded by the Loco Committee between 1849 and 1880 (see figure 2.6). In two cases men had sick payments reduced because of a conviction for drunkenness in the magistrates' court. Partly this reflects the necessity of maintaining a trustworthy public front, in the face of great concern about railway safety in the period up to the 1870's. In the transactions of the various Parliamentary Select Committees on railway safety during this period, drunkenness was frequently cited as a cause of staff error resulting in accidents. Perhaps as a consequence, those grades who were most in the public eye and most immediately in charge of passenger safety, such as guards, porters, drivers and signalmen were under closest scrutiny and most liable for severe punishment on these counts.

Books of rules constituted the terms and conditions of railway work in a concrete statement of required conduct and these are evident from the beginning of railway operation in the 1820's. A parody of the railway rule book appeared in the Railway Service Gazette (a railwayman's paper introduced in the early years of railway unionism) on 5th. April 1873, which indicates the rigidity and severity of railway rule book.

**The Railwayman's Ten Commandments.**

1. Thou shalt have no occupation but this.
2. Thou shalt not seek the benefits of a trade union.
3. Thou shalt make all thy application in vain.
4. Remember the Sabbath day - work for nothing.
5. Honour thy official and carry tales.
6. Thou shalt use all thy skill.
7. Thou shalt commit 300 rules to memory.
8. Thou shalt not have any time for meals.
9. Thou shalt not make any complaint, except for the waste-paper basket.
10. Thou shalt not covet any superior position — thou shalt obey
thine official, be his manservant, his gardener, his ass, or anything short of being his neighbour.

Though similar discipline books and tables of rules are evident in the pioneer factory, the railway rule books are somewhat different because they had legal status derived from the bye laws and Acts of Parliament governing the safe operation of the railway system.2 The source of the legal statutes were twofold, deriving both from the Acts of Incorporation by which individual companies came into being and from general railway legislation, thus representing both the particular circumstances and contingencies of operating an individual railway and the more general flow of national safety legislation. The formal legal status of railway rule books meant that in effect railway rules were enforceable under the common law and any breach of procedure could result in a case before the magistrature or county court. In the early years of operation the railway companies, including the M.R., employed a grade of staff called policemen, who were sworn in as constables by the magistrature, whilst later the M.R., for instance, had its own detectives' department with thirty staff based at Derby.3 Between 1845 and 1859, the M.R. prosecuted six of its employees through the courts, five of these were engine drivers. Because they had charge of trains and therefore the safety of passengers were most immediately their responsibility, these men were most open to prosecution. One unfortunate M.R. driver, at least, was sent down on a charge of manslaughter following a railway accident at Clay Cross in 1845. These differences clearly separate discipline on the railways from that in the early factories. Although workmen were on occasions prosecuted by their employers in these institutions this was under general grounds of damage to property, or breach of contract, rather than through specifically created statutes. Nevertheless, a consideration of discipline statistics on the M.R., illustrates the way in which railway discipline was initially bound up in the creation of a suitable workforce.

In 1888 a deputation of M.R. drivers claimed that 'The Midland Company is widely recognized as the most authoritarian regime of any Railway Company in the British Isles'.4 Whether this was strictly true or not is both highly debatable and rather difficult to ascertain. However in parallel with other railway companies, discipline certainly
constituted the principal component in the Company's schemes of personnel management. A complex system of reprimands, fines, suspensions and dismissals are evident on the M.R. from the earliest years of operation: of the 128 cases which came before the Committee of Management between 1845 and 1849, 52 percent. involved cases of neglect and error of duty; even more striking, 64 cases (or 50 percent) resulted in the dismissal of the person concerned. Of further interest are the relatively small numbers of men disciplined for drunkenness and absenteeism, a combined total of just 7.1 percent. which suggests these 'traditional' managerial phobias were of little significance. However, the 8.1 percent. of disciplinary cases involving theft and fraud indicates that financial regularity was as important to railway operation during the formative years as they were to be later on. In these early years the range of people disciplined and dismissed shows a broad cross-section of staff including clerks and even station masters, indicating the problems of recruitment into a new and rapidly expanding Company. Following the discipline statistics through into later years of the nineteenth century via the working of the Loco Committee, it is possible to observe a stabilization in numbers of fines and dismissals during the early 1870s. By this date, and with the now quite substantial workforce of 18,000, 7,500 of which were under the control of the Loco Committee, small fines had become too routine to appear in the Committee minutes. In spite of the great increase in the workforce, the number of dismissals remained at an average of one case per annum until the 1880's when actual dismissals become a great rarity, when cases of serious misconduct stabilized at five or six per annum. Fines were quite severe: in earlier years, for example, fines of between two and four days pay were relatively common, by the 1870's fines of 2/6s. 5/-s. 7/6 s. 10/-s. 20/-s. and 40/-s. amounting to between half a day and a week's pay for a loco driver were regular practice.

Following from the example of other industries, textiles for instance, the railways established systems of gratuities and awards for good conduct. Evidence from the M.R. directors' minutes indicates that certain sums of money were given for 'exemplary conduct' granted to railway men when showing 'courage and presence of mind' as a result of averting accidents on the line. These donations were always relatively
small—often between one and two pounds—though sometimes sums as great as five or even twenty pounds were granted. Payments were always sporadic and for many years there are no grants recorded. However, after the engine drivers' strike of 1887, the directors authorized an expenditure totalling £2,698/8/5 to 'reward' those members of staff who were 'faithful to the Company during the recent strike'\textsuperscript{19}. There were other long-running schemes to encourage effort in particular aspects of railway operation, a best kept station award and annual gratuities to train crews using under £100 worth of coke per annum. Though awards of 5/- may appear trifling, the penalty of dismissal for excess use of coke, or for complicity in falsifying the returns of coke used must have made the receipt of such an award a matter of some personal relief. The M.R. appears to have found this 'carrot and stick' approach a success, so that when the coke award was discontinued in 1861, a system was instigated within the Loco Dept. by which the large number of routine fines, collected from Loco men for minor misdemeanours during the year were subsequently paid out to loco men with a clean sheet in the form of an annual bonus. In the workshops where many men worked on piece work, the form of discipline was not by fine but by suspension from work, and periods of suspension totalling a half day, day, or week, were equivalent in cash terms to the fines payable by traffic staff. It was not until a general reorganization of fines and discipline by the new Locomotive Superintendent R.M. Deeley, in 1905 that a fines and bonus system was adopted in the workshops.\textsuperscript{20} Though this was a stock device of the factory paternalist and a common practice on other major railway companies from the 1840's, it is perhaps surprising, that it took the M.R. so long to discover its effectiveness.

\textbf{Paternalism and the Midland Railway.}

The question of railway paternalism is a difficult one. In some respects the railways exhibited many of the features of the paternal factory. Because of the particular circumstances of railway development these features resemble some aspects of both the early factory village and the later Victorian paternalism of social harmony. It is important to resist overall generalizations about paternalism on the railways,
encompassing the whole period between 1839 and 1900. This is because rapid development in the industry, the consequent economic traumas and changing technological specification of the industry, quickly modified both the objects and parameters of railway operation and thereby management of its workforce. Discipline in the railway towns and the sets of rules to regularize the labourforce into the rigours of a new work discipline from the early years, lie uneasily alongside the trappings of a paternalism based on the collaboration of capital and labour with its works outings and moral concern with self-help. The absence of single entrepreneur capitalist as head of the firm and the perpetual concern with saving money and presenting a sound financial image and safety record to the shareholding and travelling public makes the picture even more confusing. The railways have been described as military rather than paternal, yet this is arguably a false contrast. Post-eighteenth century military organizations are equally protective of their forces and have never been short of leaders and figureheads. What is important for successful military operation is a clear understanding and sure ability to undertake a particular job where and whenever this is required, a willingness to follow orders and, most importantly, an unquestioning loyalty to the organization. These qualities appear to be very similar both to the goals of the early factory master and to those of the mid-Victorian politician or social commentator. By these criteria the railways were eminently successful as paternalists.

There is evidence that the M.R. did look after workmen in their employ who were particularly valued or long-serving and who had fallen on hard times: loco men injured at work were often re-employed as timekeepers, watchmen and storekeepers. Similarly, in a number of cases widows were employed as cleaners and lodging house keepers whilst there is one instance where a son was awarded a pay rise on the death of his father in the service of the company. From the 1870's onwards there are many examples of men having their sick pay topped up after their Friendly Society allowance was reduced after eight weeks off work. Men who had been in the service since the early years of the Company and were too old to join the Superannuation scheme were granted small amounts of assistance both in the form of lump sums and weekly grants.
Men who had no pension rights were sometimes retained in less strenuous work long after retirement age.\textsuperscript{68}

What creates doubt, when one considers British railway companies as paternalist employers, are the many apparent contradictions in their activities. The M.R. supplied medals to encourage proficiency in first aid within the workforce and were very active in promoting Ambulance Brigades throughout the system. At the same time the Company resisted the reduction in working hours which the Parliamentary Committee on railway accidents recommended in 1867 as necessary to any improvement in railway safety.\textsuperscript{69} Such discrepancies between action and deed were not the sole preserve of the railway industry and are evident in many industries and spheres of life in the nineteenth century and at other periods in history, to dwell over long on these would be to give the railway industry an unwarranted distinction.

Perhaps the best analogy for railway paternalism is not that of Jedediah Strutt or Titus Salt but the form of generalized paternalism exemplified by the English countryside in the eighteenth century as described by Douglas Hay.\textsuperscript{70} Here, as the neo-feudal ties of villain to master in the closed village were slowly broken down, so the task of preserving order, maintaining the physical environment and providing for the poor increasingly fell on the local magistrature. These people, though formed from the landed, aristocratic classes and the embryo middle ranks, doctors and clergy, for example, show beginnings of a clear break with the traditional form of direct master servant power relationship in the countryside. This was partly because they ruled as a group over a relatively large territory and a decision regarding local community affairs may require either the corporate decision making authority of all, or the single action of one member chosen as a matter of convenience rather for reasons of property right. In this situation a paternal authority was maintained according to Hay by three aspects which give legitimacy to the rule of civil law, these are, majesty, justice and mercy and constitute the archetypal characteristics of paternalism. To forge effective bonds of control into society, the law must at once appear sublime and all powerful, though justice must be seen to be administered with equality and impartiality and, of great importance, the law's strength should be visibly tempered by
humanitarian intercession. As the administration of the railway companies moved very rapidly away from its earliest forms it came more and more to resemble this pattern. The legal status of railway regulations, ownership by a wide body of shareholders and the centrality of the industry to the economic fortunes of the nation, certainly placed railway work in a different relation to civil society to that of other industries. It is perhaps not insignificant that, in parallel with the eighteenth century, the rapid propagation of rules through the 1850's resulted in a decrease rather than increase in disciplinary cases. The system of committees through which disciplinary matters were despatched on the M.R. echo the working of the civil law. Operated from the administrative head quarters at Derby, this involved in-house trials with formal evidence and a regularized procedure of investigation, probation, prosecution and appeal. In his 'History of the Midland Railway', Stretton portrays this role of the Board of Directors, mediating between 'the Company' and its employees. 'Indeed, it is expressly stated that there is always a right of appeal on the part of any servant of the Company to the directors by way of a memorial through the head of the department concerned'. If one examines the proceedings of the Board of Directors for the 1880's and 90's, for example, the large amount of welfare business transacted resemble those of the magistrates or Poorlaw Commissioners. The great number of railway accidents and the long service record of railway employees which meant many men who entered the Company in the 1830's and 40's before the advent of the Friendly Society and Superannuation scheme were now becoming of pensionable age, helped to create this huge volume of cases. Requests for pensions, artificial limbs, and gratuities plus the numerous applications for further assistance which involved the constant monitoring of serious cases of illness and injury occupied large amounts of time. Always the directors and administrators undertook the task with a gloss of magisterial impartiality as servants of the company themselves mediating between the workforce and the proprietors.

One is able to observe this relation formalized in building, as part of the business success of the Midland Company. Because of the problems involved with running their trains into the London King's Cross terminal of the G.N.R. the M.R. Board decided in 1863 to construct their own
mainline into the capital. This line marks something of a watershed in railway history because the large number of companies already with termini in London and the dramatic increases in property values around the city made this venture the last successful construction of an inter-city main line and the M.R. therefore the last Company to achieve full maturity as a railway company of national status. The line, totalling just 35 miles, cost an immense £2,333,000 to construct and gave rise to a great amount of destruction in the districts through which it ran. The terminal station of London St. Pancras was conceived on an appropriately grand scale, with what was then the largest single span train shed in the world formed in one huge cast iron arch, (see figure 2.7). The building on the road frontage incorporating the passenger facilities, booking offices and waiting rooms etc. were to be equally grand as originally planned, they were to form a new London head quarters for the M.R. whose base would thence-forth be removed from Derby. The design of the building was awarded to George Gilbert Scott, perhaps the foremost architect of the time and it is widely understood because competition was announced at such short notice this design represents his first thinking for another of his prestigious commissions, the design of new Law Courts. The railways more than any other nineteenth century industry were controlled, constrained and monitored by the state. This intervention increased dramatically as the century progressed. Given the legal rational connotations of railway operation, it is fitting that the design for the head quarters of the last great railway company should be so associated with the rule of law in an increasingly democratically based civil society. The facade building was never to be used as M.R. offices and was eventually opened as the St. Pancras Grand Hotel, its imperial proportions, the great gothic spires and pinnacles its giant statue of Britannia demonstrate a confidence which ably represents the High Victorian age of its construction. This was both a certainty in the strength of the pre-eminent railway industry and in what Joyce, previously quoted, called a general faith in the civilizing power of industry. Commentating on the construction of the Station, Williams contrasts district of St. Pancras prior to the railway with the district subsequent to its construction. Before the M.R. the locality was an 'abomination of desolation'. With little regard to the tremendous
upheaval and destruction of property, he voices the moral tone of
civilizing industry to describe the district after the station opened;
'But it was some time after the Midland Company resolved to occupy the
ground before Cosmos arose out of Chaos'. The station building
represents a fusion of entrepreneurial ruthlessness and moral crusading
which informed both the M.R.'s expansionist policy and the relationship
with their workforce. Williams, writing not long after the station's
completion, introduces his commentary by describing the appropriateness
for the undertaking of the image of St. Pancras impressed on the vestry
seal of the parish, a Christian martyr: with the sword of battle
uplifted in one hand and olive branch of peace in the other. Not
insignificantly, inherent within the design, in the synthesis of
religious and rational, is one of the typical contradictions which
permeate the railway industry. The size of the train-shed and the
spacing of the main structural members are dictated by the dimensions of
a cask of ale, the whole under-portion of the station was constructed as
one vast vault to house the huge shipments of beer sent from the
Midlands to London. While the M.R. demanded abstinence from its workers
and encouraged the Railway Temperance Movement and the Band of Hope, it
financed its grand schemes substantially from the profits made on
Burton's best Ales.
Notes.

1. P. Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics* (London, 1980), p.136. In this study 'paternalism is a complex 'dialectical relationship' a process of socialization requiring the active participation of both capitalist and labourer. In this the workers tacit agreement to defer to an employer's authority is seen as a question of negotiation, which not only involves workers trading such rights as they possess against other 'benefits' granted by an employer: but also demanding particular forms of appropriate behaviour from their employer. See H. Newby, 'The deferential dialectic', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1975), 17, no.2 pp.151-152.


4. Ibid. p.521.


11. Ibid., p. 145.


13. Ibid., p. 122.


20. Ibid., p. 85.


24. Ibid., pp. 885-886.


Notes to Chapter 2

29. G. Biddle, *op. cit.* p. 15. J. Glanag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon and his influence on architecture and furniture design.* (London, 1970), pp. 134–138. In Loudon's Magazine of Gardening vol. VIII, p. 322, Loudon reviews Thompson's folio of N.M.R. station drawings entitled *Railway Stations*. He says, 'The public is much indebted to the North-Midland Railway Company for the surpassingly beautiful examples of station-houses which they have erected on their lines of railroad. We know of nothing equal to them on the lines of any other company. There is not one of them that would not form a highly ornamental dwelling in a park.'
43. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minute 837. The M.R. did purchase some speculatively built court houses in Nelson St. called in the Census enumerators' books 'Midland Court' Nos 1 to 4, though these were systematically demolished to construct new office space during the 1870s and 1880s. It is arguable that they were bought with this initially in mind.

44. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minute 1332.

45. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minutes 499 and 1311.

46. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minutes 3282 and 9803.

47. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minute 8315.

48. Ibid. Minute 9571.

49. Ibid. Minute 9574.

50. F.McKenna, op.cit. ch.2.


53. Stretton, op.cit. p.262.

54. For an examination of the development of professional management on the M.R. see chapter 3.

55. The Guide to the Grand Junction Railway (1850), for instance, makes great play of the greater provision for its workers at Crewe compared with its sister company the London and Birmingham Railway at Wolverton.

56. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minute 3573. In 1860 increased subscriptions were given as follows:

- Derby £31/10/0 to £52/10/0
- Birmingham General £10/10/0 to £31/10/0
- Sheffield General £10/10/0 to £21/0/0
- Bradford Infirmary £10/10/0 to £15/15/0
- Lancaster Infirmary £5/5/0 to £7/7/0
- Worcester Infirmary to remain £3/3/0
- Chesterfield Infirmary £2/2/0 to £3/3/0

57. P.W.Kingsford, op.cit. p.156.

58. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minutes 1623. Though the church of St.Andrews Litchurch was known as 'The Railwayman's Church' money was subscribed by M.R. staff and outside benefactors not by the M.R. in its corporate capacity, see chapter 7.

Notes to Chapter 2

60. Derby Mercury, 3/6/67. The M.R. Literary Institute is discussed in chapter 7.
61. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minutes 3572, 3584 and 8009.
62. Ibid., Minutes 1100, 3111 and 4379. For example Burton and Lancaster.
63. In 1884 Allport was Knighted, Stretton, op.cit. 284. During 1891 the Company received a visit from the Institute of Mechanical Engineers. From 1887 the M.R. exhibited examples of their Locomotives and Rolling stock at the Paris Exhibition and won the 'Prix de Rome' for best locomotive.
64. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minute 2945.
65. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minute 5203.
67. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minutes 4571.
68. Ibid., Minute 4936. Because of this, after initially refusing to contribute to the extension of the St.James schools in Litchurch, Derby, the Company were eventually forced to contribute a voluntary rate of £275.
69. F.S.Williams (1883), op.cit. p.471.
70. Derby and Chesterfield Reporter, 7/7/43.
71. J.Simmons, op.cit. ch.1.
72. Derby Mercury 14/8/76. and P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minutes 3503.
73. Ibid., Minute 833. and Kingsford, op.cit. appendix 1.
74. Ibid., Minute 1486.
75. P.McKenna, op.cit. p.38.
77. Ibid., ch.9
79. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minutes 9558 and 9734.
80. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minute 54.
81. P.W.Kingsford op.cit. 19.
82. Ibid. 16-7.
83. Railway Times, (1842), 1138. Derby Mercury, 7/4/41. describes the
swearing in of Railway Policemen as constables by the Derby Magistrates.
84. 'Memorial to Railwaymen from Workmen at the Midland Railway' (1881),
Webb Collection of Trade Union Archives. British Library of Political
and Economic Science.
85. F.S.Williams, (1888) op.cit. p.645.
86. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minute 4430.
87. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Locomotive Committee Minute 11840.
88. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Carriage and Wagon Committee Minute 1892, for
example, during the 1880s five foremen aged between 65 and 74 were
reduced to 'less strenuous work' rather than be dismissed because they
were not in the Superannuation Scheme and retirement would therefore
involve financial hardship.
89. P.R.O. RAIL 491/ Board of Directors Minute 3782. When the oiling of
trains whilst in motion was outlawed by the Board of Trade in 1884, the
M.R. replied by official letter claiming it was impossible to organize
train schedules which allowed time for this to be undertaken whilst the
train was stationary.
'St.Pancras Station, 1868-1968', Railway Magazine Sept. 1968. and
G.Channon, 'A Nineteenth-Century Investment Decision: the Midland
Railway's London Extension', Economic History Review (1972), vol.25
argues that this investment is not justifiable in purely economic terms.
93. F.S.Williams, (1888) op.cit. pp.333.
94. Ibid. p.332.
There were few direct precedents to guide the early railway entrepreneurs and managers in the administration of their undertakings. During the 1840's, as both the total railway network and the territorial extent of individual undertakings greatly increased, so the deficiencies in the first management strategies became more apparent. It may be said that there was much in common between the management of a railway network and the 'government' of a state. Both involve the organisation and control of territory, the management of people and the supervision of productive capacity and service provision, by an elected group in the name of and on behalf of many. These qualities relate both to the sheer scale of railway undertakings and to the particular circumstances of railway operation, including the necessity for both physical and financial public safeguards: a degree of public accountability; a legally binding constitution; an independently policed system of legally enforceable rules; a measure of welfare provision and a necessity for personnel management on an unprecedented scale; the high degree of self-sufficiency necessary to maintain a regular and uniform service; and perhaps most importantly, the product of the railway easily identifiable as a high profile public service. Rather than simply reflecting the increasing 'rationality' of British government and adopting preformed models of organisation from other sources, the railways largely pioneered and developed systems in parallel and ahead of other forms of large-scale organisation. In 'Toward a Rational Society', Habermas suggests that one of the unfolding characteristics of the nineteenth century was the increasing interpenetration of state and society, as 'the public sphere is squeezed or 'refeudalised' by the growth of large-scale organisations co-ordinated with government', subsequent to a separation of a 'public sphere' of political life as part of embourgeoisement in the eighteenth century. The British railway
companies may easily be perceived as principal actors in this process. Sir Edward Watkin's evidence to the Royal Commission on the state ownership of railways, indicates the way in which they were perceived to enmesh intimately with the development of economy and society in Victorian Britain,

Every day the railway service is becoming more and more an integral portion of almost every action or transaction of our lives; and therefore to arm the state with the power of regulating the whole movement of the population, the whole carriage of goods, and all the varied transactions which railways involve, is just to say to every man who is a manufacturer or to every man who moves about, that he must from that day forward be a partner of the state. The double-edged notion of a railway company as a state in microcosm—railway company as fundamental to the integrity of the nation, appears early in railway literature. In one of the first treatises on railway management, Lieut. Peter Lecount, R.N. emphasises the importance of centralizing control of a railway company in a single location, 'that terminus which is best situated to effectually overlook the whole of the various businesses, should be made the seat of government'. Lecount further relates his model to the experience of decision-making within Government Commissions and particularly to the Navy board which formed part of the Board of Admiralty. In a letter to the 'Railway Times' dated 1840, 'Examiner' suggested;

The management of a Railway requires the same kind of intellect as the management of a state; and, be it added, the same necessity exists for such responsibility as may prevent jobbing—the undue profit of individuals at the expense of the railway community. The Shareholders are the railway community and the Directors are their house of representatives;

Describing the L.N.W.R. later in the century in 1889, W.M. Acworth says in a passage titled 'A Railway Kingdom and its Capital',

The seat of the Government is at present in London, but the Capital is Crewe, a town of 37,000 inhabitants consisting entirely of the employees of the Government and their families. The total number of the civil service does not fall far short
of 60,000. The President is Sir Richard Moon, while his Prime Minister who is known by the title of General manager, is George Findlay. The revenue of the annual budget, which last August flowed into the Exchequer at the rate of £26 a minute, amounts to £10,000,000.6

Significantly, the contemporary metaphors of statehood applied to railway operation and management related its organisational form to a republican rather than sovereign government, with the analogy between president (chairman) and house of representatives (board of directors) being typical. This perhaps illustrates the marked contrast between the new railway corporations and any previous form of commercial or administrative organisation in Britain. By the later nineteenth century, one might possibly make the connection between the accountability of the republican railway corporation and the governance of such states as the U.S.A. in terms of a form of administration appropriate to the dynamics of free, highly aggressive capitalistic enterprise. This view may be given some credence by the great interest in American railway management corporate practice observable by the 1880's.7 The libertarian ideal of legally binding civil rights extended to shareholders and paying public were, not surprisingly, curtailed in the context of railway employees. Though the metaphor of statehood was useful in legitimating the inequity, railwaymen constituted a service class and as such their 'rights' were restricted for the greater good of the nation.

The organization of pre-existing modes of transport offered little help to the new railway companies: road carriage was generally in the hands of small carriers and even the organizational practices of canal companies who shared some characteristics with the railways—for instance the management of extensive route lengths, constituting part of a wider network—were of limited application. The canal companies, like the turnpike trusts simply maintained the routeway and left the actual business of carrying goods and passengers to private carriers on whom they levied tolls and charges.8 One of the most useful bodies of knowledge on which the railway companies could draw was that of military organisation, as may be observed from the treatise on railway management by Lecount. The problems of communicating orders and intelligence to headquarters and the logistics of maintaining maximum availability
amongst men and machines were problems which were common to both. Given the analogy between the management of a railway company and the governance of a state, it is perhaps not surprising that the means of control used to administer and maintain the integrity of territory and population, the civil and military services, should in some measure be appropriate to the command of a railway. In the early years of railway operation management tended to be dominated by the engineers and railway builders. The North Midland Railway, for example, was one of a number under the general supervision of George Stephenson, the consulting engineer, for its construction. However, by the mid-1840's gross over-expenditure by many companies, both on expensive civil engineering projects, wasteful and idiosyncratic operating practices, were beginning to emphasize the necessity for improved administration. Gourvish shows that, following the reduced influence of the engineer in executive management, men with military backgrounds became popular. The captain and lieutenant from both army and navy had experience of accounts and book-keeping, and were also familiar with the control of large staffs.

Because of their accountability as forms of public service, railway operations, like military, civil and government services (or for example, hospitals, fire service, or police force) demand a form of organisation which facilitates constant or at least the potential for total spatial and temporal coverage. Railway rules and the associated strict discipline have already been discussed in terms of the creation of a body of workers adapted to a new industry. However, it is important to understand the necessity of a strict hierarchy of authority requiring clear job descriptions exemplified by the Railway Rule book for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the network. The distinctive company uniform easily identifiable by grade, forms an intrinsic component of constant coverage. Uniforms render all employees at a particular grade similar, and therefore render the relationship between employee and public an impersonal one, for example between passenger and guard or porter. The individual worker is addressed by his job title rather than by his name, like a nurse or doctor in a hospital. So that when all employees work to and obey a common set of rules and regulations, individual workers at a particular grade become
interchangeable leaving the principal planning problem the organisation of categories of worker rather than individual people. Similarly, as railway workers took their orders from other employees of superior grade irrespective of their identity, once the administrative organisation was set in place across the network, the system would remain fully operational inspite of any changes in personnel. The railways adopted titles for their grades which were military in derivation. Grades of responsibility or 'rank' were cumulatively called 'officers' and superior officers 'and men who joined the railway 'entered the Service'. When men went to work they went 'on duty', a position was a 'post', when he left he was 'relieved': failure to be at one's post was to be 'absent without leave'.12 Many of the treatises on railway management, relatively common from the 1880's, stress the comparison between railway and military service, typically emphasizing the importance of training, discipline and organisation as for example in this extract:

The force that operates a railway is like an army. It is methodically organised and drilled. it has its commanders, its rank and file; its officers, sub-officers and privates. Its action is, however, peaceful and conciliatory. It strives at all times to preserve amicable relations with everyone.13

Information flows through the spatially extended railway network were a major source of trouble for early railway companies in all spheres of their operations and organization, from the control of trains to the maintenance of regular accounts. The collection, collation and storage of information by a central body, as a source of instrumental power to manage and control, is recognised by Foucault and by Giddens as a fundamental necessity to the development and functioning of the modern nation state.14 Here too, the railways both mimic and develop forms derived from government service. The railways adopted the military 'tour of inspection' as a means of surveying the network by teams of directors, which involved a group delegated by the Board of Directors visiting a particular sector of the network on a regular basis inspecting new works, examining accounts and traffic ledgers at the various stations and depots; consulting with senior staff in the field with station masters, locomotive and carriage superintendents, on
problems arising from the day-to-day operation and taking an active interest in the general workings of the line and the men employed. The group would then report to the Board on the conditions and requirements on these particular sectors of the network, enabling the Board of Directors to formulate policy as necessary. Orders from head office were distributed around the network by means of weekly and daily 'dispatches' in the form of both printed circulars for general consumption and handwritten memos for particular departments and officials. The chains of command in the railway industry also reflect the structure of military operation. A head office divided into various departments was responsible for gathering and collating 'intelligence', making routine policy and planning decisions, and sending information to, and acting upon the major policy decisions of, the Board of Directors— the principal strategy making body. The day to day management of the system was in the independent charge of the senior officers 'in the field' with regional and locally based spheres of responsibility. In parallel with military operations, the delegation of responsibility to middle rank officers enabled the spatially dispersed organization to have the flexibility of response to the contingency of individual operating conditions and crisis as these may arise. The first-hand understanding of men like Capt. Huish was vital in two respects, first, they recognized the importance of granting a degree of flexibility to the official working on the ground; and, secondly, the value of a proper understanding of actual operating conditions for the successful implementation of orders from a central command, arguably gave middle-ranking military officials their unique feel for successful railway management. Gourvish suggests that one of the factors contributing to the financial and operating difficulties of the M.R. and its constituents in the 1840's, compared with the L.N.W.R and G.W.R. for example was their failure to employ managerial staff from a military background.15

The system of signalling by semaphore, which developed into the sophisticated form of space management known as the block system, was also adopted for the purpose of train control from the military sphere. The block system, which became universally applied in Britain by the 1870's, was probably the key device in the efficient use of network
space and its principal component was communication by physical semaphor and its electrical derivative telegraphic morse code. A primitive example of semaphor signalling was used on the N.M.R. this may be observed in the derelict stone sighting tower which is situated on a hill top location near Belper, which commands a clear view of the N.M.R. main line both to north and south. There are similar examples of sighting towers on other early railway projects such as the South Devon Railway. This method of communication relates closely to the methods of coastal defence devised in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to provide advanced warning of attack by the French. Such towers and sighting stations also facilitated topographic survey and triangulation; it is believed that the N.M.R. tower near Belper was constructed with this dual purpose in mind. The creation of authoritative maps of the British Isles by the Board of Ordnance, a department of the armed forces, not only provided the body of techniques to enable the surveyors of railway lines to do their work, but also provided the accurate base maps from which railway promoters were able to plan their schemes with a measure of accuracy and indicates the close connection between the railway and the military.

The phraseology of railway promotion certainly adopted the metaphors of military conflict: the Railway Times, for instance, regularly described the promotion 'Campaigns' fought out annually in Parliament. The verbal battles and diplomatic strategies, by which schemes were amalgamated, modified, and votes traded sometimes initiated physical conflict, for example, between the forces of land owner and railway constructor on the M.R. line through Market Harborough. Guerrilla tactics were sometimes resorted to in the highly competitive atmosphere of the railway 'manias', often this meant deliberately delaying the trains of rival companies, something the M.R. suffered from during the period when they ran their London trains into the G.N.R. Kings Cross terminus. On occasion rivalry erupted into sporadic outbursts of sabotage, involving the capture and imprisonment of 'enemy' locos and rolling stock. The prospectus of railway companies written for the benefit of potential investors assumed the voice of an imperial power acquiring control of 'virgin territory'. The N.M.R. prospectus typically stresses the large volumes of untapped mineral resources 'the
inexhaustible' coal and ironstone and 'abundant' streams, the dense local population, the great potential of the terrain through which the line passes 'which is particularly calculated for the construction of manufactures'. McKenna describes the ex-military commanding officers fending off 'invasion of the territories they had been chosen to defend'. Commenting on Capt. O'Brien's period as General Manager of the North-Eastern Railway, one contemporary writer commented in language typical of the period 'with no ordinary satisfaction .... Not a position of importance had been surrendered, not an inch of territory lost.' It is interesting, that perhaps the only type of pre-existing commercial institution which had any organisational similarities with the railways were the colonial companies, who it may be argued only just surpassed the railway companies in their appetite for, and calculated exploitation of territory and people. It is noteworthy that after the major period of domestic railway expansion, the Midland Railway became involved with promoting railways in South Africa, for example, the Cape of Good Hope Railway during the 1870s and 1880s. As Acworth claimed in 1889,

The British schoolmaster has awakened to the fact that the Counties and Lord Lieutenants are anachronisms, and that the United Kingdom has been divided and given to the great railway companies, the Board School pupil of the future will be taught his geography.

The management of territory, like its appropriation by the railway companies, required solutions comparable with those adopted by military, and governmental organisations. Yet it is debatable to what extent railway administration followed pre-existing modes of organisation, from either a commercial or governmental sphere and to what extent they were themselves the organisational innovators disseminating techniques to other sectors. During the early nineteenth century the departments of the British military were far from being exemplars of efficiency and control. Government office, still traditional in its division of labour, was the preserve of patronage and privilege far removed from a Weberian 'rational bureaucracy'. The development of professionalism in the armed forces, and recruitment, training and promotion by a system of tests and examinations only progressed slowly during the second half of
the nineteenth century, rather behind similar developments in the railway industry. It is certainly true that through the development of British railways, company law, limited liability and the procedure for financial accountability evolved into their modern forms.

'Examiner', quoted above, alludes to a debate in the railway press which was to become important in the mid-1840's and to reappear at intervals. Specifically, this debate questioned both the role of amateur Directors and the commitment of salaried professional managers who had no direct financial stake in the company. As Bonavia shows, early railway management was frequently undertaken directly by the Board of Directors. The Board of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway for example met five times in January 1831 deliberating on all aspects of the railway's day to day operation. However even here it was soon realised that the directors were overwhelmed with work and needed to delegate responsibility to a Committee of Management 'for the general superintendence of the affairs of the railway under the direction of the Board'. Bonavia suggests that the railway Boards took some time to make a clear distinction between direction and day to day management. Some firms experimented with a full time managing director, though the general unsuitability of the director class for this form of employment soon enforced changes. George Carr Glynn of the London and Birmingham was perhaps the most far sighted of early railway chairmen 'proving to be fully alive to the need to define authority and assess responsibility within the company structure'. In an internal Memorandum of 1836, he wrote:

each department should be directed by a responsible officer...to him should be left the management of the details of the business in each department...that each department should from time to time report to the Committee of Management upon the matters connected with the same and should suggest such changes in the arrangements as may appear expedient, bringing the consideration of them before the Ctee. of Management, from which each head of department would receive his orders and instructions.

Some executive grade offices came relatively early to railway management. The first was the office of Secretary, an appointment
closely associated with the concerns of the Board. In the poorly defined delegation of responsibilities typifying early railway practice, this could combine a range of undertakings from the day to day management of the line to the duties of engineer. One of the principal problems of early railway management was the relative importance of generating traffic and operating trains. If the director-operators were more sensitive to the propagation of traffic receipts than to complexities of running trains, then conversely, the major complaint against the ex-military men, was that whilst strong on discipline and organization, they often neglected the commercial aspects of railway control. A little later, the offices of General Manager and Superintendent of the Line came into general usage, so that by the 1850's a primary separation between the commercial and operational spheres of railway work had become established. An attitude of cheeseparing harmed many lines, especially in their first few years of working when repair and maintenance costs were particularly high. Companies were often torn between reducing operating costs, and thereby meeting the demands of investors for high dividends, and using profits to offset future expense, thus securing a steadier but lower return on capital. Railway companies had little understanding of the maintenance costs of their systems, partly because the primitive forms of accounting procedure available to them gave no adequate means either to measure depreciation, or enable them to allow for this in annual accounts. The lack of technical knowledge available to the nascent railway operators also made it difficult for railway companies to make financial and material plans for replacement: for example, cast iron railway lines were expected to last one hundred years when in practice two or three years would have been more exact. Many operating problems arose from the failure of early companies to provide for adequate maintenance of rolling stock and permanent way. Major questions with which the railway companies had to come to terms were those of accommodation and pricing policy for both passengers and goods, for example the different arrangements regarding tariffs for bulky low value goods like coal and for high value perishable merchandise like groceries. The railways had very little experience of carriage of goods other than minerals, therefore general merchandise with its additional problems of collection, loading,
sorting, invoicing and delivery, gave the railway companies further
cause for concern. Bonavia usefully itemises 'the four classic
functions' of a railway which management needed to consider, namely:

1. Provision and maintenance of the track and structures;
2. Provision and maintenance of the motive power and rolling stock;
3. Obtaining traffic;
4. Carrying traffic.  

It was readily obvious that the railway companies had to encompass a
range of functions and services never before brought together under the
auspices of one private corporation. A correspondent to the Railway
Times in 1858, said;

There is a limit to human effort. A man might as well tell me
that by a similar organisation he could manage and control the
whole commercial transactions of Liverpool or Manchester, as
say that he can properly direct and control a railway such as
the London and North Western.  

The four functions itemised by Bonavia and described above, constituted
the basic departmental division of labour for the major British railway
companies as they were distilled from the early years of trial and error
in railway organization. Frequently, there was a traffic manager,
superintendent of the line or operating superintendent responsible for
the working of trains. On the commercial side there would be either a
single department in charge of passenger and goods, two separate
departments or a goods department alone with passenger responsibility
resting with the operating side. The schematic diagrams in figure 3.1,
however, have one particular quality in common, this is the dual
separation between a functional division of administrative
responsibility at the level of overall planning at headquarters and a
lower level of district and local command which, though often organised
along the lines of a functional division between station masters,
yardmasters and loco-shed superintendents, always cut across the
division of responsibility established higher in the chain of command.
As Bonavia suggests, the question of separation of functions was always
complicated by the fact that, whilst the functions were distinct at
certain levels, they required constant co-ordination at all levels, and,
Figure 3.1

Schematic Diagrams of Railway Management Structure.

Source - Bonavia op.cit. pp.15-16
at what may be termed ground floor level, the functions were frequently combined in one officer. A station master for example, was responsible for both operating, including control of cartage, vehicles, and also some commercial matters, at the depot attached to the station. The tension inherent in this structure was frequently manifest in the industry with many disputes between departments over specific areas of responsibility. The Board of Directors were similarly split into a number of committees specialising in particular areas of the company's affairs, typically these included:

Finance Committee,
Works Committee,
Locomotive Committee,
Traffic Committee,
Staff and Organization Committee.

These reflected the actual administrative structure of the company's headquarters organization, with the head of each relevant department attending and reporting to the appropriate directorial committee.

According to Beetham, Max Weber's elevenfold definition of the features of a bureaucracy may be reduced for the sake of convenience to four main components:

1. Hierarchy, each official has a clearly defined competence within a hierarchical division of labour, and is answerable for its performance to a superior.

2. Continuity, the office constitutes a full-time salaried occupation, with a career structure that offers the prospect of regular advancement.

3. Impersonality, the work is conducted according to prescribed rules, without arbitrariness or favouritism, and a written record is kept of each transaction.

4. Expertise, officials are selected according to merit, are trained for their function, and control access to knowledge stored in files.

Whilst greatly simplifying the wealth of debate and scholarship which surrounds the concept of 'bureaucracy' it is sufficient here to compare with the administrative apparatus of the British railway
### Employment structure of British Railway Companies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Managerial</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Supervisory</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Artificers</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P.W. Kingsford (1970) op. cit. p.3.
At first sight British railway companies all appear to exhibit the qualities outlined by Beetham by the 1850's. The increase in clerical and supervisory grades between 1847 and 1884 observable in the nationally collected statistics for people employed in the British railway industry, see figure 3.2, certainly indicate the growing amount of paper work and routine procedural activity which came to dominate the administration of the mature railway organisation. Though it cannot be claimed, from these statistics at least, that non-productive grades became numerically dominant, parasitically constricting the performance of British railways, as the critique of bureaucracy from the viewpoint of neo-classical economics might suggest. As a percentage of the whole, some managerial grades decline quite substantially during this period. Perhaps most interesting, is the relatively large rise in the number of clerical grades between 1860 and 1873, a time period which generally accords with the establishment of generally sophisticated administrative structures across the British railway industry subsequently little changed until nationalization. Books on railway management were almost non-existent in the earlier years of operation, except for such exceptional examples, those of Lieut. Lardner and George Carr Glynn. However, from the 1880's onwards an increasing body of literature was explicitly directed towards the rational and efficient planning of railway administration and organization. Some were American in origin and their publication in Europe indicates an interest, if not an effective concern with progressive administrative methods from the U.S.A. Those written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were encyclopaedic in their scope. One such John Macaulay's 'Modern Railway Working, A practical treatise, by engineering and administrative experts' of 1913, ran to twelve volumes. This virtually constitutes a total blueprint for the organization of a railway company, it details the duties of every conceivable grade of staff, outlines the requirements for organizing all departments from wagon building and repair to the accountants and legal departments. Many of these treatise were specifically designed as training manuals for the new generation of railway administrators, and show a mix of authors, though they were written primarily by senior railway officers themselves. The necessity for railway companies to construct an image in the public sphere which
Chapter 3

stressed the rigorously scientific and rational nature of their company's undertaking both in financial and operational matters, has already been described in chapter 2. The extent to which the private sphere of railway operation actually reflects this logical bureaucratic model forms a primary theme for the rest of chapter 3, which will consider the nature of the M.R.'s operation at Derby in terms of the development of its organizational and physical space. Chapter 4 will then look at the experience of the Midland Railway network and its structure of authority from the perspective of railway workers in Derby.

The M.R. at Derby...

The Station.

If it was impossible to attempt a detailed description of Crewe, a description of Derby is a treble impossibility; for the Midland has got all its eggs in this one basket, and Derby is Crewe, and Wolverton and Earlstown all rolled into one. So wrote W.M. Acworth in his 'Railways of England' of 1899. Unlike virtually all the other major railway companies in Britain, the M.R. had its head office located not in London but in the centre of its regional power base, and combined this with its principal repair and construction workshops for locomotives, carriages, wagons, fittings and sundries. From an initial size of eight and a half acres in 1844 the workshop-station complex had grown to 166 acres by 1891 and the total workforce from 240 to around 10,000. The great complex of lines, sidings, buildings and platforms which sent contemporary authors and journalists into raptures can hardly be justified in terms of local trade generated with Derby town (see figure 3.3). An examination of the traffic receipts (see figure 3.4) shows Derby as a provincial town of only modest importance, for the figures for Derby are inflated by the large amount of through traffic which changed trains here. Though the amount of traffic generated by the station was roughly equal with a provincial city like Nottingham or Leicester the working expenses of the station were four times as great. The operating expenses of the various
departments at Derby indicate a role for the station within the network far in excess of its apparent status. From the beginning, as the intersection of three independent companies, Derby had functioned as a junction station for both passengers and goods on the trunk routes from the north to London. Until the opening of the Erewash valley line in 1862, which directly linked Chesterfield with the M.R. mainline south of Nottingham, all traffic north and south on the M.R. had to pass through Derby. It was the junction for long distance trains heading to all parts of the M.R. system; it was here that engines were changed, trains swapped and refreshment and overnight stops made, before the development of corridor trains and restaurant cars in the 1890's. M.R. goods traffic was centred on the two large marshalling yards in the East Midlands, Toton handling all mineral traffic and Chaddesden at Derby all general merchandise. The allocation of locomotives to Derby and the consequently large number of traffic staff, drivers, guards and shunters etc. employed here indicate its centrality to the operation of the Midland system (see figures 3.5 and 3.11).

Administration

Derby was originally the headquarters of the N.M.R., the senior partner in the amalgamated M.R. Its offices were accommodated in rooms above the station in the facade of Thompson's Grand Central Station, while the head offices of the M.C.R. and B.& D.R. were at Leicester and Birmingham Lawley St. respectively. Administratively, the N.M.R. had by 1842, a relatively sophisticated structure divided into six departments, more closely resembling Bonavia's model than many early railway organizations. The Coaching Department roughly equivalent to the later Traffic Dept, included station staff, passenger train staff and those responsible for signalling and point operation. The Locomotive and Carriage Department was responsible for providing and maintaining the Locos and rolling stock for running trains. It comprised both the staff of craftsmen to undertake repairs and the engine drivers and firemen to drive locomotives. The Goods Department under a manager and clerks included all the staff necessary to carry and transfer minerals and merchandise, goods guards, porters, dray drivers etc. A Stores Dept.
Figure 3.3, M.R. Lines in the Vicinity of Derby, 1900.

Figure 3.4.

Traffic Receipts at Principal Stations on the M.R.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>1872 Passengers</th>
<th>1872 Goods</th>
<th>1872 Expenses</th>
<th>1892 Passengers</th>
<th>1892 Goods</th>
<th>1892 Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>521,191</td>
<td>637,480</td>
<td>£82,605</td>
<td>605,562</td>
<td>964,777</td>
<td>£165,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>790,389</td>
<td>579,095</td>
<td>£22,184</td>
<td>985,991</td>
<td>715,465</td>
<td>£49,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>438,996</td>
<td>306,737</td>
<td>£25,081</td>
<td>630,758</td>
<td>589,661</td>
<td>£39,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>108,427</td>
<td>690,661</td>
<td>£39,945</td>
<td>1199,244</td>
<td>813,833</td>
<td>£60,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheffield</td>
<td>739,026</td>
<td>1124,716</td>
<td>£27,357</td>
<td>844,150</td>
<td>1493,506</td>
<td>£51,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds</td>
<td>667,234</td>
<td>618,066</td>
<td>£26,036</td>
<td>807,012</td>
<td>976,472</td>
<td>£39,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Pancras</td>
<td>170,925</td>
<td>1223,345</td>
<td>£55,618</td>
<td>461,761</td>
<td>2152,743</td>
<td>£85,373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source M.R. Station Receipts Ledgers 1872-1883 and 1884-1895.
Figure 3.5.

MAP OF MIDLAND RAILWAY AND ITS CONNECTIONS.

The Direct and Picturesque Route Through the Centre of England to the Principal Towns
The Most Interesting Route to Scotland

The Midland Railway Company are
General Carriers
in All Parts of
Great Britain & the Continent.
which was responsible for the purchase and handling of all requirements for recurring sundries and supplies, from notepaper, tickets and uniforms, to lamp oil, engine parts and loco coke. The Engineering Department supervised the construction of new works and the repair of existing structures, though the maintenance of the line was subcontracted to foremen who tendered for a contract to maintain a section of track for an agreed period and bought their own materials and hired their own labour. The clerical offices included Audit, Account and Transfer offices responsible for preparing, receiving and paying accounts. Under the auspices of a single committee (the Board of Directors) the N.M.R. was controlled by two senior officers: a Secretary carrying out the directives of the Board and a Superintendent, who was responsible for the operation of the line. The Coaching, Loco and Carriage and Goods Depts. were run by a Chief Clerk, Superintendent and Manager respectively, accompanied by one or two clerks. 

The inclusion of both Secretary and Superintendent with the resultant division of labour between overall administration and day to day operation, and the separation of passenger working and goods management, one of the most troublesome areas in the development of railway management gives the structure of the N.M.R. a mature appearance, an organizational sophistication also apparent in the design of its works at Derby, see chapter 2. Perhaps because of the relatively short length of the line, 63 miles in total, there was little requirement for a sub Superintendent division of management into districts or regions.

On amalgamation Derby was made the administrative base of the new Midland Railway, though there is no documentary evidence suggesting why Derby was. The reasons are perhaps fairly obvious: the merger was precipitated by George Hudson the chairman of the N.M.R. and understandably, along with many of the staff of the senior partner and largest company, the new concern adopted both the bones of its administration and its physical structures. The N.M.R. facilities at Derby were more compact, more extensive and also conveniently located than those of the other companies at the head on junction of the three lines. Monthly meetings of the full Board were set up to deal with the business of the Company whilst operation of the line including supervision of passenger and goods working, permanent way, loco and
carriage repair was put in the hands of a Committee of Management. The administration of the new N.R. followed the departmental structure of the old N.M.R. Though new appointments and increased division of labour at directoral level reflected both the increased size of the combined network and the effects of the financial economies which had reduced staffing levels. Whilst initially the new company assessed the best means and location for managing the concern, three teams of directors, controlled the three constituency companies as individual undertakings. This was a practice adopted by other companies on amalgamation, including for example, the L.N.W.R. which retained a spatially divided management structure for some years. On the M.R. this arrangement lasted less than twelve months, after which day to day management was transferred to a single Committee meeting on a weekly basis, attended by directors and full time heads of department. This process also reinstated a separation of duties between a Superintendent in charge of operation and a Secretary directly concerned with the workings of the Board lost on the N.M.R. in 1842.

In 1849, directoral responsibility was again sub-divided into a number of committees specifically tailored to oversee the already existing division into departments retained from the N.M.R. These consisted of a Traffic Committee, whose duties involved the running of trains, the maintenance of timetables, schedules, pricing and the station, coaching, goods and signals' staff. A Locomotive Carriage and Wagon Committee, whose influence included the repair and maintenance of Locos and rolling stock also, train crews and workshop staff. A Way and Works Committee responsible for the maintenance and construction of trackwork and structures; and a Finance Committee to manage all accountancy and financial matters, including the construction of new works and replacement of stock. Within a year of this date the position of Superintendent was replaced by that of General Manager responsible for the day-to-day management of the Company though with particular control of the Traffic Department. This arrangement appears to have served the Company quite satisfactorily, because apart from the division of the Loco and Carriage and Wagon departments in 1878, and the establishment of a Hotels Committee and separate Stores Department, the
Figure 3.6, Administrative Structure of the M.R.
general framework of 1850 is basically similar to that reproduced by Stretton in 1901, see figure 3.6.42.

The special problems of controlling the spatially extended railway system and the consequences of competition and expansion, are reflected well in the administrative structure of the M.R. At the height of the Company's expansionist policy in 1869, the Board of Directors assembled in the form of twenty eight separate committees. Apart from the normal departmental committees, groups of directors met in a Parliamentary Committee to plan the passage of M.R. bills for new lines through the House and defend its interest against the expansion of other companies. A Law Committee considered the implications of and interpreted National legislation for M.R. operating practices. Two Construction Committees dealt with the purchase of land, engineering works and other matters associated with the building of new lines. Further to this, the Board also assigned directors to fifteen other committees dealing with the joint working of lines and stations with other companies around the country from Furness to Bristol, indicating the Midland's well known policy of wheeling and dealing for traffic and territory.43

The requirements of collecting and disseminating information and orders necessary for the management of an expanding network, were a persistent theme in the expansion and refinement of the M.R.'s administrative, disciplinary and bureaucratic mechanisms. Amongst the first new grades created by the M.R. in 1845 was that of 'The Inspector'. This was most significant for the development of spatially and temporally distanced management on the railway and illustrates the means by which the spatially extended authority structure was infused with the disciplinary power of centralized control. The Inspector was required 'to be constantly travelling up and down the line, visiting the different stations and ascertaining that the business is properly conducted and noting any inadequacy or irregularity that may occur'. He was requested to report to the three senior officers in the Loco, Coaching and Goods Departments with any 'observations' to the 'advantage' of those departments. It was further required, 'That he also reports to the committee [Board of Directors] any misconduct, or impropriety which he may observe in the conduct of any officer, station master or other servant of the Company'. In effect this position was to
serve as the eyes and ears of the directors' committee, constantly on the move and constantly collecting intelligence. The procedure adopted to account for the activities of this free ranging agent of senior management are instructive and indicative of the methods of surveillance developed within the railway industry. The Board minute continues stating, 'that all the reports be made in writing and that he be required to enter in a minute book the several stations and places he shall visit on each day, with his remarks and observations'. By the same system, the Inspector reported in detail on the activities of other employees, so he effectively became his own overseer, consigning the content of every working hour to the ledger for the scrutiny of his superiors. Critical to decision-making at a distance was the storage of information for two reasons: firstly flows of information arriving at different rates could be cross checked; secondly it facilitated the interchangeability of personnel central to the ethos of constant coverage by enabling events to be correlated beyond the limits of personal knowledge. This same Board minute sets up a piece of administrative machinery against which both previous performance of the particular station and the reports of the inspector could be double checked. With this, the heads of each department were asked to make monthly returns to the Directors and Committees from each station showing the business transacted and also a return for the corresponding month of the previous year with the amounts of money got in and the amount owing. In this early minute of the Company may be observed the key factors in regulating the dispersed forces of the Company,

1. Written reports, collated at a central office, checked against verbal interview.

2. The compilation of comprehensive statistics enabling detailed temporal and spatial comparison.

3. Systems of cross-checking from one means of data collection to another.

4. Self-regulation through daily personal charge sheets and ledgers.

The system of accounting put into operation by Mr. Samuel Swarbrick in 1851, was of great importance to the creation of a system of financial checks across the whole of the Company's operations. Swarbrick, later General Manager of the G.E.R., whose perspicacity was
almost legendary within clerical circles at Derby, designed a system by which all transactions involved the completion of forms made out in triplicate. One held at the place of forwarding, one at the place of collection, with the third sent to Derby. This meant that cross checks could be made both between invoices for dispatch and receipt, held in three separate locations, thereby minimising the possibility of fraud by either a customer or company employee. Strictly demarcating his organisational territory Swarbrick concluded his report to the Board

The accountant to attend each, [committee] to submit to them the list of stores, orders and the comparisons of wages, stores, and works as above provided for. That all Contracts or agreements be entered on the committee minute, that all separate works, expenditures of £50 or upwards be estimated for and recorded in the minutes and that the Accountant have access to each Minute Book that he may be able to compare the expenditures with the Minute ordering it...that no separate system of accounts be allowed to be kept in any department but the Accountant to afford free access to the department for the accounts kept by him.45

In an important comment on the perceived value of centralised administration, he says, finally,

Most of the statistics now proposed are already partially kept, but they are scattered over your entire line and useless, by concentrating the staff and work, I hope to make the facts available for management at a less cost than at present, it will not require any increase on present staff, but rather reduce it.46

The above quotations from Swarbrick's statement to the Board suitably conveys the rise to power of the professional accountant echoing the experience of management within the twentieth-century corporation. It was noteworthy that Swarbrick rather than an engineer or a military man was drafted in as General Manager of the G.E.R. when it ran into difficulties in the 1850s. The M.R. was amongst the best organised of British railway companies. It is arguable that this Company, more than most, embraced management by professional financial advisers. This is evidenced in the early standardisation of locomotives and the advanced
form of centralised train control developed in the late 1890's, which allowed previously unprecedented scope for Derby to locate trains on the network and plan their movement. Administratively, individual departments needed to prove the financial and operational necessity for any repair or building programme. By the 1880's the Loco and Carriage Superintendents were required to produce detailed specifications, financial justifications, tables of comparative statistics and estimations of cost running to fifteen or sixteen pages of Committee minutes before sanction was granted by the directors. Further, it was not unknown for heads of department to be subsequently interrogated regarding expenditure above the estimated total. 47 This is in stark contrast to the L.N.W.R, for example, considered to he a very well run system, where, according to Drummond, estimations for the cost of new building programmes were little more than token gestures towards rigorous accounting, remaining unchanged over many years. 48

The great diversity of information collected and collated at Derby may perhaps be divided into three principal types:

Firstly, statistics were collected specifically to plan and monitor the expansion of the company, for example, weekly statements of account on newly opened lines from 1846 and the 'Ordnance Map of the District of the M.R.', prepared by Joseph Paxton, the Gardener and M.R. director as the Company planned its major expansion schemes in the 1860's.

Secondly, statistics were collected for routine planning and accounting purposes. Apart from the station by station traffic and financial statistics, whose collection was streamlined by Swarbrick, the reports of the departmental heads and the General Manager; regular reports by the later years of the century, included monthly reports on the delay of trains, numbers of engines in steam, damage to carriage stock, annual returns on loco mileage itemised by cost and standardized on a cost per mile basis, number of wagons at each station and an annual report on points and crossings requiring repair or replacement, to state only a few examples.

Thirdly, information was collected by and on behalf of individual employees. These took two forms—ledgers and report books filled in by individual workers in the course of their daily routine. Examples are the time books instigated in 1848 by which passenger guards recorded
their time of arrival and departure at each station,\(^4\) and the drivers' schedules which included reports on the state of the permanent way and the mechanical condition of the locomotive.\(^5\) Detailed records were also kept at stations and by individual departments at Derby on the workforce. These records date from the late 1840s and included individual employee pedigrees marking the personal career details of each employee, station and departmental discipline books which summarized the evidence in cases of alleged misconduct and the verdict of the investigating officer or committee.

Collecting and storing information became almost an end in itself and became bound with specific rituals to ensure lines of communication were maintained throughout the authority structure of the Company. At Derby, a primary clerical activity was simply the transcription of orders, accounts and data from diverse sources into bound volumes for retention. The reason why it is possible to refer in detail to General Manager's orders, is that one copy of each was carefully pasted into a book when each was issued throughout the whole history of the company from 1844 until 1923. The preoccupation with holding documentary evidence was extended to all individual stations and employees of the company. The Books of Rules' additional regulations and appendices issued to members of staff were subject to periodic inspection, (at least once every three months) and failure to produce these was a dismissible offence.\(^6\) Train crews were bound on pain of dismissal to read the notice board before commencing work. Whilst to ensure that orders had been received and acknowledged, a General Order book was instigated in 1846 at each station in which each and every directive, or instruction sent to the station, was to be transcribed and retained, for periodic inspection by the Directors, Heads of Department and District Inspectors.\(^7\)

The spatial and temporal extension of the railway network resulted in a refracted form of power which may be observed in the development of the Midland Railway's rules and regulations. The physical impossibility of holding continuous supervision of workmen dispersed across the country gave rise to a system of triple checking comparable with that devised for the maintenance of financial regularity. A principal element was the system of log books and time sheets to be filled in by each
workman as they undertook their daily routine, for example by Loco drivers, Guards and Station masters. By these, any discrepancies in the timing and movement of trains could be detected and explanations cross referenced. As each man was made to be charge hand over his own activities, so individual categories of worker cross checked on each other. Partly this arose from the increased concern to develop safety procedure in the industry, both in a fiscal and a physical sense. The tightening of safety routine on the M.R. after a fatal accident in the early 1850's, gives an early example of the triangular mesh of accountability in this company. With this, loco crews were instructed to observe the signals of station staff and policemen, reporting on whether these were given promptly. Station staff and policemen were ordered to check on the speed of the train and whether the guard was attending his post and that the train showed the correct warning lamps. The guard in turn was required to report on the conduct of both the loco crew and the station staff in a like manner. This created a multi-channelled network of information flows through the various levels in the command hierarchy, constituting a control structure of potentially panoptican omniscience. Within this, men conducted their working lives, ever cautious that they themselves and the workplace routines of friends and colleagues comprised the eyes and ears of authority. Whilst it may appear that practice in the Derby workshops bears more relation to that in a contemporary machine-dominated factory, in textiles for example, it is clear that management conceived of the control of its workforce on the line and in the shops in a similar manner. Some railway companies had, for instance, separate books of rules and regulations for the workshops which mimic those written for the operating departments. The M.R. however, used the same book of rules and regulations for both service and traffic staff, which perhaps reflects the lack of formal administrative separation, for instance, within the loco department between the repair, construction and operation of locomotives. There are comparisons between the systems adopted to ensure order in financial and operational circulations and those in the workshops. Writing of the method by which conformity was maintained in the shops W.H. Hodges, the Company Secretary said in 1877; 'The men in these Departments have so to speak a 'cordon' around them ' which places them under 'a greater and
superior immediate supervision'. This 'cordon', or disciplinary and supervisory framework, consisted of a sophisticated system of mechanical timechecks and timekeepers and rigorous regulations to account for the use of stores, parts and tools. The formality of the system, like that of accounting for station receipts, partly derives from the requirement to keep, at Derby, a central check on wages, the cost and quantity of maintenance and repair work carried on at stations and depots around the network, resulting in a standardized accounting procedure throughout the department to enforce the regularisation of activity.

Service and Repair.

The N. M. R. repair and maintenance facilities at Derby adopted as the principal shops for the new M. R. must have been something of a model establishment for no other railway works demonstrates such care in layout. It was certainly remarkable enough to be included as an example in S. C. Brees, 'Railway Practice' of 1847. Its carriage and loco shops and loco stabling radiating from a central access spine turntable, with offices over the access joining the three departments and brass and iron foundries. In the earliest years of railway operation at Derby, the division of labour between operation and maintenance was not nearly as clearly demarcated as the functional layout of shops would suggest. Locomotive drivers, for example, were attached permanently to a locomotive which they were expected to run on the line five days and maintain and repair for the rest of the week. However, it is obvious that even in these early years, craftsmen, Boiler makers, Brass-founders, Coppersmiths and Turners, for example were employed to undertake specialist work. Though routine and light repairs were carried out at the stations where Locos and running stock were stabled, Derby's function was to carry out major repairs and replacements and stock would be sent periodically to the workshops for heavy maintenance. During the earlier years of the company, the Committee minutes record that even some routine maintenance work was contracted to outside firms. Output statistics for the workshops in the early years are rather sparse, however figures for autumn 1848 and 49 suggest that about 28-30 locos per month were under repair in the works. If one compares this
with the monthly wage bill for repairing engines, for which there is an extensive run from the late 1840's onwards which increases relatively steadily until the 1860's, then it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume only a modestly increasing work load in the Derby shops. The first locomotive to be constructed at Derby was completed in 1851 and between 1852-58 33 locos were constructed in the shops, an average of just over 9 per annum.\textsuperscript{60} For much of the history of the M.R. the Company purchased most of their rolling stock from outside contractors, and the comparatively small part Derby played in locomotive carriage and wagon construction during these years may be understood as simply an extension of the maintenance programme, Derby being engaged in building replacement stock, with outside contractors building the great majority of new additional stock. This may be seen from the building rate for coaching and wagon stock available for certain intervals during the period 1859-73, which rises from an average of 4 coaching vehicles and 34 wagons per month in 1859 to 6.75 coaching vehicles and 50 wagons in 1873, and must be seen in the context of orders placed with outside firms ranging between 500 to 1800 vehicles per annum.

Workshop accommodation was steadily expanded throughout the period from the 1850's to the 1870's. The rapid expansion of the M.R. system in the 1860's led to a great increase in the Company's stock; between 1869 and 1876 loco stock increased from 712 to 1,228 and train mileage from 15 million to 22 million miles per annum.\textsuperscript{61} It was clear from the late 1860's that facilities were now quite inadequate for the building, repair and maintenance of the Company's stock. Plans for reorganising the workshops were discussed in 1870 and when the Carriage and Wagon Department was separated from the Loco Department in 1873; it was with the intention of devoting the whole of the original workshop complex with its additions to Loco work and constructing a separate Carriage and Wagon works, for this purpose 50 acres of land was purchased on the west side of the London Rd. south of the original complex. The new shops costing £300,000 and consisting of 13½ acres of covered workspace were in full production by the end of 1878, later this was extended to over 80 acres. Unlike the Loco shops which had grown in a piecemeal fashion since the 1840's, the C.& W. works were carefully laid out, a model plant, allowing the maximum amount of mechanisation and an efficient
throughput of materials. One principal reason for this may have been Sir James Allport; the Midland Railway's influential General Manager had recently paid a visit to the Pullman Car works in the U.S.A. One result of which was the importation of Pullman Cars for use on the M.R. and the consequent secondment to Derby of a small number of Pullman engineers to supervise their introduction. Williams indicates that the capacity of the Loco shops in the 1870's was 120 locos at any one time including both new building and repairs, though as Radford shows the number of new locos constructed in the late 70's was no more than 25 per annum, still less than half the average annual requirement for new locos. In the Locomotive Department S.W. Johnson was told on several occasions by the Board that expansion plans could not be agreed, because policy was not to build all their loco stock in-house. A report of 1877 states that an average of 46 carriages per month were put through the nearly completed Derby shops for general repair and painting. Whilst figures for 1879 indicate the greatly increased capacity now available in the new works, totals for stock built of 207 coaches and 1654 wagons per year. In contrast to Loco building it was intended to build as much carriage and wagon stock at Derby as possible and this was the rationale behind the new works. M.R. policy was at deviance from other major Companies, the G.W.R and L.N.W.R., for example, endeavoured to build as much of their own loco stock as possible. The Midland Board were never absolutely convinced that own building was the cheapest method even though Johnson stated that in house locos not only cost 75 percent of contract built ones but were of an assured quality. The wisdom of Johnson's request to build more locos at Derby may be observed from during the 'locomotive shortage' of the late 1890's when the M.R had orders for locomotives with 16 different engine builders some of whom were over two years behind with their delivery dates, this led to the M.R. again turning to the U.S.A. where they ordered 40 locomotives in 1900 with a delivery time of ten weeks. The capacity of the Loco works by this time was a yearly build of 40 new locomotives, 120 locos rebuilt with new boilers and 750 to 800 heavy repairs, to support a loco fleet of about 2,200. The figures given in 1901 by Stretton gives the output of the loco shops as 50 new Locos, (still less than 50 percent of the annual requirement) and 900 repairs. Assuming these figures are
substantially correct, this modest increase on a decade earlier is understandable, given both the lack of further major investment in the Derby loco shops and Johnson's constant pleas to the Board to the effect that he was unable to take on more work because he was using the shops to absolute capacity. The fact that the American locos had to be erected outside in the yard because the workshops were full, helps to substantiate this.69

The M.R. were quite outstanding in the programme of Locomotive standardisation initiated by the then Locomotive Superintendent, Matthew Kirtley, from the late 1850's. Partly this was due to the nature of the Company's traffic, hauling vast quantities of coal from the Midlands to London. The most obvious response to this necessity was to build a fleet of large freight locos dedicated to this traffic alone, though these would be unusable elsewhere and under utilised in the slack period of late spring early summer. The answer adopted by the M.R. was to build large numbers of small locos which could be used for a wide variety of purposes, and simply to add as many individual power units together as would be necessary to haul the large coal trains when required (sometimes as many as four locos to one train). This gave the Loco dept great flexibility when rostering motive power and when taking locos out of service to send to Derby for repair. Standardisation to an 0-6-0 wheel base with axle centres of 8ft. + 8ft.6 ins. for freight and shunting engines, the development of a limited range of standardised spare parts, boilers and Locomotive tenders, interchangeable between individual locos, facilitated a quick turn round of locos entering shops for repair. This may be seen as most innovative as Samuel says, 'In the 1860's production engineering was still in its infancy, and the system of manufacture by interchangeable parts, introduced from the United States at the time of the Crimean War, was for the most part confined to the making of sewing machines and small arms.'70 John Fernie 'General Foreman' of the workshops from 1855, held a post equivalent to Works' Manager and was the first person to hold such a position at Derby. He came to the M.R. from the important Derby precision iron founders, Andrew Handyside & Co., and was concerned to find the workshop craftsmen all working to highly individual standards, his initiatives constitute the beginnings of a rationalized approach to production in
the M.R. shops which matched the financial regularization of Samuel Swarbrick. He was responsible for introducing a system of templates and gauges based on Whitworth's system which was critical to a rigorous uniformity of product to ensure interchangeability of parts and spares.\footnote{1} Coming from a firm of specialist casters he also used his expertise to introduce a method of casting cylinder blocks using accurately located moulding boxes and cores 'whereby the manufacture is brought within the grasp of any man who can throw in sand and ram it'. Perhaps the most important innovation at this time, was the introduction of a set of special stands and jigs to ensure the accurate and uniform erection of entire Locos rather than individual components, so that all constructed were very precise copies of each other, facilitating the interchangeability of parts. The use of this jig is often given as an explanation of the M.R. standard wheelbase still in use in the 1930's.

It is apparent from the purchase of tools and machinery that the Company were prepared to invest in new technology, for example, the early use of carborundum grinding in place of planning and accurate weighing and measuring machines. Between 1860 and 1869 alone the Company spent £15,956 on tools and machines and this helps to substantiate the assertion that the 1860's were of fundamental importance not only to increasing workshop capacity, but to the modernisation of production techniques. Whilst in the major period of expansion in service provision, between 1870 and 1879 the Locomotive Department alone spent over £62,000 for tools and machines and this does not include the £300,000 spent on the new Carriage and Wagon works. Certainly, on occasions, the Loco dept. considered investment in tools and machinery an economic alternative to extra wage labour. Investment was not infrequently justified in terms of the elimination of overtime, as an expenditure for this purpose of £4,407 in 1891 demonstrates.\footnote{2} The relatively small batch production runs of locomotive construction in Britain were not easily mechanised though there is clear evidence that the M.R. actively automated the volume production of low technology components, for example, loco fire bars which were used in huge quantities.\footnote{2} It has been suggested by Saul, that one reason for the underdevelopment of the British machine tool industry in the late nineteenth century, was the relatively unmechanised workshops of British
Figure 3.7, Plan of Derby Locomotive Works, 1900.
Figure 3.8 Photos of Derby Locomotive Works, C. 1900-1910.

Machine and Fitting Shop.

Erecting Shop.
Paint Shop.

Boiler Shop.
Locomotive builders who typically built relatively small production runs of highly individualistic Loco types, which were not amenable to automated production runs. In terms of the major private loco builders either in Britain or the U.S., where output may be 500 plus units per year, new building at Derby was on a relatively small scale, the size of the workforce and complexity of the operation was primarily due to the other service facilities undertaken, and the large amounts of repair and maintenance. In the 1890's, for example, the Assistant Locomotive Superintendent stated that all locos go through the Derby shops for heavy maintenance once every 18 months, with a stock of 2,400 this would give an annual through-put of 1,600 locos. Given this fact, it is clear that the most important consideration was not automating engine building but 'rationalising' procedures for repair. In this context the M.R. policy of loco standardisation with a high degree of interchangeable parts may be seen as a very sound one, though the actual units may have been produced by basically traditional craft techniques. It may be argued that the high capitalisation of the works was concerned not so much with automated production, but with streamlining and speeding the artisan controlled production process. This was accompanied by the widespread use of steam driven lathes, shaping, drilling, boring machines, hydraulic presses, steam hammers, traversers, turntables, cranes and overhead gantries to ease the movement of locos and components around the works.

If one considers the accounts of the works published between 1877 and 1893 with regard to the map of the Locomotive works (see figure 3.7) it is possible to discern the same systematic approach to work organisation which is apparent in other spheres of railway operation. On the M.R., the connection between the nature of the Company's traffic, related to the regional location of the system, an 'optimised' and 'efficient' design of the loco fleet and the regularisation of building and maintenance at Derby, is evident from the Assistant Locomotive Superintendent writing in 1891-2;

The types of Locomotives on any line should be as few as possible, and the parts interchangeable, as in case of the failure of an engine at any place, the defective fittings require to be renewed from headquarters without delay.
Chapter 3

Besides, engines are constructed more cheaply and expeditiously, when the same drawings and models are used, and when the workmen are constantly engaged repeating the same articles and putting them together without special fitting.\textsuperscript{7c}

The various component parts, wheels, boilers, cast fittings in Iron and brass were made by separate bodies of craftsmen in different shops, machined and engineered in separate turning and fitting shops before being brought together in the erecting shops where gangs were engaged fabricating individual locomotives. In spite of its piecemeal growth the spatial arrangement of production shows a high degree of rationality. Through the centre of the complex ran an axial road with a travelling gantry crane above, which enabled the movement of parts and locos in various stages of construction, also locos for general repair would be brought here and separated from their tenders, which would enter the adjacent tender shop. To the east of this axis, were the foundries and close by the smiths and heavy fabricating shops producing boilers and wheels etc. To the west of the line were the erecting shops, where components would be assembled into complete locos, and adjacent to this were the machine and fitting shops with lathes, milling, planing and grinding machines for finishing, trimming and completing components for final assembly next door. Alongside this, furthest distance from the heavy side component production, were the shops for fine precision work, Brass fitting, Tool Room, and Grinding Shop. Beyond these and closest to the running sheds was the paint shop, from which locos would be 'outshopped' into service. In the works may clearly be seen the association of 'dual technologies' of which Raphael Samuel speaks, a mixture of machine and hand based techniques.\textsuperscript{7b} According to Johnson an M.R. locomotive contained more than 5,100 parts, ranging in size and sophistication from a drop forged coupling chain produced by a blacksmith, to precision dials and gauges made by and calibrated by a skilled instrument maker. All these items needed to be made and serviced within the same works and it is therefore not surprising that appropriate techniques should lead to a wide variety of skill levels and work rates within the shops.

Contemporary reports state that maximum use was made of piecework wherever possible. Certainly the erection of locos was done by a gang of
four men and two boys, the 'leading hand' of each contracting to build
the engine (labour only) at a given price. During the progress of the
work the gang receiving a stated weekly wage, a proportion of the
contracted price, with the balance received when the loco was complete,
based on a construction time of three weeks per loco.\textsuperscript{79} Evidence from
1849 indicates that in the early years of the works, virtually all work
including turning, smiths, boiler smiths, construction and painting,
were paid for by the piece. Not all of this work would have been
undertaken by gangs, some turning, for example, would have been paid by
piece directly to each craftsman engaged on such work. For this reason,
it is not possible to trace employees in the workshops below the level
of shop foreman who were paid a fixed wage directly by the Company.
During the 1850's there was a reconsideration of the piece work system,
it would appear that there were problems with quality rather than
quantity in some areas of work, this resulted in the cessation of
payment by piece in boiler construction and carriage painting during
1858.\textsuperscript{79} From this date it was Company policy to pay by this method
'wherever practicable'.\textsuperscript{79} This meant on simple repetitive tasks and more
complex ones which were easily measurable, like loco erection, where,
unlike boiler construction, or painting, speed would not lead to a
critical reduction in quality. A Board Minute of 1877 states that as
many as 1100 men or 75 per cent of the skilled labour force in the
Locomotive Works were employed on piece work.\textsuperscript{81}

Carriage and Wagon construction were rather more adaptable to
mechanised production, the lower level of technical sophistication and
high volume production, of wagons in particular were principle reasons
for this. Writing of the new C.& W. works, Thomas Clayton the M.R.'s
Carriage and Wagon Superintendent who was greatly responsible for its
design said;

All the shops are conveniently arranged for the direct
transmission of work from one shop to another, saving as much
as possible all passing backwards and forwards and unnecessary
labour. Thus, on the one hand, raw material in the shape of
logs, deals, etc. coming in at the north end of the yard is
unloaded and stacked in the Timber Yard, and passed into the
Saw Mill, from which it goes to the Plank and Scantling Drying
Figure 3.10, Pictures of the Carriage and Wagon Works, C. 1880.

The Saw Mill.

The Carriage Shop.
Chapter 3

Sheds, or is passed straight forward to the Wagon Shop or Carriage Shop, as required; thence, when it has assumed the shape of vehicles, it passes on to the Paint Shop for painting and upholstery work.02

The works show the influence of the mechanized Pullman works in the U.S.A. (see figure 3.9). It was functionally divided into two sides with a central spine of railway lines between the two, timber fabrication to make bodywork on the west and iron fabrication underframes and running gear to the east. On both sides initial raw materials processing was dealt with closest to the entrance, at the saw mill and the iron foundry, partly processed material was then moved one shop down the line, where wooden and metal components would be separately assembled. These two would then be sent down to the next shop where wooden and metal parts, body and underframe were brought together in the erecting shops and from here transferred to the furthest shop from the entrance where the now assembled vehicle shells were completed and then painted.

The description of the saw mill indicates the much greater degree of mechanisation on the C.& W. side of the Derby railway works. The saw and woodworking mill contained about 100 machines for transforming timber, all driven from a system of belts and pulleys, safely contained in a special cellar room, with its own mechanisms for removing shavings and saw dust, these machines were arranged with log saws closest to the timber entrance and fine joinery machinery closest to the fabricating shops.03 This held machines to mechanise virtually all the craft based carpentry skills used in manufacturing the wooden parts used in C.& W. construction. These included sawing, planing, shaping, morticing, tenoning, boring, turning and recessing timber, it also included machines to make tongue and groove boards, moulding machines to mass produce rail keys and dovetail joints.04 Elsewhere in the shops, there were panel-planing and sand-papering machines of American origin with their own dust extraction attachments.05 All the workshops were made on a uniform unit plan basis with a standard distance between, to prevent the spread of fire. As in the Loco works, piece work was employed as appropriate, gangs engaged on erection work and individuals batch producing particular components. The much greater degree of mechanisation, lower technical sophistication of carriage and most
particularly wagon production involving far fewer stages in between initial processing and assembly, and lower critical standards for safety and finish may well be largely responsible for the clear hierarchy of work status within the shops. Loco work was of highest status followed by carriage and lastly wagon building. Carriage finishing required a number of trades where much care was required in fine cabinet work, painting, veneering, french polishing and upholstery work, not suitable for piece work. In a number of these trades, 'young girls and women are solely employed, and here executed all sorts of light work suitable for female fingers,' these included sewing, stuffing of cushions and backs of carriages, french polishing, washing and dyeing, cleaning and lacquering light brass-work and gilding. This was reserved for the wives and daughters of railway men injured and killed in service. Apart from the sewing of Company uniforms this was one of very few outlets for female labour available in the Company until W.W.I. and may also have contributed to the lower status of C.& W. work. Clayton throws valuable light on the nature of C.& W. work in the highly systematic and mechanised C.& W. shops at Derby, in a report of 1895 which discusses the desirability of laying off of men during a period of short time working.

...we shall have to discharge a number of men more, which whatever may be required in the future, we should not be able to replace, seeing that the great majority of our workmen at the present time have been brought up from boys and young labourers in these works, and taught to do one particular thing only, at which they have become experts doing the work expeditiously, well and cheaply, and their rate of wages being much lower than that of ordinary tradesmen, if we should in future time have to replace them with ordinary tradesmen, the latter would want higher wages and would not do the work so quickly, nor so well, nor so cheaply.

The relationship between levels of skill and the introduction of machinery is very complex, and it would be easy to see the adoption of universal standards of measurement, and machines to undertake simple tasks on large production runs as reducing skill levels and 'labour power' in the works. Similarly, the widespread use of cranes and
materials handling equipment severely limiting the necessity for semi- and unskilled labourers and porters. However, all these innovations expanded the requirement for an already wide range of skilled and semi-skilled artisans, from tool makers and setters, instrument makers and inspectors to crane and hydraulic service engineers, maintenance crews, stores keepers and stationary enginenen. As in other spheres of railway work, it is perhaps true that the ability of the company to organise the circumstances of work rather than levels of skill were most important in controlling the production process. The Loco and C. & V. works demonstrate a great deal of care in this respect, in both works, the arrangement and division of labour between the specialist shops constitute a fully integrated productive unit. Even though hand forging and Nysmith Steamhammers may have worked in the iron foundry well into the 20th century, handicraft and machine technique side by side, this must not be taken as simply the persistence of archaic technology. Each was engaged on appropriate work, the one on heavy work, or mass producing simple components, the other, on one off fitting, or where expenditure on machinery would not warrant a particular saving over hand work paid by the piece. In the C.& V. shops Clayton acknowledged in a C.& V. minute of 1839 the difference in approach to the production and repair of stock, the latter could not easily be mechanised and required the all round hand skills of a more highly skilled traditionally trained artisan. The introduction of technology in the case of this Company at least, indicate not so much a capitalist plot to deskill the labour force, but a calculated rationality, to exploit the advantages of each where appropriate.

In his study of Swindon Works, Eversley states that because of their service function within the internal market of an individual railway company, the engineering establishments of British railway companies were protected from the depression in the engineering industry during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He suggests this was largely because Government regulation enforced an increasingly high standard of technical safety and routine maintenance. This, for example, is evident on the M.R. as on the G.W.R. in the programme of fitting all locos and carriage stock with Westinghouse vacuum brake equipment during the late 1870's and early 80's, which at one time
occupied over 60% of craftsmen in the coach repairing shops. In spite of the fact such government forced investment may well have smoothed out downturns in work load there is evidence of short-time working in the shops during May 1884, which involved closing the loco works on Saturday Mornings and Mondays. This lasted only three weeks, and hardly constitutes a major slump in trade, whilst its wide reporting in the local press and in the Board Minutes suggests that this was indeed an unusual experience. Records also indicate a major period of short time working in the C.& W. works during March 1895, when 200 men were dismissed and the shops were put on a four day week. This relates to a period of financial stringency in the British railway industry as a whole, related to general economic depression. At Derby, the lay-offs resulted from the fact that, in order to save money no new coaches had been authorised for three years. Perhaps more important, particularly for the large amount of labour on piece work, was the seasonality of work load. It has so far proved impossible to quantify this from the monthly wage bills, however anecdotal evidence, personal accounts and the reports of Loco and Carriage Superintendents certainly indicate the existence of a regular seasonal rhythm to repair work. This related particularly to holiday periods, the first annual test of capacity was the Whitsumtide holiday which by the 1880's required almost all the M.R.'s available stock to run the service of special trains. This necessitated a full workshop schedule in the weeks leading up to this period to prepare as much stock as possible and would be followed by slack months in the late summer and early autumn, resulting in hands being laid off or set on to maintenance tasks, only to be taken back to normal working in September/October. Both Locomotive and C. & W. Departments had salaried staffs of engineers, draughtsmen and clerks, who were financially insulated from this seasonality. The loco dept. offices constituted one of the largest clerical depts. at Derby, dealing with wages, and loco running and performance statistics for the whole line, as well as within the works and the design of locos and machinery.

Derby carried out all other service functions and supply of parts, stores and equipment to the Company, including the supply of all 'provender' stores and consumables, from lamp oil to headed writing paper. Many of these functions were undertaken by the Loco and C.& W.
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(1) Includes figures for all Locomotive staff drivers, firemen and workshop staff at 1842 and 1851 the division between the two was difficult to make during the early years when footplate crews spent several days per week maintaining their own locomotives.

Sources: Railway Times 1842, Locomotive Committee Minutes, Board of Directors Minutes, Williams (1878) op.cit., Strephon op.cit., T.G.Clayton op.cit. S.W.Johnson op.cit. Jones op.cit.
depts. C.& W. built and repaired the Company's road vehicles, wheel barrows and hand carts. The Locomotive Department constructed and serviced weighing machines, cranes and hydraulic equipment and supplied gas from its own gas works to light the station, offices, works and signals in the neighbourhood. Other departments included a Signal and Telegraph Works to the north of the station which built in kit form all the Company's signals and signal boxes also servicing telegraph, and block instruments. There was also a ticket printing office and a Staff Uniform manufactory.

Derby was fundamental to the functioning of the L.R. system operationally, administratively, and for service and maintenance. Though it was initially considered that the administrative departments might move to St. Pancras on the completion of the London extension, the value of a single base for all its corporate functions may only be estimated in the fact that having spent a huge amount of money on office accommodation at St. Pancras, the Company decided to stay put. It is difficult to estimate the employment figures for the Derby headquarters and figures have to be inferred and estimated from a variety of sources. However, 240 workers in 1842 had risen to about 5,000 by 1878 and to 10,000 by 1891 (see figure 3.11). It was only with the expansion of the network in the 60's, that the Derby headquarters grew into the vast complex which it had become by 1891, though having reached this size, the complex underwent no further major extension during the remainder of the century. By 1891 the workshops employed in excess of 7,500 the largest proportion of M.R. workers in the town, clerical workers amounted to about 2,000, the number of workers actually involved with the direct operation of the railway was no more than 5-600. As a proportion of total Company employees about 20 percent of L.R. workers were based at Derby, as a proportion of workshop staff about 85 percent were located at Derby, whilst about 40 percent of salaried, clerical and supervisory staff were based in the town.

The M.R. headquarters, were responsible for controlling a whole range of spatial and temporal flows and cycles, in terms of train operation, financial control, personnel management and stock maintenance. In the literature on railways, much has been made of the part railways played in standardising time and disseminating news and
information throughout the country. Unconsidered and of equal interest, is the way in which developments in railway management extended the technical ability to manage spatially and temporally distanced and discrete events, faster and more precisely than any government or other commercial organisation. It may be argued that the key to this was fast access to detailed stores of information enabling fully informed decisions to be made remote from the events they concerned. Also crucial was the cultivation of a number of media appropriate to conveying a variety of different types of message, from the relative slowness of the monthly ledger with its quality of detailed accounting for financial purposes, to the immediacy of the telegraph reserved for problems in traffic flows which required an instant response. It is significant that in an organization increasingly dominated by professional accountants the form of triple checking devised for financial regularity on the M.R., became the informing principle behind the maintenance of order in both traffic and workshop operations. The importance of this dimension of Derby's activities for the working lives of all grades cannot be underestimated, from the directors planning the expansion of the line, the clerks completing the annual accounts, to the boiler maker constructing engines, these rhythms and routines dictated, periods of overwork, periods of under and unemployment. Each intermeshed, the planning of new lines, which so often entertained the board, for example, would create work in the offices, producing estimations of engineering, traffic flows and the issue of new share capital or debenture stock, and eventually this would be reflected in the need to produce and service a larger fleet of rolling stock in the shops. All work routines were, in the final instance, calibrated to the regular and precise operation of trains.

Public space-Private space.

An important dimension of railway work and in particular Derby's role as part of the M.R. Company was the peculiar relationship between public and private domains in the service based railway industry. In terms of organisation, it is interesting that both the captains of the industry and the lowest service grades worked at an interface with the
Figure 3.12, Lithograph of Derby Station, 1840.
realms of public interest. The director and manager, needed to prepare statements of their activities and be questioned on their conduct at biannual shareholders' meetings and in front of periodic parliamentary committees. Service grades, guards, ticket collectors and porters, for example, interacted directly with the public on stations and in trains. The extremely complex physical relationship between what constituted public territory, the concourse of the station, the platform and specified areas of the rolling stock, even the shareholder's room, itself was very important to the nature of working for the railway. The precise regulation of dress and behaviour, for all grades not just those in immediate contact with the public, may be interpreted as a direct result of the confusion between workspace and public space. As also was the creation of an easily identifiable house style, in terms of architecture, fixtures, fittings, for example seats, lamps, fire hydrants etc., the design of rolling stock, uniforms and ephemera such as tickets and timetables, which all needed to inform the traveller they were in the hands of, and on the property belonging to, the Midland Railway. With the increasing division of labour and departmental responsibility which took place during the nineteenth century, it is possible to perceive a resultant development of formalised staging in the theatre of intercourse between employees, and between employee and customer. As an early painting of Derby station shows, travellers mingled amongst staff loading trains and across the lines in a free and informal manner (see figure 3.12). Similarly, early shareholders' meetings took place in one of the goods warehouses specially commandeered for the purpose, until a shareholding member of the public was killed by a passing train, just as directors and shareholders interfered in the day to day operation of the system. The development of formal platforms and the construction of a shareholders room in the 1850s were first important stages in the separation of public and private circulation spaces. Similar measures were undertaken elsewhere on the line and on the property of other companies, where safety became an increasingly important issue. Of interest this corresponds with a growing concern within the M.R. for the regularisation of rolling stock design, livery and staff uniforms. In administration the need to produce formal publications, for example standard styles for published accounts
and comprehensive timetables also clarified the relationship between employee and public in a ritual manner. During the 1870s and 80s, further separation of public and private space took place when access to the Loco works was separated from access to the station, removing the passage of workers from that of travellers. Departmentalisation, also created barriers of etiquette between individual parts of the organisation at Derby. Both physical separation and the increasing division of responsibility, made necessary formal procedures and committees to negotiate problems at the intersection of organisational territory. The mixture of flows and circulations of information, goods and people for consumption in a public realm, interdepartmental public-private and intradepartmental private spheres, created by the late nineteenth century an organisation at once both extremely public and intensely private, secretive, and inward looking. Perhaps two of the offices in the Loco dept. created in the 1870s illustrate this, these were the appointment of a chemical analyst and a Company photographer, plus their respective staffs. The first to assess the quality of and specification of all incoming stores and materials from grades of steel to horse feed, the latter to record all types of loco, coach and wagon produced at Derby as well as to take views of the line for use in publicity material, demonstrating the same degree of suspicion and meticulous concern by the Company, with all items both entering and leaving its jurisdiction.
Notes.

9. Railway Times, (1849), p.1814. and T.R.Gourvish, *op.cit.* p.27. A number of important railway officials were recruited from the armed forces, most notable of whom were Captain M.Huish (Grand Junction), Capt. W.O.O'Brien (Great North of England) and Capt. C.R.Moorsom and Lieut. H.P.Bruyeres (London and Birmingham).

10. Ibid, p.28.


15. The invention of this system increased the density of trains packed onto the network, yet at the same time increasing safety. This was accomplished by dividing the system into small sections up to three or four miles in extent, protected at the division by a semaphore signal which allows entry and exit between each block or length of line. Each block may only be occupied by a single train at any one time and entry into the next section only admissible if this was first free from all other traffic. The system is managed by signalmen positioned in cabins at regular intervals alongside the track. Their job is to ensure sections were clear before allowing trains to enter and to supervise the entry and progress of trains into block sections. Communicating with train crews by operating visual semaphore signals and to other signalmen by oral semaphore- a specially devised telegraphic code. This constitutes a form of 'space time packing' see T.Carlstein, 'Innovation, Time Allocation and Time-space Packing', in T.Carlstein, D.Parkes and N.Thrift, eds. *Timing Space and Spacing Time* (London, 1978) vol.2 pp.146-161 also N.Thrift, 'Time and theory in human geography part ii', *Progress in Human Geography* (1978), vol.2 and D.N.Parkes and N.Thrift,
Notes to Chapter 3

22. Ibid. p.13.
25. T.R.Gourvish, op.cit. p.27.
27. M.Bonavia, op.cit. p.15.
29. M.Bonavia, op.cit. p.15.
30. Ibid. p.17.
34. RAIL 491/823 1871-1900 'Comparative statistics of revenue, traffic, cost of operating etc.'
35. When the Frewash Valley line opened the Incumbant of the Midland Hotel Derby complained to the Board of Directors claiming breach of contract as they were diverting away potential customers. Board of Directors Minutes 6792.
38. RAIL 491/Board of Directors Minutes 1 sets up the Committees of Management.

39. Ibid., 420.

40. Ibid., 1782-1787.


42. Ibid., p. 259.

43. This was the situation for example when committees for the new year were announced at the meeting of the Board of Directors 16th. February 1869.

44. Board of Directors Minutes 420.

45. Board of Directors Minutes 4259.

46. Ibid.

47. RAIL 491/Locomotive Committee Minutes 893.


49. Board of Directors Minutes 4003.


52. Committee of Management Minutes 2867.

53. This importance of the relationship between knowledge, power and forms of surveillance has become a topic of some interest in the human and social sciences, particular attention has been paid to the link between the sciences of the body and the management of space which becomes the agency for forms of social control which enable the intrusion of state agencies from the purely economic into all spheres of existence. See for example M.Foucault, Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison. (London, 1977) 'Space, Knowledge, and Power', in P.Rabinow, ed. The Foucault Reader (London, 1986) though Foucault has been criticised for his detailed work on the chronology of Prison development and the role of the penitentiary system in maintaining social order, see M.Ignatieff, 'State, Civil Society, and Total Institutions: A Critique of Recent Social Histories of Punishment' Crime.

54. Committee of Management Minutes 249. This minute enforces a system of cross checking amongst traffic staff as a result of an accident inquiry in 1846.


56. Board of Directors Minutes 1575.

57. Veritas Vincit, Railway Locomotive Management in a Series of Letters (Birmingham, 1847)


59. Locomotive Committee Minutes 7023.

60. Ibid. 2148.

61. Ibid. 18th. July 1876.

62. Williams, op.cit. p.646.


64. RAIL 491/ Carriage and Wagon Committee Minutes 732.

65. Ibid. 960.

66. Locomotive Committee Minutes 1897.


68. 'Midland Railway Company's Works at Derby', in Transactions of the Institute of Mining Engineers (1893), pp.502-503. and Locomotive Committee Minutes 3129.

69. Stretton, op.cit. p.234.


71. Radford, op.cit. p.49.
72. Locomotive Committee Minutes 10523.
73. S.W. Johnson, 'The Midland railway Locomotive Works at Derby', Transactions of the Chesterfield and Derbyshire Institute of Mining, Civil and Mechanical Engineers (1881-82), p.211.
74. S.B. Saul, 'The Mechanical Engineering Industries in Britain, 1860-1914', Economic History Review (1967), 2nd. series, xx pp.34-35. The new build capacity of Derby works may be compared with about 150 locos per annum at Crewe and Swindon or 577 per annum for the largest private locomotive constructor the North British Locomotive Company. Figures in the possession of Dr. B. Turton.
76. Ibid. p.681.
77. Samuel op.cit. p.20.
79. Locomotive Committee Minutes 3163,3164.
80. Johnson op.cit. 675.
81. Board of Directors Minutes 1575.
82. T.G. Clayton, 'The Midland Railway Carriage and Wagon Works at Derby', Transactions of the Chesterfield and Derbyshire Institute of Mining, Civil and Mechanical Engineers (1881-82), p.217.
83. Ibid. p.218.
84. Ibid. p.219.
85. Ibid. p.220.
86. Ibid. 223.
87. Carriage and Wagon Committee Minutes 3045.
89. Carriage and Wagon Committee Minutes 863.
90. Locomotive Committee Minutes 859, 892 and Derby Mercury 7th May 1884.
91. The symbolic presentation of public and private domains is explored in E. Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (London, 1969) particularly chapters 3 and 6. Giddens op.cit. (1981), uses this idea as part of his notion of the 'regionalization' of social practices in which the production and reproduction of specific forms of social action are.
Chapter 4

Working the System

It may be argued that a sense of the organization, both physical and managerial, was ever present in the working lives of Midland railwaymen from the board of directors down to the humble yard porter. The election of a new director had to carefully reflect the power held by groups of shareholders in the various 'constituencies' of the M.R. Giving indication of the importance of this sense, a Board Minute of 1860 allowed an ante-chamber to the shareholder's room, to be fitted with shelves so that specimens of the mineral production of the districts traversed by the Company might be displayed. Whilst in 1887, the Board authorized the 'purchase of three books of engravings 'representing towns on the Midland system'. Among the training tasks given to many grades of clerical and traffic staff, including porters, signals and station staff, was the requirement to learn by heart the names of all stations, depots and junctions on the Company's system. Even in the wage packet men could not forget their place in a greater whole: for traffic staff, income was related to the size and importance of the station, depot or junction. In a three stage hierarchy, transfer to a more important location meant an increase in money for an equivalent position. For all grades, increasingly strict demarcations of responsibility, related both to concerns of safety and the requirements of managing a vast and dispersed body of workers, ensured that each individual was made quite clear of not only the extent, but the limits of his organizational space. The spatial dimension to railway work in both its physical and bureaucratic forms, is very important for an understanding of the mechanisms by which the company loyalty evident in the railway industry was maintained and generated, given the absence of any 'traditional' form of paternalism.

Prospects

Historians have noted the lack of employment security as an ever present threat to the stability of personal and family fortune for a
large percentage of the industrial workers in nineteenth-century Britain. The prospect of the workhouse was a real threat to many, an ever present spectre of possible ill-fortune, in the capricious booms and slumps of a partly regulated and imperfectly understood economy. Patrick Joyce in his sophisticated reformulation of the mechanisms by which company loyalty was created in the Lancashire Textile industry, stresses the fundamental importance of economic 'dependence'. He says;

No matter how hard his regime, the employer who provided continuous work and good conditions and materials, and who tempered hardness with fairness, was assured of popularity and a stable workforce.

In his influential article on the 'labour aristocracy', Hobsbawm itemizes a set of criteria by which the working classes were stratified by status. Many of these are a direct result of the terms and conditions of employment which stress regularity of work, financial security and promotion. Members of the select band of labour aristocrats were distinguished as follows:

First, the level and regularity of a workers earnings; second, his prospects of social security; third, his conditions of work, including the way he was treated by foremen and masters; fourth, his relations with the social strata above and below him; fifth, his general conditions of living; lastly, his prospects of future advancement.

One of the most important attributes of railway work was the prospect of uninterrupted employment, 'a job for life', and the possibility of promotion, 'to be able to make something of yourself'. In theory, this gave to the son, even of a humble farm labourer, the chance of a 'career'. Ironically, given the then dominant ideology of self-help, this was a prospect virtually unavailable elsewhere. Kingsford quotes the General Manager of the Great Western Railway:

In agricultural districts indeed where wages were very low, 15s. per week as a commencing wage for a porter enabled the Company to obtain, without difficulty, as many men as they required, especially as the chances of promotion afforded to the men a prospect of advancement far beyond what they were likely to attain in agricultural pursuits.
Contemporary written accounts and the recent oral testimony of men from a variety of grades who worked at Derby, cite job security as a primary concern in seeking employment on the railway. In the eyes of many, continuity of employment gave railway work 'status' and its employees 'respectability'. The Midland Railway, like other systems, offered a clear route to promotion available to all who entered the service: porters could rise through various grades to reach the status of station master; a workshop artisan could rise through the ranks of foreman and inspector to become a superintendent; a junior clerk could progress through the Derby administration to attain a senior position at the head of a department. For some classes of work the progression up the hierarchy was firmly fixed and it was necessary to serve one's time, in a form of apprenticeship 'by example' before progress was made. Young lads, for example, joining the railway with a view to becoming engine drivers, first started as junior cleaners and passed through the grades of passed cleaner, fireman, passed fireman, shunting and freight driver, before being allowed to drive a passenger train. This process might well take the prospective top link express driver into his late fifties. A similar ladder existed for guards who started as porters, proceeded as porter guards and under guards, before having charge of their own train, only to gain seniority in their early forties.

Wages for those entering the industry were modest. On the Midland Railway during the 1870s for example, porters and shunters entered the service at 16/- at the age of 16 years rising to 20/- to 21/- in their mid-20's. However, these wages were greater than the 14/- which might be obtained as a farm labourer, though less than those of a town labourer, particularly in the early years of service. Apprentices in the workshops started on 5/- but were able to earn 25/- to 30/-, or several shillings more, on piece work, after serving their time. There was a large difference in wage rates amongst artisans within the workshops, up to 10/- per week, with the highest rates for specialist work, like tool-making and for the erecting gangs. Similarly, engine cleaners beginning work at fourteen with the prospect of becoming loco drivers, would start on 5/- and if able to pursue this career path to its conclusion would be able to earn 40/- to 45/- per week as a senior driver. Clerical and professional grades and draughtsmen started at very low rates but gained
the wages equivalent of a skilled artisan, or foreman, at a young age, starting on 5/- at the age of 14 years this rose to £110 per annum, or 42/- per week, by 24 years. Boys and young men starting a form of privileged apprenticeship, called 'Pupilage' as material for professional engineering posts often spent their first years without any remuneration, though at the apex of their 'careers' a salary in excess of £1,000 was not impossible. Amongst the confusing gradations of wage rates related to length of service it is possible to determine a clear wage structure, for those employed by the M.R. at Derby.

1. Labouring grades: Porters, Carters, Goods handlers, 16/- to 22/- per week.

2. Lesser skilled grades: Junior Clerks, Workshop artisans-fitters and machinists, Signalmen, Goods Guards, Goods supervisory staff. 25/- to 32/- per week.

3. Higher skilled grades: Loco drivers, Passenger Guards, Assistant Workshop and Running shed Foremen, Senior Clerks, 32/- to 45/- per week. (or equivalent on annual salary rate for Clerks and Foremen).

4. Supervisory grades: Head Workshop Foremen, Inspectors, District Superintendents, Engineers £150 to £500 per annum (equal to 57/- to 192/- per week.)

5. Senior Management: Heads of Department and their Deputies, Loco, Carriage and Wagon Superintendent and Assistants, Secretary, General Manager, £600 to £2,000 per annum.

Apart from continuity of employment and career prospects, there were other benefits in working for a major railway company. From 1841 the M.R. had its own Friendly Society, it provided a payment of 12/- in case of sickness and £12 in case of death, or £25 if killed on the railway. Whilst from 1870 the M.R. had a Superannuation scheme which would provide a percentage of average salary, according to years of contribution at the age of 60. Coverage by these schemes did not extend to all workers. The Friendly Society was compulsory for traffic and loco staff, but, attempts to introduce it to the Carriage and Wagon dept. were rejected by departmental management. The Superannuation scheme was only available to the higher grades and clerical workers, who were on the salary list. However, for a long-serving man in either the lesser
or higher skilled grades retiring in the 1890's, who had contributed to both schemes, it was possible to retire with between £100 and £200.

Men entering the M.R. at Derby enjoyed the career prospects associated with an aggressive and rapidly expanding corporation. G.J. Pratt, in his 'Midland Railway Memories', remarks on the 'rapid advancement' possible during the years of major expansion in the 60's and 70's and the 'excitement' felt by many of the clerical staff when it was believed that they might be removed wholesale to the Company's new headquarters planned for London in the 1860's. In 1878 Williams claimed that 'The numerous extensions of the Midland system have afforded unusual opportunities for giving all reasonable promotion to our staff'. An examination of staff records appears to confirm this: the mean age for a senior driver in 1875 was 45 years, that of a senior guard was 32 years, whilst the mean age of a clerk in the Loco dept was just 24 years. As in a modern corporation, the construction of a personal career required a willingness to move to other departments, or to other locations within the organisation. Opportunism, the identification of an improved position and a willingness to submit to the organizational requirements of the Company were necessary conditions for the successful. Staff records, memoirs and personal accounts all indicate how important change of job location was for the attainment of a senior post. Kingsford states:

Considering mobility as a condition of promotion, there is no doubt that in many cases the willingness to move his home was a pre-condition of a man's promotion, although this was more true of inter grade promotion than of promotion within grade. Examination of the employment records for Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents and Inspectors working for the Loco Dept. suggests an average of about five (mean 4.8) place moves to attain this status, though it could be as few as three or as many as ten individual changes. Typically, these would involve one or two long-distance moves related to a cluster of short-distance relocations within one or more adjacent districts. These records also indicate the centrality of Derby to the system of promotion within the Company. Of the sixty men classified as Superintendent, or Inspector, in the 1892-1902 Loco salary book, forty-four, or 73 percent, had spent at least one period working at Derby.
Figure 4.1.

The Career of George Simmons

- 26.12.82 Removed to Repton - £75 p.a.
- 28.1.1919 Retired

- 3.5.77 Removed to Killars Dale - 24/- p.w.
- 10.1.79 Reprimanded and Fined 5/- for improper signalling
- 5.5.79 Rode Station Master, Whatstandwell - £35.14.0 p.a.
- 15.2.88 Removed to Superintendents Office, Derby as Block Inspector - 490 p.a.
- 17.1.76 Removed to Coalville - 21/- p.w.
- 5.5.74 Appointed Porter at Coalville - 17/- p.w.
- 25.2.74 Rode Relief Signalman - 23/- p.w.
- 21.8.74 Rode Assistant Shunter - 19/- p.w.
- 6.11.74 Rode Head Shunter - 20/- p.w.
- 30.4.75 Removed to Bagworth as Pointman - 20/- p.w.
- 10.11.74 Reprimanded for causing a derailment
- 10/11/75 Reprimanded for not reporting a derailment

Age on entering the Service: 19 years 3 months.
Residence before entering the Service: Northall, Dunstable, Bedfordshire.
Occupation before entering the Service: Dealing in Straw, with Father

Source Staff Pedigree of Geo.Simmons P.B.G. Rail 491/1932
The necessity of moving was different from department to department, the vast majority of administrative and service personnel, clerical workers and workshop artisans were employed at Derby. Whilst the workers in the traffic and loco departments were deployed at stations and depots throughout the country. The staff pedigree of George Simmons, though not 'representative' of railway workers in general, is typical of the experience of those who from lowly beginnings, became successful, professional railway men. From farm labouring he entered the service in 1874, at the age of 19, as a Porter he rose in twenty five years to become a District Inspector at £350 p.a., see figure 4.1. In such a large workforce, 52,978 in 1891, only a small percentage could rise through the ranks as George Simmons did, even if they had both the ambition and the opportunity. Only 9.2 per cent of the workforce were salaried, indicating the relative scarcity of such posts of responsibility. Nevertheless, especially amongst traffic grades, the requirement to move was a fact of life even for those in a relatively menial situation, as one may observe in the early career of George Simmons. The staff records for Loco drivers at Derby during the 1880’s suggest that 35 per cent had worked at one or more other depots, whilst 8 per cent had worked at three or more. A similar situation appears to apply to Guards; for Goods Guards employed at Derby 1886-90, at least one relocation was identifiable for 26 per cent and three or more moves in 4.4 per cent of cases. These possibly under-represent the actual number of moves made because these particular registers do not necessarily follow workers back to the beginning of their term of employment, nor take account of moves between the various sheds and depots within Derby itself. Rapid expansion, in both the overall system and the facilities at Derby in particular, may make the above figures unrepresentative of other locations on the system, or other dates. It is probable that rapid expansion greatly increased individual promotion opportunities within the local area for traffic staff and lesser grades whilst at the same time increasing the potential for promotion to distant locations for supervisory staff being trained at Derby. Comparative figures for Goods Guards staff in the Lancashire and Yorkshire district indicate an average of 3.4 moves, with as many as five or six moves not unusual. Even in administrative departments and
the Derby workshops, where relocation would appear to be a remote prospect it formed a small but significant part of the system of promotion. In the Derby District Superintendent's Office during the years 1901-8, 27 out of 96 (or 28 percent.), were transferred either to or from Derby to other parts of the system. Though there are no extant employee records for anyone below the level of Shop Foreman even here there is evidence of a limited opportunity for advancement, though this applied mainly to a very limited range of employees. The Derby workshop Timekeepers during the 1870's came almost exclusively from locations outside the town, almost certainly this occupation was reserved for well-respected workers who had been injured in the service. As early as the 1860's, before the effects of major periods of expansion were being felt, 8 out of 18 (44 per cent.) of Loco and Carriage Shop foremen at depots on the M.R. outside Derby had begun their railway service as artisans in the Derby workshops.

In common with most other major railway companies, the policy of the M.R. on recruitment and promotion was to engage workers for the most junior positions, promote from within the organization and only employ people from outside in the most exceptional circumstances. A Board Minute of 1857 entitled 'Regulations of Nomination and Examination, Appointments and Promotion of Company's Servants' established a uniform procedure across the whole spectrum of Company servants by the creation of a Committee to supervise this matter. This stated:

2. That on a vacancy occurring in any branch of the Company's service, the person most suitable, either by length of service, or by personal qualification shall be promoted.

3. That such most suitable persons shall be selected by the Head of Department in which the vacancy occurs from the persons in that Department and if no one there is eligible then an eligible person may be selected from some other Department.

4. That such person, if so elected on the responsibility of the Head of Department, shall be reported by him to the Committee in writing. If no suitable person can be found for promotion, the Head of Department shall report the same to the Committee, under which the Department may be. And the Committee shall take
steps to provide a suitable person, by advertisement or otherwise, and report the same to the Board.  

This Board Minute puts in place a system for advancement and promotion which fulfils the classical bureaucratic criteria. The very language of the minute bespeaks rational administration, its impersonal categories and cold logical procedures indicate the transformation of interpersonal, and interdepartmental relationships, within emerging large scale organizations, formalized by the effects of size and consequent application of social science. By this order, minimum requirements were laid down for each grade and a system of 'objective' tests instigated to ensure the rational and efficient allocation of staff to vacancies. These included height and age restrictions for Porters and Police, medical certificates, written and oral tests. The result of these would be held on file pending the occurrence of an appropriate appointment. Subsequent to appointment, the results of examinations and promotions were to be recorded in a set of ledgers. Each applicant required a character reference from a given 'person of responsibility' set out on the Company's standard form. Similar tests and examinations had also to be undertaken in order to gain promotion in many Departments of the Company. As with the engagement of employees, successful attainment of the required standard did not guarantee appointment. Tests for promotion were both physical and mental. Clerks had to pass a series of exams to rise from first to third grade, engineers and draughtsmen likewise. Porters and Firemen were tested for reading and writing, on the Company's rules and regulations and for health, particularly eyesight, before being eligible for promotion. Many firemen, for instance, after twenty years patiently waiting on the promotion ladder of heavy manual cleaning and firing duties, failed to achieve their goal of becoming a loco driver through failing vision in middle age. This complex and comprehensive system for assessing both potential and actual employees may be understood as having a number of important consequences for the conduct of the Company's business.

Firstly, given the vast number of workers employed by the Company, it enabled a basis for candidates to be chosen where no personal knowledge of character and capabilities by the deciding person, or group
of people, was possible. It also facilitated the maintenance of central control and regulation of the Company's staffing by Head Office.

Secondly, it constituted a cornerstone of the railway company's self image, appealing to the shareholders, travelling public and government committees as an overt statement of rigorous management, ensuring physical and financial safety by placing competent people in positions of responsibility.

Thirdly, the system was subscribed to by all other major railway companies and produced a cartel of employment opportunities. This created a sense of economic dependence. Once a man entered the service of an individual company, the possibility of employment in another was almost non-existent. As much as anything this encouraged the maintenance of a more passive, quiescent workforce apparently devoted to the company.

Fourthly, the fact that the vast majority of railway workers once committed to a company could only improve their status within that company worked to the Company's advantage in a number of other ways. Restricting employment opportunities elsewhere ensured a constant supply of fully trained staff, a captive pool of labour keeping down wage rates. Promotion from within helped to maintain supervision over the composition and quality of the workforce; closure ensured that only men schooled and socialized into the ways of the particular Company would survive selection procedures.

Entering the railway service, therefore, was an explicit agreement of deference to corporate dictates, symbolized by signing and receiving a copy of the Company's rules and Regulations. It placed parameters on one's employment space which was limited to one company, one career structure and by implication, both an extensive though limited number of actual locations where one might be allowed to earn a living. A set of predetermined possibilities related to the fortunes of the Company, the situation and extent of its network. To choose a company consciously, or unconsciously, was to choose a course for life. Rule 4, of the Midland Railway's 'General Regulations', set out these constraints in plain language:

Each person shall promptly obey all orders he may receive from persons placed in authority over him. He must reside wherever
The relative non-transferability of skills played an important part, in ensuring men once in the railway industry, stayed there. Traffic staff, Signalmen, Guards and Loco drivers, for instance, though they may be the watchword in respectability and sobriety, would find it difficult to find a direct outlet for their skills in other forms of employment. In fact, it was widely propagated in contemporary literature that such skills were entirely specific to the locality of service.

In most trades the skill of the workman is equally valuable wherever he may be employed; but unfortunately this is not altogether the case with the engine-driver, whose knowledge is essentially limited to his particular line.

It may be argued also, that Clerical workers schooled from a youthful age in the particular procedures of a single office, -in guards' ledgers or coke returns- would find both the more general duties and comparatively very limited employment opportunities in the outside world a daunting prospect. Similarly, at Derby in the highly mechanized Carriage and Wagon works, where the division of labour ensured that the majority of workmen did not gain the wide variety of skills typical of a normal Journeyman, the prospect of gaining work of similar status elsewhere would not be great.

A consideration of M.R. Company records lends empirical substance for the image of long service thought typical of railway work. The Loco Salaries Books for 1864-72 and for 1892-09 indicate less than 0.5 per cent. of workers in all grades in this Department left the Company of their own accord. Long service may be seen contributing to problems for the M.R. in the last decade of the nineteenth century when large numbers of men who had entered the Company in its earliest years all came to retiring age within a few years of each other. A succession of Board Minutes during this period give directives for each department to notify the Board of all men over 60 in the employ of the Company. As a result several hundred men, a dozen of whom were well into their late seventies, were dismissed from the Company: the mean length of service for these men was 43 years, though a number had been in the service of the company over 50 years. They came from a variety of grades- mainly
loco drivers, porters, labourers and workshop staff though some held supervisory posts. In one such exercise, six Head Foremen from the Carriage Works were either reduced to light work (store keeping), or dispensed with. However, the aggregate statistics may well be a little misleading. Though the above may be true for those described above as the 'Lesser skilled' through to 'Supervisory' grades, there appears to have been a considerable degree of fluidity above and below these levels. The staff appointments' book for Derby District for 1890-1901, which records station staff and Goods' department staff of the labouring grades, shows a 91 percent (294 out of 311) turnover in new staff during the period. The reason for this may well be because of the strong possibility of finding work at this level with equal or better pay elsewhere in Derby. Figures calculated from the District Appointments' Book for this period perhaps support this assertion and shows that on being offered a job 82 applicants refused the work giving the poor wages as the reason for refusal. This assertion is supported by Kingsford who indicates an annual turn-over of men in the porter and labouring grades of between 17 and 21 per cent on the L.B.S.C.R. for the period 1858-60.

In the professional and managerial grades, the xenophobic attitude indicated by a refusal to employ men who had worked for other railways was quite absent. Skilled senior staff were highly prized, they stamped their individual characteristics on the workings of a company and its engineering policy. Often a change in a senior position meant changes in supporting staff as the new head of department assembled a team sympathetic to their methods. Frequently senior staff were 'head hunted' in ways similar to those of modern corporations. By this means Samuel Swarbrook, the M.R.'s very able Chief Accountant, became General Manager of the Great Eastern Railway in 1861 and S.W. Johnson, Locomotive Superintendent from 1871 had held senior engineering posts with several major British railway companies. T.G. Clayton, Carriage and Wagon Superintendent, was enticed from the G.W.R. because of the the M.R.'s desire to emulate their advanced construction techniques. For the prospective senior manager it was necessary to gain experience with a variety of concerns, both to obtain a distinguished C.V. and because of the limited prospects within any individual company. During the period
1845-1900 at least 14 men are recorded leaving Derby for senior positions with railway companies either in Britain or abroad.\textsuperscript{26}

The structure of railway organization, its administrative procedures and codes of conduct conspired to create a sense of separateness among workers of all grades. The low wages paid to employees in the early years of service required a conscious decision to forego income today for the possibility of income and status in the future, with a personal commitment to the company. Shift work, used extensively by the Midland and other railway companies, functioned as an affirmation of loyalty. Traffic staff during the nineteenth century, worked a testing system of shifts. According to the reports into railway safety, hours and conditions undertaken in the 1860s and 1870s, conditions of service on the M.R. and Derby in particular, were amongst the most rigorous in the country. A signalman, or porter, might often have to work thirteen days out of fourteen, or be called back to work immediately after a twelve hour shift to undertake an all night spell of fog signalling. Similarly, loco crews were similarly expected to undertake long spells of duty, sometimes up to six hours at a time, Company records of aggregate weekly figures for hours on duty, show that 70 hours on duty were quite usual and up to 100 hours not uncommon. James Greenwood, a Derby goods guard, wrote to the Daily Telegraph during a period of industrial agitation in 1871, recording his weekly roster of duty:

\begin{itemize}
\item Monday: Left home quarter-to five in the morning. Home, half-past one Tuesday morning.
\item Tuesday: Left home quarter-past five in the morning. Home, half-past eight Wednesday morning.
\item Wednesday: Left home twelve noon. Home, quarter-past five.
\item Thursday: Left home quarter-to five in the morning; got home quarter-past one Friday morning.
\item Friday: left home twelve noon, got home twenty minutes to eight Saturday morning.
\item Saturday: Left station eight o'clock at night - got home quarter-to twelve.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{itemize}

The shift system removed the worker from normal social and family intercourse, forcing him to build his life around his work. One of the worst excesses of this system was the 'split shift', used in the 1870's.
This meant that once 'on call' a crew might have their daily duty split into segments of two or three hours, then being sent home to await the next period of call. Dismissal followed a call which was not answered and calls may be separated into two or three hour part shifts spread throughout twenty four hours, making the worker a prisoner to his job even in his home. For mainline train crew working from Derby to London, Scotland or the South West, weekly work involved a number of nights lodging away from home in Barracks provided by the Company. The Midland had these at most major stations and depots, including Derby, and they were frequently located within the confines of the loco shed yard. Here the authority relationships, discipline and sociality of work was maintained even during resting hours. At Wellingborough, according to McKenna, drivers and firemen sat at different tables, whilst drivers were able to order the time and hours of sleep treating their firemen like children. The Company paid lodging allowances to the men, ranging from 15/- for senior management to 2/6 for Foremen to 1/- for train crews, or 1/6 in London, or 2/6 where there was no M.R. Lodging house. This could form a significant income supplement and made these duties quite attractive to some men. However, train crews traded domestic life for a peripatetic male camaraderie, which may see them at home only two or three nights per week. Similarly, the necessity to move house in the course of one's employment for traffic and supervisory grades further encouraged the construction of one's life in strange places around that which was familiar and those in similar circumstances, the Company and fellow employees. Shift working and place moves affected service and maintenance personnel in Signals and Telegraph, Loco,Carriage and Wagon departments as well as traffic and station staff, even Derby clerical staff worked unpredictable and long hours when crises occurred. In contrast, the vast majority of workshop staff at Derby worked normal factory hours, 6am. to 5.30pm. including meal breaks. When asked why they chose to seek employment in the shops rather than the more glamorous strands of railway work many cited the regular hours and a trade transferable to other Companies as important considerations, 'I married my wife not the *!! railway', being a typical comment. The fixed location of employment and hours of work, allowed workshop staff to lead a more normal life within Derby society and this factor perhaps
more than anything else separates the life experience of workers in the different branches of railway work.

**Workspace and Company loyalty.**

In his work on industrial sociology, Graeme Salaman suggests that identification with work and work-centred social networks develop most strongly where circumstances create clear demarcations between workers and others, where occupational groups are 'marginalised'. This may be because restricted entry symbolized by rituals of acceptance, exams, tests and entry qualifications, produce a heightened and distinctive sense of skill, of belonging to the chosen few. Or, because work involves particular and intimate conditions of intercourse between workers and clients emphasizing the dependent role of the latter, as for example in the public services, hospital, police, and fire brigade. It may also happen where formalized, fragmented relationships within a company, or organisation, lead to individual groups and departments identifying themselves as different from other parts of the same organization, leading to interdepartmental rivalry and competition. All three of these factors may be clearly perceived both in the railway industry generally and in the M.R. at Derby in particular.

Entry requirements were arguably very important to the notion of exclusivity. Asking old Derby residents about that section of the population who worked for the M.R., the most immediate response is almost always - 'you thought yourself somebody if you got a job at the railway'. The opposite side to this comment is the reply, 'It was difficult to get in, not everyone could get a job with the railway, it was something to be proud of'. It is possible to suggest also, that the fine classification of grades, each requiring passage through some barrier to entry and acceptance couched in personal terms, whether physical in terms of stature, health and length of service, or mental in terms of academic ability, created voids of status within the private world of the Company as deep as those between the Company and outsiders. As R. Kenney wrote in 1913:

The goods porter was looked upon as an inferior animal by the shunter. The shunter was tolerated as a necessary evil by the
goods guard, who had wild hopes that some time he would be able to look a passenger guard squarely in the eyes as a man and brother of equal rank.

The complex interface between work space and public space in the railway industry, discussed previously, was also most important in the construction of a distinctive Company identity. This was constructed through a variety of spheres of circulation, on the station platform, in the Press, at the shareholders' meeting and the Houses of Parliament. Image building for a variety of purposes, begot highly individual house styles which forged Corporate identities easily assimilated both inside and outside the industry. Whilst the division of Companies such as the M.R. into clearly distinct departments, each with its own strongly defined purpose as a measure to ensure a 'rational and efficient' division of labour, created the third form of work place loyalty outlined above, that generated by organizational fragmentation. In organizations where the only forms of communication between physically and administratively distant departments were official committees and written documents, the intersection of working environments between differing departmental spheres of concern easily become translated as conflicts of interest, for example, in the Loco shed between repair and running staff, or at the station and depot between traffic operation and traffic planning. At Derby rivalry between departments was a fact of working life for which there is evidence from many grades in the hierarchy. During the 1860's, for example, there appears to have been considerable tension between Traffic and Loco Depts. at the district level, over who had responsibility for disciplining engine crews when out on the line operating trains. In the 1880's the Loco Superintendent was repeatedly told to abandon extension plans for the Loco works, because he was 'empire building', exceeding his departmental brief and by implication usurping the power of others within the organization.

In terms of organisational efficiency, couched in the language of neoclassical economics, these conflicts severely limited the 'optimization' of decision-making, because they limit the potential identification of 'common goals and objectives' throughout the Company. However, the spirit of internal competition, helped to forge a form of Company loyalty wrought from the internalization of a company ethic. Competition
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was a valuable managerial tool at Derby. Early in the Company's history league tables for coke consumption with 'prizes' for the 'winners' and penalties for 'losers' were adopted to promote thrift amongst train crews. Similarly, awards were introduced for the best kept station and later, the new Loco Superintendent, R.M. Deeley, devised a twenty item points system to promote Loco care. Perhaps more important than these admittedly unsophisticated measures, was the informal competitiveness evident, for example, in the workshops where erecting gangs vied with each other to see who could construct a loco in the shortest time. A number of workshop men from Derby have consciously or unconsciously indicated the centrality of this factor. One wagon shop foreman said:

'Rivalry was rife amongst the shop gangs. We used to try to out do each other, that's what made it interesting, you wanted to beat the others...you wanted to belong to the best gang, to be top dog,...to be in the best shop. The Company liked competition,...it kept you going, at work.

These apparently centripetal forces did not result in a shattering of workplace identity. in fact quite the opposite, this view has been expressed by Frank McKenna:

Railwaymen are notoriously divided ...by their different grades. Each man believes that without his particular section the industry would grind to a stop. Footplatemen believe that the 'desk men' and the 'station men' are not really railwaymen at all because they have nothing to do with the real job of getting the trains on the tracks.37

Important here is the idea that 'my department' is more fundamental to the functioning of the railway than other departments, who only get in the way of the 'real' business of the company. Perhaps this may help account for the apparent contradiction in loyalties sometimes expressed by railway men at Derby, as indicated, for example, by this extract from a conversation with a Carriage Shop Foreman who began work at Derby in 1908:

Question: Did you feel a sense of belonging to the Railway Company?
Answer: No we were Carriage and Wagon men, we belonged to the Carriage works it's like a separate company, we didn't know anything about anybody else.
Question: What about at the club (Friendly Soc.) weren't there men from other departments there, loco men and traffic staff?
Answer: Oh yes we were all Midland men there, there was no difference.

In the discussion of the construction of Company loyalty in the railway industry which has formed an underlying theme of the thesis so far, the vocabulary has moved from paternalism, a very particular identification with an employer in person, through company loyalty, to a more generalized form of identification, that of workplace identity, an attachment not so much to the company but to work itself. This arguably not insignificant shift might be held to form an important component, in combination with the other mechanisms generating Company loyalty set out above. As Salaman observes, 'it seems that there are no known cases of occupational communities where members are not strongly and positively involved in their work skills and tasks'. It has been suggested that through a variety of media, organizational and physical space played a fundamental part in the formation of company loyalty. This was through a physical dependence which made possible the pursuit of a 'career' but one totally within a single organization; and through a social marginalization which demarcates railway work and indeed its different branches as something special, something set apart. However, it is possible to contend that equally significant though perhaps in a more subtle way, the spatial structure of power intrinsic to the railway industry, its modes of discipline and surveillance, played an important part in the formation of workplace identity.

As outlined, in chapter 3, the distanced form of control and decision-making and control established on the M.R. created a refracted power structure. This was a spatially extended web of authority based on a system of triple accounting which had effect in all spheres of the Company's operations and made each individual worker party to the surveillance of his own conduct and that of his immediate colleagues. The scale of railway organizations, their high degree of departmental specialization, a complex and extensive division of labour and the necessity for constant coverage in an important service industry, fostered an impersonal authority structure, by which personal attributes were subordinated to those symbols of authority, the uniform and the
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As a result, the books of rules and regulations contain clear and comprehensive job descriptions, delimiting precisely the duties of the particular post or grade of worker. Rule 25 of the M.R. 'Rules and Regulations For the Guidance of Officers and Men', for example, sets out the zone of responsibility for station masters in a most comprehensive statement:

Every Officer in charge of a Station is answerable for the Office and Buildings, and the Company's property there. He is also responsible for the faithful and efficient discharge of the duties devolving upon all the Company's servants, either permanently employed at the Station, or when incidentally employed within the Station limits. 39

Such fine descriptions of the limits of responsibility were encoded in the rule book for all operational grades, from porters and signalmen to engine drivers. Similar clear job descriptions and therefore demarcations of responsibility, can be easily discerned in the compartmentalizing of the clerical-administrative structure which evolved in the M.R. during the 1850's and 60's. This statement of the Accountant's responsibilities comes from a Board Minute of 1876, and sets out to clarify his duties in form little different from that of a porter or a signalman:

To have charge of the Company's Accounts and Receipts, and Expenditure, the checking and auditing of the Traffic, Locomotive, Way and Works, Carriage and Wagon, Stores and Hotels accounts, the preparation and keeping of the Finance Minutes, Loans Repayable Book, and Financial Estimates and Statements, and also the checking and auditing of the books, issues, payments, and receipts of the Secretaries department. 40

Though they proscribed certain courses of action and delimited areas of responsibility, the rules and regulations did not tell employees how to do their work. Within his own organizational and physical space the railwayman was substantially in charge of his own work. This proposition may stand almost equally for the handicraft, skilled and semi-skilled production lines of the workshops as it does for the traffic grades. As Albert Williams, a radical thinker and blacksmith in the G.W.R. works at
Swindon at the turn of this century, stated in his book 'Life in a railway factory':

One would think that the various divisions of the works were owned by separate firms or people of separate nationalities, such formidable barriers appear between them. There is no freedom, just the same coming and going year after year. The workmen lose interest in all life beyond their own smoky walls and dwellings.  

Frank McKenna, himself a railway man, remarks astutely on this matter and is worth quoting at length:

The railway companies of the 1840's employed neither anthropologists nor sociologists, but they were not unaware of the desire of individuals and groups to establish a little elbow room: When a company employed a man, it expected him to stay at his post, and he was fined if found in places he had no business. Within his limited territory, however, a man could often create his own administrative system. The companies sensed that well-defined boundaries made for clearly established relationships and the long hours and harsh discipline could be compensated for by the ability of the railway worker to stamp his individuality over a certain area or stretch of ground.

The result was the railway 'bailiwick'. Trapped in space and time, railway workers learned how to defend their space. However humble his status, control of his own thinking and technology he operated was always in the grasp of the railway worker. Very quickly the engineman was referring to 'my engine', the signalman to 'my box' and the shunter to 'my yard'. The engines and wagons and staff of other companies were quickly dubbed 'foreigners', even though the premises of rival companies were often only a few yards apart.  

The refinement of the 'technics' of railway administration during the nineteenth century did not simply separate the conception from the execution of work. Rather, it worked in quite the opposite way to the thesis proposed by Harry Braverman, and the main body of marxist labour historians. They envisage, that with increasing technological
sophistication, an inevitable and systematic reduction in the capacity of workers to control the production process results, amongst other things, in alienation and estrangement from the labour process. In the railway industry, increasingly detailed procedures and structures of authority, only served to clarify each individual's place in the system, to heighten the individual's sense of skill, of his necessity to the efficient functioning of the corporate organization. The system encouraged each man to appropriate his workspace, through the daily work routine, his situation and his skill became intrinsic to the construction of him as an individual. So that, a situation is generated where work and self become inseparable and to criticize the company is to undermine the constitution of one's self.

There are many instances of the personalisation of work in the L.R. at Derby. There are numerous instances of employees who painted, drew, or wrote about the experience of railway work, even S.W. Johnson the Locomotive Superintendent painted pictures of railway engines in his spare time. One example in verse is 'The Iron Horse' a poem written by the much respected and long serving Derby loco driver George Benfield, composed and published to 'commemorate' the settlement of a dispute over working conditions in 1867. This is perhaps typical in its celebration of the skill of the loco driver, his dexterity, presence of mind and bravery in the face of physical danger and adverse working conditions. Importantly, Benfield both acknowledges what he perceives as the privileged status of the loco driver and also lays claim to possess the circumstances of his labour, as in this following extract; please note continued use of the word 'my':

My footman rides in a break behind
And a faithful guard is he,
Should danger he spy with his watchful eye,
A signal he'll give to me.

'Tis true I am highly honoured
In my journeys far and wide,
For at junction and at station, livery servants in rotation,
Stand my 'Iron Horse' to guide.
Until the 1860's for example, individual train crews even had their own names fixed by a brass plate to the side of their own locomotives. In the works, individual shops were known to the men not by their official title, but by the name of their foremen, similarly in administration, each clerical office was known by the name of its senior clerk.** One illustration of the personal appropriation of workspace, was told by a young Derby fireman in the early years of this century. Climbing aboard his first locomotive, he was met by the engine driver who drew a chalk line along the cab floor with the words, 'you stay that side, I'll stay this and we'll get along all right.' Certain Company practices encouraged this, for example, by promoting the myth of a free and individual contract between worker and management. Even the system of incremental pay increases laid down by formal statute, was implemented through the caveat stating that, 'increases would be given at the discretion of the senior officer in each department, in the light of service and suitability'. Similarly, promotion was not automatic, rather each man's career prospects were linked to those of a superior. Promotion opportunities for a junior depended on a space on the ladder being vacated by a particular senior officer. Here, as in other spheres of railway operation, a curious amalgamation of paternal and impersonal authority was adopted to the advantage of the Company.

Woven into the formal structure of rules and regulations in the M.R. at Derby and within the railway industry generally, it is possible to discern a wholly informal network of relationships between railwaymen. Partly this reflects the establishment of a counter-culture, a method of coping with the formal bureaucracy of the company. Yet also, it stems from the interpretation of rules by men who had to translate procedures into workable practices in the myriad of contingencies and circumstances which present themselves as part of the workday routine. It is not without significance that the technique of 'working to rule' as a form of industrial protest, which plays on the impossibility of undertaking a task strictly according to set orders, largely owes its popularity to disputes in the railway industry. The District Staff Fines books for the 1880's which hold the disciplinary records of station staff, porters, labourers and carters, gives some indication of the way formal rules and regulations were loosely interpreted. This may derive from a desire on
the part of district staff to resist the interference of Derby head office staff, in whose eyes trouble could appear as an inability to cope. But also, from a method of maintaining working relationships 'at the sharp end of operations' by supervisory staff who knew 'how much they would stand'. Examples from Nottingham District show this, out of 340 case records in the Station Staff ledger, ranging over 10 years, only 8 cases were sent to Derby and 6 dismissed. In the Derby works, there is similar evidence from oral sources. A worker from the wagon shops recalls how the men used to eat and drink during working time, this was something strictly forbidden and certain Derby foremen were reputed to take a delight in walking down the shop kicking over the 'billycans' full of tea belonging to workmen. This particular man tells how he, as the junior member of the erecting gang, would be sent upon a false pretext to the brass foundry where the senior foundryman would brew tea for other shops. He says:

we went on doing this for some years and felt no end of satisfaction that we were cheating the boss. Until one day the foreman called me to look at a repair job he wanted me to do, I felt very honoured to be chosen, it was my first big job. Walking across the head of the erecting lines, he pointed down one of the isles and said 'look at him!' to a man who was just nibbling a quick bite. You're one of those buggers! he said; and your friends. I've been watching you for months! At which we passed on to the job in hand and the matter was never mentioned again.

Such subtle interplay of sanction and reward appears to have been quite common in the workshops. Here the foreman is presented with a difficult situation, requiring the encouragement of a good worker, whilst demonstrating the limits of worker's free space and the breadth of the foreman's own control. To do this he has to cut across the formal rules of the workplace to maintain personal authority. In a different context Joseph Tatlow writing in 1920 and talking of the Derby offices in the 1860's describes the great variety of individuals which constituted the office staff and indicates the apparently large degree of license available in this working environment.
Looking back now it seems to me the office staff was in some 
ways a curious collection and very different to the clerks of 
today. Many of them had not entered railway life until nearly 
middle-age and they had not assimilated as an office staff does 
now, when all join as youths and are brought up together. They 
were original, individual, not to say eccentric. Whilst our 
office included certain steady married clerks, who worked hard 
and lived ordinary middle-class respectable lives, and some few 
bachelors of quiet habit, the rest were a lively set indeed, by 
no means free from inclinations to coarse conviviality and many 
of them spendthrift, reckless and devil-may-care. At pay-day, 
which occurred monthly, most of these merry wights, after 
receiving their pay, betook themselves to the Midland tap or 
other licensed house and there indulged, for the remainder of 
the afternoon.

The list of coping mechanisms which enabled men to retain a measure of 
control in their life at work is immense. The railway industry, with 
Derby no exception, has a long tradition of private language, a lexicon 
of insider slang by which men reworked the circumstances of their labour 
into a familiar world intelligible only to a privileged few. Youths in 
gine-cleaning gangs were notorious for being able to find a hidden 
space, a quiet firebox, footplate or tender where a card school might 
while away a laborious shift. One Derby man tells of his father, a Derby 
goods guard, who as a Methodist preacher would spend the long lonely 
hours in his guards van writing sermons, or sketching the view from the 
veranda of his van. This man said his father's colleagues used their 
working hours to equal effect, one was an enthusiastic carpenter and 
made model boats, whilst another fitted the van out to repair shoes. In 
the offices Pratt recalls certain senior clerks who would write verses 
on topical subjects for circulation through the offices. G.J.Pratt's 
partisan reminiscences of life at Derby station during the nineteenth 
century, elegantly tinged with the golden glow of retrospection, are a 
mine of personal detail, which hint at the diversity of people, 
individual interests, friendships and antagonisms which are easily lost 
in dryness of employee statistics: these include the, messenger-porter, 
an ex-driver whose 'flamboyant pictures of locomotives could be found in
many homes and in the 'pubs' within a considerable radius of the station: the hated foreman cleaner who kept the cleaning lads at work on a Saturday when they wanted to be off watching or playing football. As a consequence, his name was inscribed on pubic conveniences and blank walls within an extensive radius of the station.**7**

Once one moves beyond the superficial image building of the Railway Company's public relations, the monolithic bureaucratic impersonality of the railway company appears as little more than a carefully crafted facade. Train crews carried items of gossip all over the network, retelling and reworking anecdotes gathered in depots and overnight accommodation. Signalmen isolated in their boxes for between twelve and sixteen hours at a time, regularly kept one telephone line clear of business for the purpose of informal chat between cabins up and down the line. In the offices, the necessity for men to come to Derby for administrative purposes and for evening tuition in shorthand, for example, brought employees from far reaching extremities into regular contact with headquarters staff creating friendships and associations across the network. In terms of recruitment and promotion, where formal tests and procedures were one of the cornerstones of the rationally efficient organization, evidence suggests the overriding importance of informal social networks and information flows. Certain chapels, churches and public houses, near the Derby station frequented by chargehands and foremen and supervisory staff were important informal locations for gaining employment. Many men have told of how family connections were instrumental in obtaining work, a typical comment being 'The first thing they asked you is where your Dad worked, and if you said 'The Railway', you were alright'. Here is one example of many illustrating the importance of social and neighbourhood contact;

> My mother had a fish and chip shop in Midland Rd. Every day the foreman from Number 3 Shop used to come and have his dinner, anyway my mother used to make sure that he had a good helping of chips, so we were well in.....and when I was fourteen and needed to start work, she asked him what was going at the railway. The next day when he came in, he told my mother to tell me to go and see so and so in Number 1 Shop and tell him...
who'd sent him. And that's how I started, if you knew someone it was much easier to get in.

The effects of informal social and kinship networks, resulting in tension between local and non-local workmen may be perceived in the earliest years of the workshops at Derby, when the onset of financial difficulties in 1842 led to men being dismissed. One man, 'a late servant of the Company', wrote to the 'Railway Times' as follows, regarding the manner in which the reduction in staff was conducted:

There is Mr. Dobson, head foreman; Leonard Stephenson, foreman over the fitters and turners; John Dun, brother-in-law to Mr. Dobson, foreman over the smiths; Robert Harland, brother-in-law to Mr. Dobson, foreman over the joiners; and Mark Wakefield, foreman over the engine-drivers, & etc. Every one of these foremen is a Newcastle man; and really, Sir a man has no chance whatever, let his abilities be ever so good unless he comes from that locality. For instance, in the fitting and turning department nearly all the hands that were taken on last, are from that neighbourhood, for if a man left, or got discharged, the vacancy was sure to be filled up by a north country man, and it was no use anyone else applying; 43

The presence of strong informal social ties among the men was recognized by the M.R. Company, particularly for example, by the Derby Detectives department who were responsible for policing the network, searching out cases of theft, embezzlement and serious misconduct within the Company. In this context the Company interpreted personal loyalties amongst the workmen, which may precipitate a closing of ranks in the face of authority, as 'a false code of honour which exists among the men themselves.....which hinders them from actively repressing crimes which they would not themselves commit.....but which they will not expose'. 43

As suggested above, promotion in the railway industry was not automatic and a great degree of favouritism and partiality was evident in this matter. Joseph Tatlow recounting his earlier career at Derby says that his desire to move to another company largely rested on being passed over for promotion, simply because he believed his ability at shorthand held him back from more responsible work. 50 This phenomenon may be seen to permeate the railway industry throughout the nineteenth century and
into the twentieth. It may perhaps be observed from this extract from
the paper of the Railway Clerks' Association in 1911, which clearly
indicates the widespread operation of informal and paternal
relationships. Talking of the clerks exams on the N.E.R. it says:

None of the 'first grade' examinations have yet been held, but
the Company plainly indicate that even the clerks who pass will
not necessarily proceed up the higher scale. It will depend
upon vacancies arising and even the appointments will not be
made upon examination results, but by selection - thus leaving
room for a continuance of the favouritism and nepotism which is
one of the curses of the railway service.51

Because of the wide range of jobs which characterized the railway
industry, it is impossible to arrive at a single set of attributes which
define company loyalty for all grades of employee. At the extremities of
the hierarchy, both at the level of directors and senior management and
in the labouring grades it is highly debatable whether there was any
sense of allegiance to an individual concern. However, it may be
suggested that a particular group of factors were of more or less
importance for the vast majority of railway workers at Derby. These
included; job security and prospects at work; the exclusivity of
employment in terms of selective entry, advancement and restricted
socialization; the individual appropriation of work space, resting on
the skill, danger and importance of work to the functioning of the
greater organization. Many elements of this formulation of company
loyalty may be found in other industries, in mining, engineering,
textiles, civil or government service. What may be perceived as
different, is the combination of these factors in one industry. Mining
for instance may generate a high sense of individual skill and
interdependence amongst peers working at the coal-face, but without the
advantages of security and promotion. Similarly, the railway industry
appears to demonstrate many of the visible characteristics of a 'labour
aristocracy', one only has to note the pride observable in the
conciliatory ethic of George Benfield's poetry or the stiff collared
respectability evident in contemporary photos of railway workers at
Derby to see illustrations of this. Arguably this was an essential
component of post 1850 factory paternalism. However, the system of control developed in the railway industry created a situation somewhat different from that in textiles or even in other branches of engineering. In such industries labour aristocrats were supervisors and pace-setters overseeing the labour of a large body of partly or semi-skilled operatives. Yet, this cannot be justified as a general rule for the railway industry at Derby, where each railway worker formed an integral component in the system of discipline, maintaining a substantial hold over his immediate circumstances of work. Perhaps only in the Carriage and Wagon Works can a situation comparable with other progressive factory based industries be said to exist. What was distinctive about the railway industry, affecting even the semi-skilled wagon builder, was the scale of each undertaking and the resultant mixture of public and private domains. Through the complex of formal relationships and procedures developed to accommodate this, a particular combination of pre-existing and new modes of organization led to circumstances where the innovative nature of work in the large scale corporation were mediated through the conventions of family firm and craft-based labour. Paternal and bureaucratic were reconciled in a tense fusion of coping mechanisms suggested by 'nepotism' on the part of management, the so called 'false codes of honour' amongst the men, and by the widespread importance of kinship ties and informal social networks within the workforce at Derby.

If the railway as rational bureaucracy was in one sense a myth, a cloak of respectability to quiet the fears of government, investor and traveller, it was, ironically, a myth for public consumption silenced by an equivalent discourse of private origin. Derby, like other railway centres, has been a fine breeding ground for the generation of stories of working life, many similar to those quoted above. One very interesting tale recalls an unidentified locomotive which would leave Derby shed, run through the station to the north, reverse across the mainline and take the through lines to Chaddesden sidings, in order to drop coal at the various signalboxes en route. This working was reputedly undertaken with the tacit connivance of a few signalmen and loco staff and was highly illegal. The manoeuvre was fitted in between
authorized movements, without the knowledge of supervisory staff, yet 'right under their noses'. The 'truth' of folk tales such as these, no less than those recounted above, is not critically important. It may be argued that what really matters is their necessity to railwaymen, to the popularly constructed image of railway work. This story is important because it figuratively represents unofficial movement within the combined interstices of structure, the rules and regulations which articulate the physical and organizational spaces of the company, within these parameters such demonstrations of independence make up the railwayman's response to impersonal authority. In this tale, a network of informal social ties amongst the men enable the appropriation of the company's formal means of communication, its electric telegraph and its locomotives, to organize something for their private benefit, the delivery of pilfered coal. Typically, this requires an intimate acquaintance, the physical space of the company, its network of lines; and a manipulation of its administrative space, the train schedule. This was something only possible for 'insiders', men who could play the rules for their own benefit. So private was this world, so secret its codes, that a raid could be staged right in front of the largest audience, at the Company's main station, before the Company's senior officers. Such were the daring deeds possible when one knew how to 'work the system'.

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Notes

1. Board of Directors Minutes 6604.
2. Ibid. 5723.
3. Ibid. 4324.
6. E. J. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men. (London, 1964) p. 273. Since Hobsbawm's pioneering work there has been a number of important studies of the 'Labour Aristocracy', which link in with debate about the stability of British society during the mid-Victorian period, see chapter 2, for example, G. Crossick, An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society. Kentish London 1840-1880. (London, 1978) and R. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh. (Oxford, 1976) Though Hobsbawm and Foster stress the economic foundations of an elite stratum within the working-class, Gray stresses the importance of cultural separation between the elite and both the rough masses and the middle-classes in a self-asserted independence rather than as part of a downward projection of middle-class ideals as part of an ideology of social control; see T. Tholfsen, Working-class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England. (London, 1976) chapter 5 and R. Gray The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth-Century Britain c. 1850-1914. (London, 1981) pp. 35-45. and J. Field 'British history and the concept of the labour aristocracy', Radical History Review (1978-9) vol. 19. pp. 61-86. Though it is often thought that railway workers formed part of the working-class elite the lack of a basis in craft organized production and the particular promotion structure coupled with poor wages during the early years of service leads many workers in this field to either exclude them altogether or admit them to this category only as a special case Gray (1981) p. 28.
8. Oral evidence was gained from thirty two people who had experience of working for the Midland Railway Company in Derby prior to 1923. Contacts were made via the British Rail Staff Club Derby Branch Veterans
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Club, London Rd. and Victoria St. United Reformed Churches, through Derby Industrial Museum and the Derbyshire Family History Society. Interviews took the form of an informal loosely structured conversation at a place of the respondent's choosing usually either the B.R. staff club or the person's own home. The composition of the group included traffic, workshop and clerical staff though it numerically favoured artisan grades. Often those talked to had fathers and grandfathers who were railwaymen and therefore it was sometimes possible to obtain anecdotes which related to the 1870s and 1880s. Oral material was not taken as a means to generating facts or comparing experiences with some 'objective reality' but taken at face value as representing the way in which railwaymen wished to present an image of themselves to me through stories and anecdotes.

9. Wage rates taken from M.R. staff pedigrees and salary lists RAIL 491/1067-1069 for Locomotive Department 1859-1909; 968-990 Telegraph Dept. 1873-1911; 991-993 Station Staff; 1022-1023 Goods Guards 1880-1908; Clerical and Administrative staff from the minutes of the Board and other committees.

10. Board of Directors Minutes 1067.

11. F.S. Williams, (1883) op.cit. p.622.


13. RAIL 491/1069.

14. RAIL 491/1081.

15. RAIL 491/1022 sample of 150 cases.

16. Ibid. sample 50 cases.

17. RAIL 491/994.

18. RAIL 491/1068.


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23. P.W. Kingsford *op.cit.* p. 158.
24. RAIL 491/1067, 1068 based on a 10 percent sample equaling 120 and 220 at the respective dates.
25. Board of Directors Minutes 8635.
26. RAIL 491/1033.
28. Board of Directors Minutes
29. Railway Times 4th December 1871 see also F. Mackenna *op.cit.* p. 83.
30. Ibid. 203.
31. RAIL 491/1068.
33. see above chapter 3.
35. for example Board of Directors Minutes 4552.
40. Board of Directors Minutes 948.
45. RAIL 491/986.
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47. G. J. Pratt, *op.cit.* vol. 2 p. 32.
49. F. R. Williams (1883), *op.cit.* p. 633.
Chapter 5

Community and the Individual.

Respectability.

Railway work had a distinct and powerful image in nineteenth-century society. The status of this group of occupations was derived from a whole complex of economic and cultural factors related to the notions of economic stability, security, personal service, reliability and discipline. The railwayman was frequently characterized in contemporary popular culture, literature and music hall as the archetypal aristocrat of labour, the personification of respectability. One has only to consider, as a typical example, such Victorian popular fiction as R.M. Ballantyne's 'The Iron Horse, or Life on the Line' which portrays the Loco driver as a Medieval knight aboard his 'iron charger' righting the ills of society in a manner befitting his heroic historical status. The main character is described as follows; 'John Marriot was an engine-driver on the Grand National Trunk Railway. This is equivalent to saying that he was a steady, sober, trustworthy man'. Later when visiting, he is portrayed apologizing for his lack of a visiting card, saying, 'if you say that it's John Marriot the engine-driver, I daresay that'll do for a free pass', for the working man moving in the strange territories of middle-class etiquette occupational and personal respectability were presented as synonymous and railway-work engendered both.' The 'poem' written in 1867 by Derby driver George Benfield 'The Iron Horse' concludes with a stanza expressing the moral code which confirms not only the popular image of the railwayman but the historians conception of the artisan elite in mid-Victorian Britain, sobriety, thrift, pride in work and religious devotion.

With heads as clear as water bright,
Hearts free from ostentation,
Oh, let us live prepared to die,
With Christ for our salvation.

The many photographic images of nineteenth-century railwaymen, whether uniformed and peak-capped or besuited and bowler-hatted, portray the
Figure 5.1, The Locomotive Department Staff. C. 1860. Matthew Kirtley centre front in the light suit.
Chapter 5

protestant work ethic in pictorial paraphrase. Take for instance the photo of the Derby Loco Department (see figure 5.1). Taken in 1860, it shows the ranks of men, with Loco Superintendent Matthew Kirtley, centre front, arms folded and legs crossed, and conveys aptly the structure of power, the sense of confidence, of upright, clean-living moral conformity which typify the concept of the successful member of the upper working and lower middle classes at this time. Popular conceptions of the railwayman were not all so positive. The idea of the surly, unco-operative, or dishonest porter, or booking clerk may be observed frequently inhabiting the pages of such middle and upper class journals as 'Punch'. These must be seen within a rather different discourse from that which propagated working class self-help and is more closely related to the growing tensions between British social elites and the service class towards the end of the Victorian and into the Edwardian period. Such personifications may be interpreted as the manifestation not of a 'degenerate' strand within the railway workforce, but on the contrary perhaps, even as evidence of the success of propaganda of self-help a growing independence and self-respect amongst the ranks of those expected to defer without question.2

The origins, development and consequences of 'respectability' as a dominant influence on working class behaviour have been a major focus of inquiry in social history since the late 1960s. Best claims that respectability, exerted:

- a socially soothing tendency, by assimilating the most widely separated groups (separated socially or geographically) to a common cult... Here, was the sharpest of all lines of social division, between those who were and those who were not respectable: a sharper line by far than between rich and poor, employer and employee, or capitalist and proletarian.3

The notion of an 'aristocracy of labour' and of employer 'paternalism' are ideas which are closely linked with that of 'respectability' by those studying urban society in the period after 1850. The connexion between pride in work, loyalty to employer and self-esteem was made by many middle-class social commentators, propagandists and philanthropists during the mid-Victorian period and centred around the notion of 'self-help'. This prescribed that for those who played society by the rules
lasting advancement was possible. In his famous 'Don Pacifico' speech of 1850 Palmerston summed the link between self-help, respectability and society in classical brevity:

We have shown the example of a nation in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which providence has assigned to it; while at the same time each individual of each class is constantly trying to raise himself in the social scale, not by violence and illegality, but by persevering good conduct and by the steady and energetic exertion of the moral and intellectual faculties with which his creator has endowed him.¹

The interests of capitalist and worker were portrayed as inseparable, whilst the worker worked and saved, the capitalist would make a profit and from this supply work for his labour-force and add to the general prosperity of the nation; in return the worker would have material security for self and family. Though not leading to the guarantee of upward social mobility, anathema to a doctrine of social stability, conformity did promise the reward of 'respectability', a nebulous quality which managed to graft independence of body and mind to adherence with strict moral, religious and social codes through the simple expedient of emphasizing the virtue of labour as the key to 'true citizenship'.

The extent to which the notion of 'respectability' was disseminated by the middle classes and accepted by the more affluent sectors of the working people in an unreflected manner is a matter of much debate. Gray in his study of the artisan elite of Edinburgh, stresses the relative autonomy of cultural production amongst this group who developed many aspects of their lifestyle against the direct wishes of their middle-class masters.⁶ Certainly, a number of works which propose a simple one-way transmission of a dominant 'ideology' downwards argue from a rather simplistic conception of social control. This has been much criticized, since interest has turned to the concept of 'hegemony' which emphasizes the taken for granted 'natural' quality of systems of thought in practical consciousness rather than Marxian 'ideology', meaning the enforcement of a distorted view of reality or 'false consciousness'.⁴ The Gramscian notion of 'hegemony' emphasizes the collaborative,
compromising nature of dominant systems of thought. In this, those responsible for formulating ideas and the social institutions in which they are generated must actively accommodate other interest groups in order to create an historical 'power bloc' which is able to hold political and cultural ascendancy because of its all-embracing world view. Patrick Joyce's formulation of later-nineteenth century factory paternalism or company loyalty works along these lines. Joyce stresses both the unreflected acceptance of company loyalty in Lancashire mill towns and the dialectically negotiated systems of expectations and obligations by which employee and employer formed a tacit bargain of deference, a 'culture of the factory' both explicitly expressed in major acts of philanthropy and a tacit sub-text to the day-to-day routine of the workplace. If the conventional notion of 'hegemony' has one major drawback as applied to social history, it is that it does not fully acknowledge the contested nature of social and cultural life. Clifford Geertz refers to these as 'webs of significance' created and continually recreated by people through their social interaction. Ideas were interpreted, re-articulated and developed in accordance with the experiences and expectations of particular groups so that, as Gray says, even the value of respectability, central to a wide range of groups in Victorian society, could take many different forms, 'for the middle-class, this could mean ownership and control of one's means of livelihood, however modest, or possibly the status of monthly as opposed to weekly wage-payment; for the working class independence need not conflict with wage-employment, for many the subtleties of status rested upon degrees of craft control in the workplace. Whilst as Bailey shows in his commentary on the story of 'Bill Bank's day out', a piece of fiction by Thomas Wright the 'Journeyman Engineer' published in 1868, the symbols of respectability defined by the middle-classes could easily be appropriated to a form of behaviour in which apparently conformist and deviant action were not inconsistent to the constitution of enhanced peer group status. Banks was a London railway worker who sets out with family and friends on what middle class reformers would interpret as an expensive, drunken, gluttonous binge, 'in the time honoured role of the English workman on a spree'. Yet the object of their excursion, Hampton Court, would be the natural choice for rational recreation and far from
suggesting financial impropriety the trip was meticulously planned and required months of careful thrift.10

Bill Banks notwithstanding, there are perhaps few more clear examples where both economic and moral imperatives created a workforce where personal behaviour was edged by the notions of respectability and responsibility, duty to self and employer alike. If this is so, one may ask to what extent did railwaymen carry their morally charged roles in their activities outside the workplace? How is this expressed in the constitution of railwaymen as a social group? Is Patrick Joyce's 'culture of the factory', a major concept in explaining later-nineteenth century factory paternalism as important to understanding social relationships amongst railway workers? Perhaps the most direct way to address these issues, is to consider to what extent the employees of the Midland Railway in Derby may be said to constitute some form of 'occupational community', to inquire how and to what degree the formal and informal relationships of work spilled over into non-work family and social life. This section will, therefore, firstly examine the notion of community which informs the writing before going on to consider the railway workforce of Derby as a distinct group within Derby society and examine the multiplicity of possible experiences and expectations subsumed within an all-embracing company loyalty.

Community

The idea of 'community' has been used in many different ways by sociologists, social theorists and historians. It has been used by historians, often unproblematically, as justification for studying one specific place.11 It is used in an ecological sense where social relationships are inferred through the delimitation of population groups who apparently share similar socio-economic characteristics, which are created by a process of survival through functional interaction of competition and interdependence.12 The term has also been used in classical sociology as an 'ideal type' in the analysis of the transformation of society from a 'feudal' society of common interests to a 'modern' capitalist society of self interest and individualism.13 'Community' fills a not dissimilar role for sociologists to that of
'Region' for geographers. According to Eyles, the concept is not without its problems, though 'it remains an evocative idea - ambiguous, nebulous, almost intangible, yet retaining significance in both academic practice and everyday life.' A major reason why the concept has fallen into disrepute is that it is so frequently used in an uncritical, morally prescriptive sense which is emotive, romantic and nostalgic in tenor. Raymond Williams, for instance, remarks that 'unlike all other terms of social organization (state, nation, society etc.) it seems never to be used unfavourably' This rests, at least partly, on the use of the term within classical sociology to indicate a mutually agreed, rule governed social stability, in contrast to the pathology of a normless, anomic, modern urbanity. Even such a sophisticated contemporary literary theorist, as Frederick Jameson, uses the idea to signify an idealistic state, an unconscious collectivity from which the complex system of communication in the modern world represents a malformation.

It is possible to isolate some common themes amongst competing interpretations. As commonly used Community most frequently involves a geographical component, village, neighbourhood or town for instance, and a recognition of this is implied even in the study of 'invisible colleges or quasi-communities' -social ties maintained over large distances. It further involves social interaction, most particularly the interaction of individuals in a multiplicity of roles, as workmates, friends and family rather than in the highly specific discontinuous relationships in which the individual interacts within different social milieux for different purposes. Thirdly, it involves a sense of belonging an attachment to people and place, the acknowledgement of a set of common values or norms. Most importantly the first two facets of 'community', spatial proximity and social interaction, are believed to be fundamental to the generation of the latter. Lines of causality are drawn both backwards and forwards so that high levels of interaction are said to lead to the development of common sets of aims and objectives, whilst the adherence to a common world view is conversely believed to result in high levels of interaction amongst its holders. None of these aspects are without their difficulty for the student of community. The idea, for example, that knowing people in a variety of roles with a
detailed personal knowledge leads to a structurally simple face-to-face society is somewhat misleading. This is for two reasons: firstly because it can be difficult for individuals to know how to react when confronted with a situation where roles overlap, for instance, that of superior at work/members of family: secondly, as Cohan suggests, there is little justification to believe that 'in small-scale society, people interact with each other as 'whole persons'. Though people may well encounter each other more frequently and intensively over a wide range of activities, this does not say that people's knowledge of 'the person' overrides their perception of the distinctive activities'. Whilst, as Dennis, Saunders and others have argued, perhaps the most problematic step in the study of 'communities' is that of committing the 'ecological fallacy' inferring a shared consciousness from high rates on indices of interaction, residential propinquity and stability. As Gans found in his study of 'urban villages', 'Propinquity may initiate intimate social contacts but it did not determine friendship'. In terms of consciousness, neither must one assume that shared norms or values presuppose social harmony; tension, friction and even violence are as much a part of close relationships as they are in wider society. As the region cuts across many of the important issues in geography, so the notion of community involves concepts at the core of sociology and may ask questions of class, status, family and group consciousness, alienation and identification. Substantiating Nisbet's claims that 'The most fundamental and far-reaching of sociology's unit ideas is community'.

Like the notion of the 'region' which has gained a new respectability in the light of recent theoretical concerns in geography, the concept of 'community' may acquire new vigour from contemporary trends in social theory and their engagement with human geography. Recent trends have emphasized the construction of social practices in time and space, the importance of day-to-day routine and unreflected practical consciousness to the generation and maintenance of social structures and through the multiple realms of communication, the cultural mediation of social practices. The analysis of community can profit from the fruitful alliance of geography and social theory because it problematizes the formation of social relationships in specific
places and their relationship to broader groupings. Thrift for instance believes 'sociability/community to be a keystone to the nonfunctionalist social theory which has been an important project for a number of geographers and social theorists in recent years. Much work in anthropology and ethnography is relevant to a new formulation which may draw particularly from work in symbolic interactionism and on the materialist basis of personality. Perhaps the principal ways in which this may be so is through the twin theorisation of community as a cultural field consolidated through symbolic boundaries to interaction and through interaction theorized by a social theory of the individual.

In the routine practices of everyday life.

Amongst the most helpful discussions of everyday life is that conducted by Patrick Wright in the introductory chapter of 'On Living in an Old Country'. Wright's objective is to elucidate that which creates an attachment to a nexus of place and social practice which propagates the development of nostalgia as a culturally significant phenomenon, a shared sense of history. He draws particularly on two philosophers, Karel Kosick and Agnes Heller. According to Kosick:

In the everyday, the activity and way of life are transformed into an instinctive, subconscious and unreflected mechanism of acting and living: things, people, movements, tasks, environment, the world -they are not perceived in their originality and authenticity, they are not tested and discovered but they simply are there, and are accepted as inventory, as components of a known world.

However, everyday life is not simply the mundane world of regularity, habit and routine, the familiar and pragmatic world which, under normal circumstances, is taken for granted, nor is it a matter of privacy over public life, it is 'above all the organizing of people's individual lives into everyday. It also has its special occasions:

..the everyday is a world whose dimensions and potentialities an individual can control and calculate with his abilities and resources. In the everyday, everything is 'at hand' and an individual can realize his intentions. This is why it is a world of confidence, familiarity, and routine actions. Death,
sickness, births, successes and failures are all accountable events of everyday life.  

It is the form of consciousness by which 'the unusual, the festive, the special' are rationalized in terms of familiar experience and practical possibilities. Heller envisages everyday life existing within a dialectic between particularity, the unreflected, historically, geographically, socially situated constrained aspects of the person and individuality, the free creative qualities of the person able with a consciousness of and therefore an ability to make use of the circumstances of their existence. Heller sees everyday life as a process of 'objectification' by which individuals constantly reproduce themselves as social beings through the appropriation of the familiar and local to the constitution of the individual personality:

When the person appropriates his environment, his 'world', he recognizes it as his own. He perceives his own individual nature as one subject to integration.....This identification proceeds spontaneously and in tandem with the formation and development of self awareness. The opposition set up between our family, our town, our people, on the one hand, and 'others' on the other hand - their family town etc. - is as real and natural for the person as self-motivation itself.....The 'we' is that via which 'I' am.  

The essentialism of Heller's formation, partly, derived from the Hegelian tradition within which she works, has been much criticised not least more recently by Heller herself, though it still has much of relevance. Their work has much in common with that of the 'structurationist' school of social theorists Giddens, Bhasker and Bourdieu for example. Because, for instance of the emphasis on the historical constitution and local situatedness of the individual personality, the interdependence of individual and society, the enabling inventive possibilities as well as constraining qualities of social and material relations, individual action within both understood, intended and unintended consciousness as central to the production and reproduction of society. It is such a notion of the constitution of the personality which informed the discussion in the previous section of company loyalty within the railway industry. In this company loyalty
was seen through the appropriation of segments of personalized physical
and organisational space or 'bailiwicks' which become important to the
construction of the 'self' because they fuse the role of the individual
and his skill to its importance to the greater whole to the extent that
to criticize the company is to criticize one's self. The hermeneutics of
Paul Ricoeur are helpful to the interpretation of the individual in the
course of everyday-life. Building from the Heideggan notion of 'being in
the world' he suggests that understanding begins with 'inhabiting the
world'. In a dialectic of distanciation and appropriation, that to be
interpreted is viewed arriving at self-understanding through a process
of assimilating the inhabited world and projecting conceptions of what
is known back into the external world as the subject 'plays' with
meaning in order to gain greater understanding. The task of hermeneutics
therefore is not to gain access to the mind of the subject and engage in
a form of romantic empathy, but to examine the 'objectification' of
meaning as constituted in externalised symbolically charged conduct.

The concept of 'ideology' developed by Goran Therborn fits well within
this scheme of thought. Like Ricoeur, his work owes much to Heidegger
and unlike many writers he views ideology not as a single determining
force, but as a multiplicity of systems of socialization. He calls those
'dimensions of human subjectivity' which locate the individual and the
groups to which he belongs in society 'subjectivities of 'in-the-world''
and those which form the person as a particular human individual
'subjectivities of 'being''. These work both consciously and
unconsciously, actively and passively to situate the individual both
historically and contemporaneously within the context of his or her own
life. In the course of daily activity each person becomes socialized
into society through a particular mix of situating systems which both
result from and go on to mould the content of their daily routine which
is specific to the individual and creates a distinctive experience of
society and self for each member of that society.

There is a great deal of common ground between the above approach to
the social construction of everyday life and many recent conceptions of
community. Calhoun stresses the importance of 'habit', the routinisation
of initially purposive action in the construction of community:
At particular junctures people may decide to pursue one or another task of societal development; practices they may consider instrumental are later taken for granted. At the simplest level, we all need to limit the range of possibilities which we take into consideration when choosing action. Habit is by no means the least important way in which this is done; cultural rules are another; social constraints on the availability of information add to the limitation. The efficiency of habit and culture clearly depends on the familiarity of situations and events. Community both depends on this familiarity and helps to produce it.4

Whilst Cohan interprets the dichotomy between communalism and individualism not simply as a matter of historical transition, but as a tension between conforming and nonconformity present within each individual in society. He suggests that sociologists have misread much classical sociology and in particular that of Emile Durkheim, who he believes intended his division between 'mechanical and organic solidarity' to be understood in this way, and may be perceived to parallel in some measure that of 'particularity and individuality' in the work of Agnes Heller. He quotes the following passage from 'The Division of Labour' in support of his argument:

In the first, what we call society is more or less organised totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all the members of the group: this is the collective type. On the other hand, the society in which we are solidary in the second instance is a system of different, special functions which definite relations unite. These two societies really make up only one. They are two aspects of one and the same reality.56

Similarly, the link between practical consciousness and the management of extra-ordinary life events, parallels and endorses the concern for community ritual evident in a symbolic interactionist or anthropological approach to community, which has to a great extent proved an instructive and viable approach to the topic. This approach may avoid the problem of static functionalism possible by providing a dynamic context-dependent basis to its social constitution. Amongst the most interesting discussions of community from the perspective of its symbolic
construction is by Anthony Cohan. Following the work of structural anthropologists Levi-Strauss and Leach for instance, Cohan stresses the significance of boundaries and boundary rituals to the construction of social meaning. These can relate both to physical and social phenomena and are as important to the routine and unreflected as they are to 'the unusual, the festive and the special' and may range perhaps from the importance of routine events like the 'Sunday lunch' as a cyclical reaffirmation of bourgeois family solidarity, to the royal visit as a once only opportunity to project a positive controlled image of locality and inhabitants. Boundary rituals are important because they are a means of ordering the milieux of life experiences and events, at once separating one event, stage of life or place from another whilst also defining that event, object, or social practice, by defining its limits. The situations which precipitate the instantiation of boundaries to social action forge a link between the unreflected consciousness of everyday and the reflected consciousness by which we protect that which is important to us. In this way Cohan interprets community always in relation to wider cultural or social processes 'consciousness of the world beyond is the catalyst for the recognition of one's own community as a discrete entity'. Further, he recognises the importance of the symbolic rallying points of community, precisely because they are polyvalent, providing an all embracing concept which can contain the multiplicity of individual objectives and expectations generated within the interlacing trajectories of everyday experience:

Symbols are effective because they are imprecise. Though obviously not contentless, part of their meaning is 'subjective'. They are, therefore, ideal media through which people can speak a 'common' language, behave in apparently similar ways, participate in the 'same' rituals, pray to the 'same' gods, wear similar clothes, and so forth, without subordinating themselves to a tyranny of orthodoxy. Individuality and commonality are thus reconcilable.

In a similar way, Heller uses the notion of 'home' as a symbolically delimited realm, to inform the relationship within a group, between the forces which limit individual capabilities in wider society and the routinized world of the familiar. Though 'home' is a term loaded with
romantic connotations, the idea has some relevance as a sphere of action within which power to control the circumstances of life are related to the knowledgeability of the individual through their capacity to appropriate and reinterpret their given environment. This imbues the notion of community with some of the positive implications with which it has been more traditionally associated rather than as some form of intersubjective fallacy. As Wright says 'of a collectivity, of an integration with its sense of both insiders and outsiders, constituted at the same level as the personality', whilst allowing 'the cultivation of that individuality not exercisable outside'.

As an organising framework by which the individual relates to their wider physical and social environment, the concept of community may escape the straitjacket of spatial or temporal continuity which has dogged workers attempting to delimit the structural limits of individual communities. The knowledge of previous action, encapsulated in a sense of history 'a symbolic capacity enabling a society to construct a system of knowledge together with the technical tools which it can use to intervene in its own functioning'. This situates the concept of community as a potential, a capacity which can be both purposive and defensive, yet which may remain latent until it is symbolically instantiated rearticulation. Community may therefore cohere around events at specific places and times within a locality, imbricated in the circulations of spatial and temporal routine. The search for a uniform and continuous 'community' where maps can be drawn to define the boundaries to collective topophilia and exhaustive lists of norms and values calculated to assess the limits of shared attitudes may miss what is perhaps a central point of the concept of community, a quality of discontinuity and fragmentation. This view relates closely to the definition of class consciousness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries put forward by labour historians John Rule and E.P. Thompson. In this the lack of formal labour institutions combined with sporadic outbreaks of communal action is interpreted as a latent capability to combine where, knowledge of the possibilities of action are imbricated in practical consciousness. Not without significance, a major criticism of Thompson by more structuralist Marxians is that he describes community rather than class consciousness.
Chapter 5

In order to consider the Midland Railway workforce as an occupationally defined community within Derby, the following chapters will look in turn; at the district of Litchurch and the railway household; social life and social institutions; political and trade union activity. In the light of the above discussion, these chapters will endeavor to examine communality both as a physical and functional ecology, and a form of symbolically mediated collective identity. In particular, it is proposed to draw out some of the symbolically significant moments by which Derby railway men situated themselves in contradistinction to other groups. It is hoped this will not mask the variety of life chances and expectations within the railway corporation silenced by the all embracing image of the railway worker as a dutiful and respectable citizen.
Notes.


2. Tholfsen *op.cit.* pp.246-257, stresses the strand of working-class independence within the ethos of mid-Victorian respectability.


5. Gray (1976), *op.cit.* pp.144-149.


11. For a typical example of an historians 'academic convenience' approach to community see J. D. Marshall, 'The study of Local and Regional Communities, Some problems and possibilities', *Northern History* (1979) vol.xvii.


13. particularly the dichotomy between gemeinschaft-community gesellschaft-association or society in F. Tonnies, *Community and Society.* (reprint New York, 1957) and mechanical and organic solidarity in


17. F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (London, 1980), his use bears a close relationship to the 'ideal type' of classical sociology. This is not meant to denigrate all studies of 'community'. There are works within the historical non theoretical tradition which are sensitive historical documents of human experience recently see B. Williamson, *Class, Culture and Community: A biographical study of social change in mining* (London, 1982), the seminal study by E. P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1968) was based on detailed local research in West Yorkshire and may be thought of as a form of local study. Or, for an unrivalled insiders view see the working-class autobiography R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Manchester, 1971). The community studies produced within academic sociology during the 1950s and early 1960s are both interesting in their historical context of Britain during post-War reconstruction and the remaking of working-class culture in a period of affluence and have scholarly validity in their own right, see for example M. Dennis, F. M. Henries and C. Slaughter, *Coal is our Life* (London, 1957), M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London, 1957) and R. Frankenberg, *Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country* (London, 1966) Recently the resurgent interest in locality has produced such studies as R. E. Pahl, *Divisions of Labour* (Oxford, 1984) whose work links economic, social and cultural systems in a study of family and informal economy on the Isle of Sheppey. However here as in the studies of coal mining
communities the most successful work arguably still focuses on physically isolated local social systems.

19. Ibid. p.29.
25. There has been renewed interest recently amongst geographers concerned with qualitative methodology for work in anthropology and ethnography, see for example J.Eyles and S.J.Smith, *Qualitative Methods in Geography*. (London, 1987) particularly chapters 1 and 2. Also, S.Daniels and D.Coegrove, *The Iconography of Landscape*. (Cambridge, 1988), chapter 1. mainly interest is expressed in an American body of literature typified by Geertz (1975) op.cit. and *Local Knowledge*. (New York, 1983) J.Clifford and G.Marcus, eds. *Writing Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. (Berkeley, 1986). Or historically, the work of one of Geertz close associates R.Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and other episodes in French cultural history*. (New York, 1984). However a British school of contemporary ethnographic community studies based around the theme of socially constructing local identity through symbolic delimitation of social and cultural boundaries is of great


30. See chapter 4.


34. C. Calhoun, 'Community: towards a variable conceptualization for comparative research', Social History (1978), no. 3. p. 126. In reply to an earlier paper by Calhoun, A. Macfarlane, 'History, anthropology and the study of communities: discussion', Social History (1977) no. 5. suggests that community may be a fruitful ground for the intersection of history and sociology. linking symbolic interactionism and sociological theory. pp. 647-652.
36. Ibid.
38. A.P. Cohan (1985) op.cit. chapter 2. and Eyles op.cit. p.69.
41. Ibid. p.11.
42. Ibid. p.14.
43. Some work in Behavioral geography particularly that concerned with delimiting neighbourhood boundaries is open to this criticism for example but not the excellent paper by F. Boal which is concerned with actual behaviour patterns rather than attempting to get non-geographers to draw maps, 'Territoriality on the Shankill-Falls Divide, Belfast', Irish Geography. (1969) no.6. see also J. Gold, An Introduction to Behavioural Geography. (Oxford, 1980) pp.160-174.
Chapter 6

Railway workers in Derby.

The Litchurch District.

The district to the south of Derby town centre, where the Midland Railway station and workshops were located was very mixed in its economic and social composition and only partly developed when the railway came into full operation during the 1840's. It was bisected by two roads radiating south from the town centre towards the south, the Osmaston Road and the London Road; the latter was turnpiked and formed the principal access to the town from the south. Where the two joined to form London Street at the northern edge of the district, the commercial and retail core of the town began. To the east, where the railway property was located the district terminated in the 'Siddals', the flood plain of the river Derwent. Between the Siddals and the London Road were situated the Castlefields, the principal residential zone at this time, a piecemeal extension of eighteenth-century core of the town. To the west, on the high ground of Rose Hill between the London and Osmaston roads were the Derby Infirmary (opened in 1810), the Arboretum, (England's first public park, opened in 1840), and the Workhouse, (opened in the 1790s). Both the Arboretum and Infirmary were gifts to the town of the paternalist textile manufacturers- the Strutt family- and are evidence of the expansion of institutional land use into an area substantially composed of suburban villa residences. Beyond the Osmaston Road the ground sloped away towards Pear Tree and down to the recently enclosed Sninfin Moor and the River Trent. A directory of Derby printed in the 1820's remarks on the fine views to be gained from this attractive elevated and semi-rural adjunct to the town. Here were some allotment gardens, and a number of industrial plants, lead works, brick works and silk mills isolated amongst the fields. To the south the district was bounded by Osmaston Hall with its landed estate and landscaped park, home of the Wilmot-Hortons a family of old established Tory gentry. The district centred on four streets which formed the township of Litchurch, detached both physically and administratively-
Figure 6.1. The Railway District of Derby, 1894.

Section from Derby Borough map showing location of streets and features referred to in the text.

Source Map of the Borough of Derby, 1894.
Figure 6.2.

**Population Totals by Parish.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>1841</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Alkmunds</td>
<td>8,601</td>
<td>10,993</td>
<td>11,409</td>
<td>13,518</td>
<td>13,680</td>
<td>13,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Chester</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>966</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael</td>
<td>1,064</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter</td>
<td>10,538</td>
<td>13,702</td>
<td>13,450</td>
<td>14,145</td>
<td>15,021</td>
<td>14,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litchurch</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>1,720</td>
<td>6,560</td>
<td>11,093</td>
<td>18,507</td>
<td>23,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Verburgs</td>
<td>8,095</td>
<td>10,482</td>
<td>13,222</td>
<td>18,185</td>
<td>26,071</td>
<td>32,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Saints</td>
<td>4,443</td>
<td>4,396</td>
<td>4,049</td>
<td>3,934</td>
<td>3,821</td>
<td>3,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>33,606</td>
<td>43,684</td>
<td>51,049</td>
<td>62,333</td>
<td>78,149</td>
<td>89,339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Printed Census General Reports 1841-1891.

Figure 6.3.

**The 'Socio-economic' structure of Litchurch.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1851 Percentage</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>1881 Percentage</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Gentlemen</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger Business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar Clerical</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar Technical</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smaller Business</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Skilled</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Male</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Male</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Armed Forces</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkers Dealers and Brokers</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: One in ten household survey of Litchurch Census enumerators books 1851 and 1881. For definitions of categories used see footnote 22.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1851 Percentage</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>1881 Percentage</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Admin</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen/Supervisory</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Staff</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station and Lineside</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loco Works</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage and Wagon</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rly. Labourers Male</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Non Factory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Factory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and Engineering</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</table>

Source: One in ten household survey of Litchurch Census enumerators books 1851 and 1881
Chapter 6

from the outward expanse of Derby proper.: The four streets comprised Litchurch and Regent Streets situated between London and Osmaston Roads which were reputedly the oldest within the Litchurch district, and Grove Street and Leonard Street located to the north of the Arboretum (see figure 6.1). This semi-rural area on the outskirts of Derby whose principal development in the nineteenth century had been the result of the spread from Derby of domestic framework knitting, underwent considerable change after the opening of the railways.

From being the second smallest of all parishes and townships within the incorporated or unincorporated urban area of Derby, The Township of Litchurch almost doubled its population, on each successive census between 1841 and 1891 far exceeding the growth of any other area of Derby. By 1881 it was the second most populous district. It was only exceeded by the centrally located parish of St. Werburgs, only three times its 1851 population in 1891 compared with the twenty-one fold growth of Litchurch (see figure 6.2). Economically, the district was initially an extension of Derby, though it was not long before the district had a distinctive economic structure, dynamic in contrast to the static and declining industries of Derby town. The increase of population in Litchurch Township from 885 to 1,720 between 1841 and 1851 was ascribed to the extension of silk and lace factories, and the increase from 1,720 to 6,560 between 1851 and 1861 (the period of greatest individual growth) to 'the large number of persons employed at the Derby railway Station and Works, and at extensive iron foundries'.

This indicates the importance of this area to Derby town where the developing problems in the textile industry and particularly in the silk trade towards the 70's and 80's caused a great deal of hardship. Such was the pull of this new industrial area attached to the southern side of Derby and the decline of established employment, that a number of the most important villages within the Derby putting out network for textiles reported declining populations due to 'the demand for labour at the Derby Railway works, and to the depression in the glove trade'; the village of Spondon is a typical example.

From a relatively small component in the employment structure of Litchurch and district, railway employment grew to overshadow all other single forms of employment (see figure 6.3). Ten years after the railway
Figure 6.4. Photograph of Litchurch from the Station, 1860.
opened, this part of Derby was still dominated by the textile trades. The 1851 Census enumerators' books suggest that the principal form of employment was the textile industry, accounting for 24% of the employed population, of which 80% were in factory production. Railway employment was the second largest occupation comprising 19% of the employed population. Yet by 1881, only 5% of the population of this area was employed in textiles, an absolute as well as relative decline, whilst over 33% were now employed at the railway. The new industrial area developed in a broad arc sweeping the edge of the town from southwest to northeast. This was dominated by the railway itself including station offices and workshops. Adjacent to the railway, on the southern edge of the town, were two important private iron works dealing mainly in railway products. Opened in the 1850's, these employed about 1100 men by 1881. The larger of these Eastwood and Swinglers 'Victoria Railway Ironworks', was started by Henry Swingler (a former employee of the Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway) and had about 800 workers by 1888. Close to the station another area of diverse industry included the mechanised printing works of Messrs Bemrose, a relatively small ironworks alongside Canal street, together with a rope walk, boatbuilding, carriage manufacture, building firms and timber yards. Within the older streets and courts from the Siddals to the town centre were silk, lace and boot and shoe factories, whilst the old Workhouse beside the Arboretum was converted into the Crown Derby china works. About 10% of the employed population worked in the iron trades outside the railway company with small numbers in other specialist occupations (2.1% and 1.3% respectively for printing and china). When the Derby Town Council debated the annexation of Litchurch in 1867, it recognized that 'such a large and prosperous borough' should be included in Derby as 'they did not know any town in England which had such a borough adjoining it as Litchurch'. Though many of the council members said that they could not tell where Derby stopped and Litchurch started, the confident manufacturers of Litchurch counter proposed political separatism, the construction of a Town Hall and a Free Library in Litchurch as an independent borough (see figure 6.4).
Residential Structure.

It is clear from the Census enumerators' books that the railway workforce was highly concentrated into the area around the station in the early decades of operation. In 1851, this relatively small group, amounting to about 800 in 1851, was focused very much into the ED's including and immediately adjacent to the N.M.R housing. The housing of the Litchurch district may be divided into four parts: firstly, the new streets being built on the southern edge of the town, Nelson, Bradshaw and Arboretum Streets; secondly, the core streets of Litchurch township built at the onset of railway development, Regent and Oxford streets; thirdly, in the older area between Canal street and the Castlefields, Liversage, Park, Johns St. and their respective courts; lastly, the company housing in front of the station, which at this date housed 160 workers (about 20% of railway workers in Derby). Apart from this group, all the workforce was housed in either pre-existing or new rented housing. Over 90% lived within half a kilometre of the station, with a steep gradient of residential density away from the station, from about 40% of the occupied population in railway work in the vicinity of the station to under 9% in Traffic Street and under 5% in Grove Street, just three-quarters of a kilometre from the station. Even at this date the residential structure of railway workers which persisted into the twentieth century, was beginning to crystallize, based on an axis of high status terraced housing extending from the Company houses through Oxford and Regent streets to the Arboretum, mostly rented at 4-5s. per week in 1855. According to literary accounts this area was known as the 'Railway Belgravia', because of the large numbers of foremen, supervisory and administrative staff resident here. This area shaded off into streets and courts, extending from the town centre and out into the new building along the boundary of railway south and west towards Osmaston.

By 1881 employment by the Midland Railway Company dominated most of Derby south of the London Road-Osmaston Road junction known locally and described in the press as 'Railway Derby'. The residential district for railway workers had expanded in a number of directions (see figure 6.5 and 6.7). The largest concentrations of railwaymen were still those to
Figure 6.5.

Density of Railwaymen Heads of Household 1886

Source: Bulmer's Street Directory of Derby 1886.
Figure 6.6.

Density of Iron and Engineering Heads of Household 1886

Key

- 2 - 9 percent
- 10 - 17 percent
- 18 - 25 percent
- 26 - 58 percent

Scale

Source: Bulmer's Street Directory of Derby 1886.
the south of town centre, though significant numbers of railwaymen lived
to the east and north of the town, near the Great Northern Railway
station opened in 1878 and close to the Midland Railway goods depot at
Chester Green opened during the mid 1860's. Railway workers were
prominent in the new housing to the east of the Arboretum and in the
streets then in the course of construction close to the recently opened
Midland Railway Carriage and Wagon works. In comparison, with railway
workers, iron/engineering and textile workers were much more evenly
dispersed across the various working-class districts of Derby (see
figures 6.5 and 6.7).

The Census enumerators' books for 1881 for the section of the town
south of the London Road-Osmaston Road junction suggest that about 4,500
railway workers lived here, some 33% of the employed population of this
district, or about 15% of the employed population of Derby as a whole.
The Midland Railway employed about 6,500 people at Derby at this date
and railwaymen living in this area account for around 69% of the
company's Derby based workforce. Apart from the Chester Green-
Nottingham Road concentration, Midland Railway workers lived in villages
neighbouring the railway line and the marshalling yards at Chaddesden,
Osmaston, Crewton and Spondon. Indicating the growing number of M.R.
workers living in the villages south of Derby a 'memorial' to the Board
from a group of workmen in 1869 asked for 'special trains to enable the
large number of workers resident in villages nearby Derby to travel to
work'. There is still evidence of considerable clustering of railway
workers into the traditional core of 'Railway Derby' and in E.D.'s
adjacent to the Midland Railway, in terms of employment, the railway
industry dominated the area, as part of Derby as a whole; only two E.D.'s.
have location quotients lower than 1 located on the townside periphery
of the district. In the E.D.'s closest to the station where railway
housing constituted a large portion of the housing stock, railwaymen
formed up to 67% of the employed population (L.Q.6.1). Even in the older
privately-rented area of Regent and Oxford Streets they formed greater
than 50% (L.Q.4.6+) of the working population and in newer areas to the
south of this, the Bloomfield-Bateman Street area and Shaftsbury Street,
Pear Tree Street areas greater than 45% (L.Q.4.1+). There were also
large concentrations of railway workers up to 1.5 K.m. from the railway

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Figure 6.7.

'Litchurch', Residential Density of Railwaymen by H.D. 1881

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
headquarters. It the district beyond the Arboretum between 33 and 43% of
the occupied population were employed by the Midland Railway (see figure
6.7). In his Midland Railway reminiscences, G.J.Pratt remarks on the
extent to which the Arboretum formed a barrier to railwaymen living
beyond Rose Hill, who prior to its being thrown open to the public in
1882, needed to make substantial detours in order to get to work.12 The
'boisterous chatter' and the clatter of feet on the cobbles of Arboretum
and nearby streets at five thirty in the morning and again in the
evening was very soon the cause of much vociferous complaint in the
columns of the local newspaper. The number of works entrances were
increased in number until there were four ranging from the extreme north
to extreme southern tip of the railway property. In 1881 the Derby
Mercury records the opening of a new 'coffee tavern' on a previously
quiet street 'because upwards of 600 men now walk this way' en route for
the Locomotive Works.14

Despite the large numbers of railway workers who came to live in
this southern district of Derby between 1851 and 1881, the Midland
Railway Co. only added a few houses to its stock in the form of the
'Midland Courts' accessed from Nelson Street. In 1880 these provided
only 17 houses,15 so the company cannot have felt much pressure to
maintain the level of its housing stock, since this number constitutes a
reduced total after some of the land on which they were situated was
redeveloped to provide more office space during the late 1860's. By 1890
when the M.R. claimed to employ 10,000 in Derby, the printed census
returns for the 'Urban Sanitary District of Derby' indicate only a small
increase in the total employed in railway occupations between 1881 and
1891, suggesting that the expansion of the railway workforce into new
residential districts to the south, away from the town and beyond the
Borough boundary, apparent at the 1881 census was still the principal
population dynamic amongst this group.

There is substantial evidence to suggest that the presence of the
railway formed a significant incentive to property developers and
speculators. Most frequently the sale of land and property in Litchurch
advertised proximity to the station as leading to a higher level and
greater security of rent income. Advertisements for the sale of property
in the locality stress this; for example, 'From its proximity to the
Railway Station, the Property commands respectable tenants and is readily let.'

'a thriving locality, and one that is almost daily becoming more important, is well worthy the attention of Capitalists and persons seeking investments'.

This is partly corroborated from annual rental values. In 1880 the two up two down terraced house valued at £4/4–£5/11 in the northern part of Derby was valued at £6/16–£8/10 in the Park, Canal, or John’s Street.

The already built up area between the Siddals and London Road shows an increase in the total number of houses as the backs of plots were developed in courts and yards. Park Street for instance, substantially developed in 1850, experienced a 34% increase in the number of households from 120 to 161 between 1850 and 1860. Much of this increase can be accounted for by a large increase in the number of court houses. A letter to the Derby Mercury written in 1866 by a ‘polite’ resident of Rose Hill, suggests the intensity with which available land was developed no less than the siege mentality of middle-class residents in a rapidly-industrialising district:

if you look in Grove-street you will find cottages being erected upon the most limited space and under unfavourable conditions—while the street itself is in a disgraceful state. Look again at the new street just laid out on the Osmaston-road (Eastwood street) and there is another specimen of the greed of building speculators—houses built fronting to the street and another row at the back close to the privies of the houses in Douglas-street. And this sort of thing the workingclass have to submit to if they must reside at a moderate distance from their workshops.

Property owners and builders responsible for the development of Litchurch, came principally from the leaders of Derby society, many of whom lived in Litchurch, including several major Derby builders whose headquarters and indeed own homes were located in this part of Derby. Amongst these were Woodiwiss, (the largest single property owner) Burrows, and Sale, the first two of whom were also important railway contractors, farmers and landowners like Edward Etches and local factory owners and business people, Bemrose the printers, Cox the Lead and paint makers, or Boden the lace factory owners. These larger owners possessed about 45% of the freeholds in Litchurch; the larger portion of property
Figure 6.8.

‘Litchurch’, Residential Density of Middle-classes by H.D., 1881

Key
Quartiles

2 - 5 percent
6 - 9 percent
10 - 21 percent
22 - 43 percent

Source Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.9.

'Litchurch', Density of Semi and Unskilled by E.D. 1881

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.10.

'Litchurch' Mean Annual Gross Estimated Rental, Values by E.D. 1880.

Source: Derby Borough Rate Books, 1880.
Figure 6.11.

'Litchurch', Residential Density of Non-Railway Iron and Engineering Workers by E.D. 1881

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
was owned by small landlords owning up to 10-12 houses but more typically less than three. Only a few of these small landlords are traceable as railwaymen, the only two in this category were senior administrators in the company, who owned 39 houses between them. Most small owners were small businessmen, butchers, shop owners and coal merchants. Though owner occupation amongst railwaymen was very low, there is evidence to suggest that some foremen and senior artisan grades purchased property for investment, probably to provide an income in old age; in 1880 at least four property owners in the new streets west of Rose Hill are traceable to addresses in Railway Terrace. The first areas in Litchurch to be built were immediately adjacent to the Loco Works and were extensively developed by the late 60's. Although laid out as roads through allotment gardens in the 1850's, the latest areas developed were west of the Arboretum; these were developed from the 1870's and were only partly complete by the 1881 census. By 1881, the result was an area which was still very mixed in terms of its social and residential composition in spite of the great amount of industrial and residential development.

There were high degrees of residential concentration with the highest proportion of middle-class occupation on the high ground around the Arboretum and Rose Hill, the previous site of larger villa residences and also along the major roads into the town, long the preserve of professional and business people (see figure 6.8). Although, in 1871, the Derby Mercury described Rose Hill as 'not the most salubrious spot in which to reside,' middle-class housing was still being built with little obvious pressure to go down market well into the 1890's. Conversely the distribution of semi-skilled and unskilled occupations shows major concentrations in the older area of the district and in a few ED.'s close to the newer Iron Foundries. The density of semi-skilled and unskilled workers who together accounted for about 35% of the workforce of this district exhibit a considerable degree of concentration (see figure 6.9). Comparison of gross estimated rental values show that the older area between the Siddals and the London Road had relatively low mean rents but higher standard deviations suggesting the great mixture of housing classes and social status more typical of older towns. The core area of Litchurch was of relatively homogeneous
housing of a good artisan and lower middle class quality. Values increase around the Arboretum, apart from the old streets traditionally inhabited by textile workers immediately to the north. The new areas developed from the 1870's illustrate much more homogenous development, whether of respectable artisan/lower middle class dwellings to the west of Rose Hill, or high status upper middle class development near the Infirmary. Though the standard deviation of mean rent is high in some ED's on the edge of the town where partly completed streets mixed with larger suburban villas (see figure 6.10). The maps of iron/engineering workers show them concentrated into the older lower status part of the district and the former in the newer housing in the southern and western part of the area, where the numbers involved in this trade reached as high as 30% (L.Q.2.8 as a percentage of district), (see figure 6.11). In the Russell, Graham Street area Eastwood and Swingler (proprietors of the 'Victoria Railway and Iron Works') owned several streets of houses exclusively for their workforce. Apart from the M.R. houses this was the only other example of company housing in the Litchurch district. There was also a small cluster of iron workers adjacent to the Canal Street Iron works 17% (L.Q.1.4) and towards the town centre close to the early nineteenth-century metal working zone of the town on the Morledge 14% (L.Q.1.3).

The distribution of the railway workforce cut across all these areas of uneven, housing status and quality, to the extent that they dominated the residential pattern of even the more prosperous areas. The wide range of income levels within the employment hierarchy of the M.R.headquarters meant that all types of housing were in demand from the large suburban villa for the administrative and professional grades to a small court dwelling for the young labourer with few dependents. The mean annual rentable value of railway workers' houses (£10/10 or 4s.7d., per week in 1881) is just above the upper limit Burnett believes the working classes would be willing to pay for accommodation. As Dennis suggests that in Leeds the 4s.6d. per week necessary to bring an acceptable return on new standard By-Law housing constituted more than the 10-15% of income assumed to be a reasonable expenditure on housing. Most importantly, Burnett argues, that it was not that the working-classes couldn't afford the amount rather that the insecurity
and irregularity of income meant to a large extent they could not undertake such a large commitment. The security of employment available in the railway industry may well have been most significant to the quality and structure of residential development in this district of the town. There were major differences in the residential pattern of particular groups within the M.R. workforce and these will be considered later in this chapter. However it can be said with little doubt, that the size of the railway workforce was a major factor in creating extensive areas where railway work almost totally excluded others as a male occupation. Sheer numbers meant that in large parts of Litchurch railwaymen could not help but live as neighbours.

Household Structure.

If the Midland Railway workforce constituted a distinctive component in the residential structure of Derby, the individual household profile of this group was also discrete. The population of Litchurch was significantly different to that of the rest of Derby, a population composed of mobile migrants whether in the railway, iron, or textile trades. The place of birth figures, at both 1851 and 1881 show the population of Litchurch (both heads of household and dependents) as significantly different to the rest of Derby (see figure 6.12). In 1851 only 22% of the population of Litchurch were Derby-born compared with a substantial 63% for Derby as a whole, whilst 33% of the residents of Litchurch were born in Derbyshire compared with just 3.3% for Derby in total. In 1881, only 34% of household heads in Litchurch were born in either Derby and Derbyshire, whilst the combined total for Derby is 65%. Litchurch then had significantly higher totals drawn from the East and particularly the West Midlands, especially Birmingham, the Black Country and Staffordshire. These localities were the place of origin for many of the iron workers coming to work at the new foundries in the district. Substantial numbers originated in the coalmining districts of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire where there was a local iron making industry as well as domestic textile production. The great number of families with children born outside Derby further illustrates this.
Figure 6.12.

**Place of Birth**

<table>
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<th>1881</th>
<th>1881</th>
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<td>Litchurch (2)</td>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>Litchurch</td>
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<td>Derby</td>
<td>25,623 (63.8%)</td>
<td>347 (43.0%)</td>
<td>52,986 (65.7%)</td>
<td>1,461 (43.3%)</td>
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<td>181 (20.0%)</td>
<td>(included above)</td>
<td>449 (13.3%)</td>
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<td>394 (11.7%)</td>
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<td>East Midlands</td>
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<td>313 (9.3%)</td>
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<td>1,982 (2.4%)</td>
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<td>210 (0.3%)</td>
<td>139 (4.1%)</td>
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<td>288 (0.3%)</td>
<td>27 (0.8%)</td>
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(1) Figures for Derby taken from Printed Census General Reports 1851 and 1881.
(2) Figures for Litchurch, numbers taken from 1 in ten household survey. For the composition of the regional categories see footnote 28.
### Figure 6.13.

#### Birth Place of Railway Workers 1851

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<th>Locomotive</th>
<th>Firemen</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Foremen</th>
<th>Professional in non Rly Total</th>
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<td>Works</td>
<td>Drivers</td>
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<td>-</td>
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(1) Percentage; (n,) Sample size.

### Birth Place of Railway Workers 1881

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<th>Station</th>
<th>Carriage</th>
<th>Locomotive</th>
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<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Foremen</th>
<th>Professional in non Rly Total</th>
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<td></td>
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(1) Percentage; (n,) Sample size.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
1881, over 30% of households with families in the district had children born outside the town within the previous ten years.

Within Litchurch the railway workforce was different both from the population of Derby and Litchurch as a whole (see figure 6.13). In 1851, the railway workforce was even more under represented by total born in Derby than Litchurch in total just 9%. Derby born. There are much larger totals from traditional centres of railway and engineering in Yorkshire 7.8%, the North West 6.8% and the North East 5.3%, as compared with negligible figures for Derby as a whole of 1.7%, 2.9% and 0.4% respectively. In 1881 the totals in the Derby and Derbyshire born categories are similar for both railwaymen and Litchurch at about 34%. The principal difference at this date being in the numbers drawn from the South Midlands and South West, of 6.1% and 6.6% respectively for railwaymen and 2.4% and 2.1% for Derby as a whole. This reflects the extension of the Midland system south west towards Bristol and beyond, which drew numbers of workers from largely rural areas as well as some from the railway towns of Swindon and Wolverton. These figures mirror the labour shortages experienced by the M.R. during its large-scale expansion in the 1860's and 70's, when recruiting drives were organized at the major railway workshops around the country. Notable at both dates is the almost complete absence of Irish born from either the railway workforce or Litchurch as a whole. Compared with railway workforces in other railway towns in 1851, there are significant similarities and differences. In Swindon, Ashford, Wolverton and Crewe, Turton found an important group of workers from the traditional railway engineering centres of the North-East, Yorkshire and Lancashire. However, there were more county-born railway workers in Derby than in any of these locations perhaps due to the already industrialized nature of much of the county. In contrast, Derby had fewer workers from Wales, Scotland or Ireland than other railway towns. In comparison with Drummond's figures for Crewe in 1881, Derby had similar totals of Welsh (3%) and Scottish born (1.2%). The figure for local born, (14% for Derby and 33% for Crewe) illustrates a higher degree of in-migration to Derby compared with other railway towns long after the initial establishment of the works. These figures are particularly significant when one recognizes that Derby was an established county town with an existing engineering
### Figure 6.14.

**Decennial within street persistance rates**

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<th>1860-70</th>
<th>1870-80</th>
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<td>32.1</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>45.5</td>
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</table>

(%) Percentage; (n.) Sample size.

Source Derby Borough Rate Books St. Peters and Litchurch 1850, 1860, 1870 1880; see footnote 32.
sector, so that it is remarkable that the railway workforce was so strongly under-represented by Derby born. Perhaps an important reason for the differences in birth place statistics between the railway population of Derby and other railway towns was the relatively small number of actual workshop staff. In 1881 only 45% of Derby railway men worked in the workshops in contrast to 85% at Crewe, creating conditions where people may be drawn from a wide variety of backgrounds and source areas.

Evidence suggests that once resident in Derby, railwaymen were rather less prone to move house than might be expected for other groups of similar status. Ten-yearly 'within street' persistence rates were calculated for seven streets chosen for their different character within the district, for the periods 1850-60, 1860-70 and 1870-80. These were: Park St, a relatively mixed status street in the older part of the area; Johns St., a lower status street in the old area; the Midland Railway housing of Railway Terrace; Nelson St., a mainly privately owned street adjacent to the railway; Oxford St., a high status street in the core area of the railway district; and two streets either side of the Arboretum, Arboretum St. and Strutt St. It has not proved possible to undertake similar calculations for the newer areas to the south and east of Rose Hill because these were primarily developed in the 1870's and there is a lack of suitable data post-1880. The figures show generally increasing rates of persistence from 1850 to 1880. In the decade 1850-60 railwaymen in the streets considered may be perceived as slightly less stable as a group than others, even on the company-owned Railway Terrace the rate was only 24%. The lower rates may well indicate the movement of railwaymen to the new streets close to the railway built at this time, Nelson/Wellington streets and the Bateman Street-Bloomfield Street area. To lend weight to this assertion the number of railwaymen as a proportion of residents on these streets in the older area was 8-10% higher at 28% for Park St. and 31% for Johns St. than in the next decades. However, in the following decades the rates for railwaymen are significantly higher than those for other residents in the same street, between 5% to 10% on average. The streets examined do show a wide divergence in persistence rates and these differences remain relatively stable over the periods under consideration. The highest rates are for
the Midland Railway housing in Railway Terrace where the decennial rate was 41.5% between 1870 and 1880. Next are the high status streets in the centre of the railway district and around the Arboretum. In the period 1870-1880, these were Strutt St. 45.4%, Arboretum St. 33.3% and Oxford St. 26%; lower down the scale is Johns St. 27.4%, Park St. 24% and then Nelson St. 22%, all higher than might be expected from research in other towns where 15-20% was a typical figure. As might be expected, the highest figures were in those streets substantially over-represented by higher status groups, though here, as elsewhere within the railway population, even in 1880 owner occupation was less than 0.5%. The company housing shows very high rates, illustrating the high regard for these houses amongst the railway workforce, residence here confirmed the status of an individual within the Company. They were chiefly given to key workers within the Derby organization in a variety of grades from foremen porters to accountants and therefore once in residence these people tended to remain for a substantial period of time.

Birth-place statistics and figures for residential stability in themselves can have little meaning and the implications of such data for the construction of community are ambiguous in the extreme. It is possible to claim that the lack of local ties led to an insular detached attitude among migrants to his or her new place of residence. Yet it is equally legitimate to claim that the lack of local family ties makes the migrant more reliant on informal neighbourhood networks, for information and support. Whether such ties are truly affective or short term and instrumental, as Anderson suggests is also a matter for conjecture. Nevertheless, throughout most of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Derby railway workforce was composed of people from many and various backgrounds with a collective biography juxtaposing Black Country chain makers with Somerset farm labourers. One contemporary referred to the mix of regional cultures within the railway district as constituting 'a veritable tower of Babel'. The pronounced tension between regional identities within the railway industry (see chapter 4) has been quite well documented, by Williams at Swindon for example. Newcomers from rural backgrounds were taunted as only fit for labouring, when mode of speech and custom made their behaviour appear green and unsophisticated. Numbers do not always reflect the power of a particular
regional group within the workforce, as attested by the 'hegemony' of North-Eastern born foremen and supervisory staff in the 1840's and 1850's. Though they only formed 5% of the total workforce they appear quite able to control access to employment allegedly favouring workmen from their own region, what one Derby workman called 'their kith and kin', because they held key positions in the employment structure of the company.

The M.R. workforce was a distinct component in Derby combining high levels of mobility between locations of residence with high levels of stability within specific locations. Railway work had important consequences for the household itself, in terms of its formation, composition and economic status. The extent to which railway workers came to Derby with already established nuclear family units, or maintained family and social ties with previous places of residence, is a case in point. The birthplace of a marriage partner is one imperfect indicator of this, which may indicate a preference for a marriage partner from a locality of origin, even if this does not identify the place where the couple met. Chi square tests by place of birth between railway heads of household and their wives, indicate no statistically significant difference, highly correlated (r 0.95): both show highly significant differences between Derby and Litchurch in total. This suggests that to a large extent railwaymen either came to Derby with an established family or retained sufficiently strong ties with previous places of residence to formalize relationships at a later date. The census reveals that in 1851 26% of marriage partners originated from the same district and 18.5% in 1881 though this latter figure is still a substantial proportion (see figure 6.15).

From the perspective of the children, the analysis of marriage registers endorses the picture of a considerable functional separation of railway families from other occupational groups in Derby. Marriage registers for this area were looked at for a period from 1847 to 1896. For the period 1847-66, virtually all the built up area came within St.Peters parish and there are very few marriages recorded (often less than three per annum). This may relate to the relatively small size of the workforce until the 1860s as well as to the demographic and existing family structure of railway workers. After 1866, the central area of the
### Figure 6.15.

**Marriage partners from neighbouring localities outside Derby**

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<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Carriage</th>
<th>Locomotive</th>
<th>Firemen</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Foremen</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
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<td>13.3</td>
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<td>31.3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Lineside Wagon Works Drivers Clerical Foremen Professional Total |
|----------------|-------------|---------|----------|---------|----------------|-------|
| 1881            | 23.6         | 13      | 13.3     | 8       | 26.7            | 22.9  |
| 1885            | 19.2         | 15      | 50.0     | 6       | 31.3            | 20.9  |

(%) Percentage; (n,) Sample size.

*Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.*

### Figure 6.16.A

**Five Yearly sample of Marriages at St. Andrews Litchurch 1871-81**

#### Occupation of Fathers-in-law

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of Marriages involving Railway Grooms = 30.6 %,
Percentage of Marriages involving both Railway Grooms and Fathers-in-Law = 16.3 %,
Percentage of Railway Grooms marrying into Railway Families = 20 %,

Key: * = actual values, \( \hat{p} \) = expected value

*Source: Five yearly sample of all marriages at St. Andrews Parish Church Litchurch 1871-1881.*

For description of categories see footnote 22.
Figure 6.16. B.

Five Yearly sample of Marriages at St. Andrews Litchurch

1886-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of Parents in Law</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Iron &amp; Steel</th>
<th>Hawkers</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Railway</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Semi-Skilled</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>White Coll.</th>
<th>White Coll.</th>
<th>Dealer</th>
<th>Gentry</th>
<th>Professional</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of Marriages Involving Railway Grooms = 33%.
Percentage of Marriages Involving both Railway Grooms and Fathers-in-Law = 17%.
Percentage of Railway Grooms Marrying into Railway Families = 51.5%.
Key: * actual value, 2.0 expected value

Source: Five yearly sample of all marriages at St. Andrews Parish Church Litchurch 1886-91,96

For description of categories see footnote 22.

The estimated value for each cell is calculated as a cross product of aggregated vertical and horizontal totals for the table as a whole. There are therefore estimated values for all cells including those where there is no actual value, however these have not been included on the final tables.
Figure 6.16. C.
Occupation of Fathers and Fathers-in-Law for Marriages of Railway Grooms at St. Andrews Litchurch 1867-81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin &amp; FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station &amp; FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotive F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staff F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotive FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Wagon F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labourer F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key - 3 = actual values, 2,3 = expected values
F = Father, FL = Father-in-Law

Source: St. Andrews Marriage Registers, Sample - all marriages involving Railway Grooms at St. Andrews Parish Church Litchurch 1867-1881.

For description of categories see footnote 22.

Figure 6.16. D.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
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<td>Admin &amp; FL</td>
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<td>Professional F</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foremen FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supervisory F</td>
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<tr>
<td>Station &amp; FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Locomotive F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staff F</td>
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<td>Carriage FL</td>
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<tr>
<td>&amp; Wagon F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key - 3 = actual values, 2,3 = expected values
F = Father, FL = Father-in-Law

Source: St. Andrews Marriage Registers, Sample - all marriages involving Railway Grooms at St. Andrews Parish Church Litchurch 1882-1898.

For description of categories see footnote 22.
district came under the new parish of St. Andrews, Litchurch, known as 'the railwayman's church'. All 'railway marriages' were recorded during the period and a total cross section of marriages once in five years. In 1871 there were as few as five marriages involving railway grooms per annum at St. Andrews, this figure doubled to about twelve per annum in 1896. During the decade 1867-76, 45% of railway grooms at St. Andrews had fathers also recorded as railwaymen, whilst only 24% had fathers-in-law who were railwaymen. This suggests that particularly during the earlier years railwaymen either came to Derby with established families or married outside the town. Whilst the percentage of grooms' fathers employed in the railway industry remained at about 40% throughout the period until 1896, the percentage of fathers-in-law so employed almost doubled from 24.6% to 46.6%, in the decade 1887-96. In his work on Kentish London, Crossick found that the most important occupational relationship in marriage was that of groom to father-in-law. Evidence from Derby also indicates the importance of this relationship. Oral testimony for example stresses the role of the workplace relationships translated into the home, via workmates whether peers or seniors. As in the following example:

'We worked overtime one Saturday and afterwards Jimmy Hancock, who I worked with, I was his lad you see,...said why dont you come and have a bit of tea with us. So I did and that's where I met her...

Quite frequently peers are mentioned and it is perhaps possible that young men calling on a regular basis for workmates to go out in free time constituted an important bridge via which outsiders became assimilated to the familiar routine of other households.

The number of marriages involving one party giving an address elsewhere in the country other than Derby and environs, declined from greater than 30% in the 1850's to 13% in the 1890's. However, even the lesser figure suggests a considerable degree of long-distance marriages. Dennis found only 4% of Huddersfield marriages in 1880 involved distances greater than 3 km. The increase in the distance of locally based marriages over this period reflects the increasing size of the built up area in this part of Derby. However, the distance over which marriages were contracted was predominantly local, even in the 1890's over 48% involved distances of less than 0.5km. This later figure does
not conflict with other studies of marriage patterns. Dennis, for example, found that as late as 1880 71% of marriages involved distances of less than 1 km. Marriages outside Derby frequently show links with rural society. As late as the 1890's 7% of fathers-in-law were classified as farmers or agricultural labourers. Though one has to be careful in drawing unwarranted conclusions from such data, these figures suggest that in terms of family formation railway workers were distinctive within Derby, links were primarily out of the town or within the workforce. It can be argued that to a large degree the very high levels of intermarriage within the railway workforce was simply a function of the concentration of railway families in this part of Derby, and says little about the affective component of community. However the concentration of railway workers into this district, generating high levels of interaction between families, does not detract from the strength of interaction within this group, whether this resulted from a community of interest, or merely a function of residential proximity. It is possible to calculate from marriage registers, that by the 1870's the number of railwaymen marrying into railway families were over represented by about 33%, compared with an under estimation of almost 50% in the previous decade, suggesting that by this date interaction was to a certain extent a purposive act as well as the result of circumstance. These figures lend credence to the assertion that the links within the railway workforce strengthened as the group became consolidated into the urban structure of Derby, and as the demographic structure of the workforce matured, creating by the late 1860s significant numbers of railway dependents of marriageable age. The mean age for the marriage of railwaymen in Litchurch during the 1870s was 25 years, rising to 26 by the 1880s: this was quite a mature age and suggests that men were waiting until well after the age at which apprenticeships were completed before forming a separate household. This may represent a return to the pre-1700 age for marriage of 27 years for men, slightly ahead of the general trend which Levine situates during the Edwardian period. This is further evidenced in the substantial numbers of dependents in the 20-25 age group resident as dependents and lodgers in railway households. The greater requirement to move for younger grades porters and engine cleaners, for example, may partly
Children Born Outside Derby 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Carriage</th>
<th>Locomotive</th>
<th>Firemen</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Foremen</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lineside Wagon</td>
<td>Works Drivers</td>
<td>Supervisory and Admin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineside Wagon</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
<td>(S) (n,)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 Year</td>
<td>16.0 8 10.0 1 14.0 7 13.5 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 Years</td>
<td>24.0 12 20.0 2 26.0 13 27.0 10 30.0 3 28.6 2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 Years</td>
<td>12.9 6 10.0 1 22.0 11 18.9 7 40.0 4 14.3 1 66.7 2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 Years</td>
<td>18.0 9 20.0 2 12.9 6 2.7 1 10.0 1 42.8 3</td>
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<td>All Born in Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>Born Two or more</td>
<td>27.7 13 10.0 1 21.6 11 24.3 9 10.0 1 28.6 2 33.3 1</td>
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<td>Places</td>
<td>Mean no of places</td>
<td>2.6 2.0 2.4 2.1</td>
<td>2.0 2.5 3.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(S) Percentage; (n,) Sample size.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
account for this. Perhaps also important is that about this age men could be transferred to more senior grades along the ladder of promotion for guards, engine drivers and clerks.

If railwaymen came largely from outside Derby there is also evidence to suggest many had made a number of moves, starting and expanding their family in several locations elsewhere (see figure 6.17). In 1851 23.3% of railwaymen with families had children born in at least two places outside Derby, whilst in 1881 the figure of 13% is much smaller though still significant. This is reinforced by the figures recording households where all the children were born in Derby of 25% in 1851 and 34% in 1881 which compares with figures for Litchurch as a whole of 53.4% and 67.3% respectively. In posing the question 'How did the physical and emotional demands of work alter family life?', Pleck suggests that in many working class occupations during the nineteenth century, the demands made outside working hours were minimal, thereby dividing work and family into separate entities.\(^4\) Evidence suggests that whether of administrative, artisan or labouring grade railway work was an 'absorptive' occupation requiring a total commitment to the company from the household, making demands on the wife and perhaps other members of the family. This was so via both cycles of promotion and daily work. Promotion meant wives and families were removed to strange locations, far from family and friends. These were frequently very isolated, even in populous districts, the houses at Hasland Loco depot for example, in the Derbyshire coalfield, were half a mile from the nearest road.\(^4\) Though the common problems of migration may have formed some bond between railway families, removal could be a bleak prospect with which the family had to cope alone. Arthur Allman, a carriage and wagon worker who moved to Derby in 1905, talked of the problems of moving from Stoke on Trent. First of all he tried to commute on the train, leaving his family domiciled in the Potteries, but this meant leaving home at 4.15am. on an unheated train. He then moved into lodgings found for him by the company, only visiting the family at weekends. Unwelcome at the house where he stayed because there were so many boarding there, he tells of walking the streets during the evening in order to learn about the new town 'to find out whether I liked it or not'. After six months he found the pressure on his family so great that
Figure 6.18.

**Household Structure 1851**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Station Lineside</th>
<th>Carriage Wagon</th>
<th>Locomotive Works</th>
<th>Firemen Drivers</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Foremen</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Supervisory and Admin.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children over 15</td>
<td>7.8 6</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1.9 1</td>
<td>4.8 1</td>
<td>0.3 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>11.1 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Children under 15</td>
<td>58.8 47</td>
<td>83.3 10</td>
<td>79.7 29</td>
<td>72.2 29</td>
<td>47.6 10</td>
<td>58.3 7</td>
<td>75.0 2</td>
<td>11.1 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>23.8 19</td>
<td>16.7 2</td>
<td>17.2 11</td>
<td>20.4 11</td>
<td>28.6 6</td>
<td>41.7 6</td>
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<td>Lodgers Borders</td>
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<td>4.7 3</td>
<td>13.0 7</td>
<td>4.8 1</td>
<td>8.3 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>10.3 25</td>
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<td>- -</td>
<td>1.6 1</td>
<td>1.9 1</td>
<td>4.8 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>2.0 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>1.2 1</td>
<td>8.3 1</td>
<td>11.1 6</td>
<td>11.1 6</td>
<td>42.9 9</td>
<td>8.3 1</td>
<td>56.0 2</td>
<td>9.5 23</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

($\parallel$) Percentage; (\text{n.}) Sample size.

**Household Structure 1881**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Carriage Wagon</th>
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<th>Firemen Drivers</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Foremen</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Supervisory and Admin.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Children over 15</td>
<td>3.4 2</td>
<td>3.2 2</td>
<td>6.3 9</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>10.6 5</td>
<td>20.0 7</td>
<td>40.0 4</td>
<td>7.3 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 15</td>
<td>72.4 42</td>
<td>75.4 48</td>
<td>75.4 107</td>
<td>85.4 41</td>
<td>61.7 29</td>
<td>51.4 18</td>
<td>50.0 5</td>
<td>72.5 290</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15.5 9</td>
<td>14.3 9</td>
<td>12.0 17</td>
<td>19.5 8</td>
<td>25.8 14</td>
<td>31.4 11</td>
<td>10.0 1</td>
<td>17.3 69</td>
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<td>Lodgers Borders</td>
<td>32.8 19</td>
<td>30.1 19</td>
<td>17.6 25</td>
<td>31.2 13</td>
<td>14.9 7</td>
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<td>- -</td>
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<td>4.9 2</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>2.8 11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>60.0 6</td>
<td>6.5 26</td>
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($\parallel$) Percentage; (\text{n.}) Sample size.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
he was forced to bring his family to Derby. Asked whether he made friends easily in the new town he said 'No, I was a family man and we just made the best of it between us'. Without a wife and family the pressures of living in a strange town could be unbearable. There are several pathetic newspaper reports from the 1870's telling of suicides amongst the junior clerks lodging in Litchurch. The supportive role of the wife in such cases very much echoes that within the 'two person' middle-class occupations of the twentieth century, where the cult of domesticity according to Pleck can be understood only in the emergence of the male career. On a daily basis shift work particularly the long periods (up to fourteen hours plus) worked by traffic staff until the 1880s made intense demands on the family. When railwaymen agitated for a reduction in hours during the 1870s one principal complaint, designed to hit the middle-classes where they felt most strongly or at least talked most piously, was that wives had virtually to bring up the children single handed. Railwaymen were 'strangers in their own households' unable to exert a father's influence on the development of the family. Given the important 'supportive' role of the wife in the railwayman's working life, it is perhaps significant that the mother appears to play the dominant part, propelling sons into the railway industry.

A cursory examination of the census material indicates the existence of pockets of households from common areas of origin, though little formal attempt has been made to calculate this, because of the extreme problems with inferring relationships from circumstantial evidence. This is particularly apparent in 1851 and again in the newer areas of housing in 1881, particularly related to the recently opened Carriage Works. In Shaftsbury St during 1881 for instance, a conservative estimate would postulate at least six such pockets in a street of 120 houses, including two cases of multiple occupancy. Though generally there is little evidence of multiple occupancy, it is also possible to identify a proportion of lodgers sharing a similar birth place with the household head or spouse, however to a large extent these are younger unattached 14-25 year olds entering the households of reasonably well established railwaymen (see figure 6.18). This indicates a calculated and open relationship between families consolidated in Derby and social and kinship networks in home areas, allowing knowledge of suitable
### Railway Workers by form of Residence 1851

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Household Head</th>
<th>Dependant</th>
<th>Lodgers</th>
<th>In non Rly.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(% of Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Actual</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station/Lineside</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage/Wagon</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loco Works</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen/Drivers</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen/Supervisory</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Admin</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a percentage</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Actual values (2) Expected values.

### Railway Workers by form of Residence 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Household Head</th>
<th>Dependant</th>
<th>Lodgers</th>
<th>In non Rly.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(% of Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Actual</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station/Lineside</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage/Wagon</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loco Works</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen/Drivers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen/Supervisory</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Admin</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a percentage</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Actual values (2) Expected values.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade of Household</th>
<th>Station/Lineside</th>
<th>Carriage/Wagon</th>
<th>Loco/Works</th>
<th>Firemen/Drivers</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>As a % Household Heads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station/</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lineside Carriage/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagon Loco/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Drivers/</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen Clerical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen Supervisory</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Actual value (2) Expected value.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Quartiles represent the percentage of households with Lodgers and Boarders.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
opportunities to be transmitted and an initial base in the town held open until the appropriate time.

As a group, therefore, the Midland Railway workforce may be seen to have few local family ties independent of the company; locked into the system of transfer and promotion, what separated many of these people from other highly mobile groups is that many had made the entire migration to Derby whilst working for a single employer. However, even for those groups like the workshop artisans who may have made a series of moves from within different urban metal working centres eventually arriving at Derby, the common experience of migration and the semi-formal system of tramping, amongst engineering workers would have constituted a common set of experiences which may have allowed some mutual ground for interaction.

The railway household appears to have been directed strongly inwards by functional ties towards the railway (see figure 6.19) in 1881 only 14% of railwaymen lived in households where the head was not also a railway worker, and the figure for 1851 is only slightly higher at 17%. Even the quite substantial number of mainly young workers who were sent or transferred to Derby as apprentices, engine cleaners or clerks, lived largely within railway households. In 1881 21.75% of railway households had railway lodgers, a two fold increase on 1851. The map of lodgers per ED (see figure 6.21) shows the areas of highest density around the railway. In the ED adjacent to the station up to 56% (LC.3.2) of households have lodgers and boarders. Partly, this may have been due to a semi-formal system, organized by the company through the M.R. Estates Office, for allocating lodgings to railwaymen moving to Derby. Though sparsely recorded this system was certainly in operation by the first decade of this century. Many widows taking up to four or five lodgers were the wives of railwaymen killed in service, and were patronized by the company in order to assist their meagre pension or allowance. These households were not counted as 'railway' and therefore the figure for railwaymen living in households connected to the railway may be as high as 90%. In 1881 about 15% of the total M.R. workforce in Derby lived as lodgers or boarders, together with the high percentage resident in households with a railway connection. This figure further indicates both
the fluidity of the railway workforce and its insularity in terms of residential pattern.

The extent to which son followed father into the employ of the Midland Railway presents further evidence of the functional dominance of family life by the railway (see figure 6.22 and 6.23). In total 7.2% in 1851 of the railway workforce in Litchurch and 11.9% in 1881 lived as dependents in the households of railwaymen. As there were very few opportunities for females within the company until the First World War, amounting to less than 0.5% in 1881, it is legitimate to calculate this number as a percentage of male dependents over the age of 14 years only. When this is done the figures are 59% for 1851 and 70% for 1881; this more accurately reflects the economic influence of the railway in most family economies. The many and various employment opportunities within the railway from labourer through various artisan grades to clerical and professional grades, draughtsmen and engineers separates railway work from other industries where there was a tradition of father following son, coalmining, dockworkers for example. So that continuing in the same company could be quite compatible with social betterment. It is not insignificant that dependents were under represented in the lower status labouring grades by 50%, whilst they were over-represented in the clerical grades by 80%.

There are some interesting points concerning the employment structure of railway dependents outside railway employment (see figure 6.22). From the figures for 1851 it is clear that by far the largest proportion of occupied dependents worked in the textile industry, in total 30.6% larger even than the number in railway work. However by far the greater number of these (26%) were female. This may be related to both the continued dominance of the textile trades in Derby at this time and the possibility that females moved from domestic production to the new textile factories on the Castlefields as the males moved from textiles to railway work. The high number of people recorded as domestic servants (18.8%) is probably due to the number of more distant kin from rural areas, recorded at later dates variously as nephews, nieces, sisters and brothers-in-law. Together with the data indicating that railway households were an initial starting point for distant kin entering the Company, there is together substantial circumstantial
## Figure 6.22.

### Employment of Dependents in Railway Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1881</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Male</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Workers</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing Male</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Commerce</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W/C. Supervisory and Technical Male</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Skilled Male</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled Male</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Male</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Service</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(%) Percentage; (n.) Sample size.

## Figure 6.23.

### Railway Households with Railway Dependents 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade of Dependent</th>
<th>Station/ Lineside</th>
<th>Carriage/ Wagon</th>
<th>Loco/ Works</th>
<th>Firemen/ Drivers</th>
<th>Clerical/ Household Heads</th>
<th>As a % Household Heads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rating</td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station/ Lineside</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>3 3</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>10.0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage/ Wagon</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>6 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>11.1 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loco/ Works</td>
<td>3 2</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>29 17</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>26.0 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen/ Drivers</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>5 4</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>18.7 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/ Household Heads</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>2 6</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>9 4</td>
<td>27.6 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>1 -</td>
<td>6 4</td>
<td>37.1 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof/ Admin.</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>4 1</td>
<td>40.0 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Actual value (2) Expected value.

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
evidence to suggest that railway households in Derby could play an important role within a system of kinship support centred on the wider family. In 1881 it is notable that railway dependents are quite largely under-represented by the number working in the iron and engineering trades outside the railway: only 2.5% were so employed compared with 10.5% within Litchurch as a whole. Given the fact that opportunity to enter similar trades were available inside and outside the railway company, for boys entering these trades from railway families in Litchurch, credence is given to the assertion that families chose to send their sons to the Midland Railway as a positive choice, a commitment to the company and the security and career possibilities it represented. The figures for 1881 indicate a decrease in the importance of female employment to the railway household, confirming the separation of domestic and public roles within the family typical of the 'respectable' Victorian household. In 1881 by far the largest single female occupation within railway families was that of dress-maker or seamstress. In this district such work was primarily undertaken as outwork within the home. However it is difficult to assess the intensity and regularity of such employment or its importance to the household, though it is quite possible that such work involved subjection to the rigours of the 'sweatshop'. It may be that in some instances the polite title of 'dressmaker', implying skill and dexterity may have involved little more than servicing the clothing requirements of the home or an informal network of friends and neighbours. Most interesting is the almost total absence of railwaymen's wives employed outside the household in both 1851 (3.8%) and 1881 (2.3%). Though this may well be an underestimation of the correct total the figure is remarkably small. The M.R. forbade its workers to undertake any work outside the company. It is apparent however, that a number of men had taken or started shops. In the 1870's there was a company inquiry into the matter resulting in some men being dismissed and a number of men being allowed to continue their enterprise. Though there were cases from all locations on the Midland system (over 80% came from Derby) as a group these men were predominantly more senior artisans either in the workshops or on the line. Largely, it appears that wives and daughters were responsible for running these businesses whilst the head was at work. To a certain
extent such examples may have provided a source of employment for dependents where there were few other polite alternatives or they may suggest attempts by workmen to make provision for old age. It is probable that where cases were sanctioned the men involved were approaching retirement. However, that shop owning should constitute an economically feasible and socially justifiable activity indicates a mentality which aims above all at the respectable independent business fraternity who were somewhat separate from either the upper artisanal or clerical classes. The status of employed dependents similarly suggest that there was a lasting advancement in socio-economic status amongst railway families. This is apparent in the much smaller number of dependents in the unskilled category in 1881 compared with 1851 and the much larger numbers recorded as skilled and clerical, though the great expansion of higher status occupations during this period must qualify this assertion.

Differences within the railway workforce were reflected in statistics for residential structure, marriage patterns and household composition derived from the 1881 Census enumerators schedules. Maps showing residence disaggregated by type of work (see figures 6.24 to 6.29) show the major concentrations of clerical and administrative staff in the central Regent st. Oxford st. in the high-cost high-status areas adjacent to the Arboretum and opposite the Infirmary, also in areas of new housing in the south-western fringe of the town. Loco Workshop staff were present in greatest proportion close to the workshop entrances though numerically they were present in most parts of the district, and there is a secondary concentration to the west of the district in the streets developed by the Derby Co-operative Society building club, the only area of freehold residence within the district. C.& W. workers in contrast, were most constrained in their distribution clustered densely into a single E.D. reflecting the recent migration of most of these workers to the town. Traffic staff are most concentrated into a group of E.D.s which though near the station are not as close as one may expect for grades on duty at all hours of day and night. This distribution is probably better explained as part of a routinized 'calling up' network established from the 1850s, men were expected to live on particular streets so that they could be called on for duty with the minimum of
Figure 6.24.

'Litichurch', Density of Railway Administrative and Clerical Staff by E.D. 1881

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.25.

'Litchurch', Density of Locomotive Workers by R.D. 1881

Source Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.26.

'Litchurch', Residential Density of Railway Carriage and Wagon Workers by R.D. 1881

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.27.

'Litchurch', Residential Density of Railway Traffic Staff by B.D. 1881

Key

- Quartile 1
  - 1 - 2.2 percent of Occupied population
- Quartile 2
  - 2.3 - 3 percent of Occupied population
- Quartile 3
  - 4 - 5 percent of Occupied population
- Quartile 4
  - 6 - 15 percent of Occupied population

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
Figure 6.28.

'Litchurch', Residential Density of Station and Lineside Staff by E.D. 1881

Source: Ten percent household survey from Census Enumerators Books, 1881.
delay. The distribution of station staff lineside and labouring grades show primary concentrations adjacent to the station and near the C.& W. works. Unlike other grades a large proportion of these workers lived in the cheaper, older houses and courts between the Siddals and London Rd. The large numbers living close to the C.& W. works may reflect the difficulty in separating those working in the automated C. & W. works recorded in the Census schedules as 'Railway Labourer' from labouring grades in traffic and lineside occupations. Status differentials were certainly recognised within the railway district, as well as the high status Company housing adjacent to the station; the area known as the 'Railway Belgravia' was distinguished as principal residential area for clerical and supervisory staff. Whilst the high status of loco drivers was also recognised within streets of mixed artisan grades. One loco erector was asked:
'did any other people than workshop men live near you?
he said:
'Oh yes, there was a couple of drivers lived at the top of our street, ...we called that the posh end'.
The residential streets of traffic staff were easily recognisable to those familiar with railway work, when at the homes of men engaged in long hours and shift work door knockers were often 'tied down' whilst milk sellers, callers and street traders were 'encouraged' to keep quiet.

Birth-place statistics indicate that various categories of worker originated from predominantly different areas of the country (see figure 6.13). Porters and Lineside grades came mainly from the rural East Midlands, South Midlands, South East and South West.7 The figures for number of children born outside Derby substantiate the assertion that as a whole this group was the most mobile (see figure 6.17). 16% of those with children, had children born outside Derby within the previous twelve months, whilst 30% had children born at more than one location outside Derby. The over-representation by 100%, of labouring grades living as lodgers in railway households, helps to confirm the picture of mobility, see figures (6.19 and 6.20). At the opposite end of the hierarchy clerical and supervisory staff were also predominantly migrants, greatly under-represented by local and East Midland born.
Whilst loco workshop staff originated chiefly in the iron working and engineering districts of Derbyshire and the West Midlands, Loco Drivers and Firemen came predominantly from the rural areas of Derbyshire and the East Midlands. Loco Drivers appear by far the most stable grade, 58% with children having all children born in Derby. For these workers the mobility of day-to-day work was contrasted with residential stability.  

The mistrust and antagonism between various grades within the railway industry, suggested in chapter 4, is echoed in household structure; lodgers are concentrated into households where the head worked in the same branch of the Company. This may reflect the Estate Office apportioning accommodation for new recruits by department, but also lends weight to the assertion that workplace social relationships strongly influenced informal association in the home and during non-work time. It is interesting that the large numbers of young railway clerks lodging within the railway district were accommodated outside railway households, something untypical for other grades. Given the social incompatibility of clerical workers lodging with manual grades and the unwillingness of 'privatised' clerical households to jeopardise their social standing by 'taking in lodgers', it is possible that the houses of 'respectable' railway and non-railway widows were the most acceptable residential choice.  

It is also significant that statistics for dependents working within the M.R. reinforce the previously asserted separation between departments at the household level. For Locomotive Works, C.& W. and Clerical workers, dependents were greatly over-represented within the same category of railway work as the head of household. For types of worker where this is not so, it is arguably a reflection of demographic profile; loco drivers, foremen and professional administrators were both generally older and economically more independent and consequently less likely to be co-resident with their family. Statistics derived from the Census will therefore not pick up on these grades. Similarly Railway Labouring households tended to be composed of younger couples and children under the age of employment. Statistics taken from St. Andrews marriage registers confirm the picture derived from the Census for father-son occupational continuity. Whilst, indicating the importance of a general relationship between railway grooms and railway fathers-in-
law, a more complex pattern is suggested between father-in-law and groom in terms of actual category of railway work (see figure 6.16 tables C and D). For the period 1882 - 96 after the establishment of the new Carriage Works, the high degree of intermarriage within this group suggests the isolation from other parts of the railway workforce indicated by residence patterns and household structure. Whilst Loco workers also exhibit a high degree of intermarriage, Traffic staff who by contrast comprised a core of stable long resident workers, show a higher degree of marriage into both other artisan groups within the railway workforce and other occupational groups in the district. The occupations of fathers and fathers-in-law of Clerical workers indicates fathers greatly over-represented in the station and lineside category and fathers-in-law by the Clerical, Foremen and Supervisory and Administrative and Professional categories. This may relate to the fact that clerical workers came to Derby from the provincial station staffs where station and clerical grades were inseparable in the form of booking and goods clerks. This also indicates a route to social advancement from family origins in relatively low status and rurally based porterling and lineside occupations to marriage into high status administrative and supervisory grades as part of the headquarters office staff. Though it has not proved possible to pursue this, some of the apparently anomalous marriage patterns may be more closely related to the membership of religious and social institutions than to a direct relationship with the workplace and may indicate both high levels of social interaction at a general level within the workforce and the complex pattern of Company and departmental loyalty suggested in chapter 4, whereby a worker could deny and then assert an overall sense of Company identity in successive statements.

Litchurch and district formed a thriving, wealthy, growing area of Derby at a time when much of the rest of the town experienced economic hardship. The railway workforce represents a quite distinct group within this part of the town, though within the railway district household and spatial structure reflected the wide range of employment opportunities and experiences within the M.R.'s corporate headquarters. To contemporary residents of Derby the contrast between the experience of secure if
modestly paid railway work and of fluctuating trade in the textile industry, must have made the separation even more apparent. It is arguable that as ties into social and kinship networks outside Derby declined in relative importance in the third quarter of the century, these were replaced by more intense relationships within the railway workforce rather than a broadening of ties into other occupational groups in the town. The railway household exhibits many of the signs believed typical of a respectable ideal — good quality housing, high levels of residential stability, low levels of female employment, late marriage age, low levels of multiple occupancy, male children in skilled and clerical occupations. The low levels of female employment and high levels of male employment within the M.R. indicates a high degree of financial dependence on the M.R. company. The physical segregation, ties into social and kinship networks outside the town, substantial amount of intermarriage within the railway workforce, the high proportion of the total workforce including lodgers and boarders living in railway households suggests a significantly separate occupational community at the household level. It is possible to establish quite readily, in terms of structure, that the particular constraints of working for the M.R. affected the formation and composition of the railway household, evidence illustrating the over-representation in inter-railway marriage and of dependents entering the employ of the M.R. suggests that loyalty to the Company was present within the behaviour of the household and family. It is perhaps harder to establish how this was translated into relationships in the locality and neighbourhood, or even more problematically, how the railway impinged on the consciousness of the household in general. Perhaps most instructive was the apparently unquestioned acceptance with which sons went to work at the railway works, 'it seemed the natural thing'. Similarly, it is possible to postulate that in a household where father, sons and possibly lodgers worked at the railway, it would be common to talk shop and swap gossip. Oral evidence suggests this may frequently have been the case, however there may well have been many households where in the tradition of respectability, work was a taboo subject not to be mentioned in front of the family.
Notes

1. The name Litchurch refers specifically to the 'Township of Lichurch' which formed a central part of the railway district. Until the annexation of Litchurch to Derby in 1867 the boundary actually ran through the middle of the station and the N.M.R. housing. For this reason for example, it was possible to obtain Rate Book data for only part of the area prior to 1867. Prior to the establishment of St.Andrews Church in 1866 the whole district both inside and outside the incorporated area of Derby was within St.Peters Parish, one of the principal churches in the town. In the printed Census 'General Report' however, data is divided between St. Peters parish and Litchurch Township although marriages in both were solemnized at St.Peters until the creation of the parish of St. Andrews. By the 1880s the built up area of this district of Derby included Rose Hill, Mill Hill and Pear Tree though the loose appellation 'Litchurch' will be used as it was in common usage by local residents as an umbrella title for the whole.

2. See chapter 1.


4. Ibid. 1861.

5. Ibid. 1871.

6. Data on occupation and household structure was derived from a 10 percent household survey of enumerators schedules for the southern part of Derby at 1851 and 1881. The study area was decided upon from an analysis of the density of railway occupations from the 1886 street directory of Derby which gave an almost total head of household coverage see figure 6.4. From this it was decided to concentrate on all enumeration districts south of Traffic St. which is situated on the edge of the main commercial district of the town. A double check for the 1851 period a one in ten head of household survey of the whole of Derby from the census found railway workers in single figures only outside this area and reinforced confidence to concentrate on this area.


8. Derby Mercury 2nd and 9th October 1867.

Notes to Chapter 6

12. Board of Directors Minutes 2543.
15. Derby Borough Rent Books - Litchurch 1880.
19. The figures are calculated from the Rate Books for St.Peters 1850 and 1860, though the actual form of development was only identifiable from the 1861 Census which identifies houses as street or court. Map evidence for Derby 1855 and 1870 confirms this.
22. The problems with making a classification of socio-economic status from nineteenth-century census data are recognized, see for example J.A. Banks 'The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century England as seen through the Census', in R. Lawton, ed. *The social structure of nineteenth-century censuses for England and Wales* (London, 1978). In this thesis a form of classification modelled on that of R. Gray (1976) pp.196-201 has been used this is derived from that of W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation' in E.A. Wrigley ed. *Nineteenth-century society* (Cambridge, 1972) pp.198-224 particularly pp.203-205. A classification of Litchurch was made as follows

I. Professionals, Senior Administrators, Gentlemen and Larger Businessmen. This included male and female heads of household of independent means property owners 'income from funds and stocks' etc. and Senior officers at the railway. Though it is well understood there can be major problems with identifying the size of businesses, it was believed that knowledge of local commercial and manufacturing concerns and a cross reference to Bulmer's Commercial Directory of Derby for 1880 would reduce the margin of error.
II, White Collar, Supervisory, Technical and Minor Salaried Officials. This group included supervisory staff both over manual workshop and traffic grades at the railway and their equivalent middle ranking clerical and station staff as well as draughtsmen and junior engineering design staff as well as Local Government officials and teachers.

III, White Collar Clerical and Commercial this included the majority of clerical workers both at the railway and in banks and solicitors offices.

IV, Smaller Businessmen. This included shopkeepers, publicans, small builders (i.e. employing no more than ten men). It is understood that this category is open to great heterogeneity publicans can include almost anything from a beer house keeper to a grand hotellier, though the location of the more salubrious hostelries in the district are known. Similarly shopkeepers may include those with large establishments in the town as well as corner-shop owners in poor districts.

V, Manual Skilled. This was defined as any occupation governed by apprenticeship. Drivers, guards and signalmen were included even though there was no official period of apprenticeship as well as recognised workshop crafts. A problem was encountered with the classification with females defined as milliner or dressmaker.

VI, Semi-skilled. All other remaining railway occupations even those classed as Railway Labourer were included here because of the entry qualifications literacy and numeracy tests. Many of the occupations in iron working and textiles were also included here.

VII, Unskilled. All town labourers, machine minders in textiles etc.

VIII, Domestic Service.

Miscellaneous Service Occupations. This included post office, cab and tram drivers workers in public utilities.

IX, Police and Armed Forces. Does not include officers.

X, Hawkers, Brokers, Dealers. To separate the barely 'respectable' traders from other forms of business people.

XI, Agriculture. Labourers and hired hands.

XII, Farmers. Potentially most heterogeneous including those from petty small holder upwards. Any Large landowners were assigned to category I.

The map of middle-class occupations included categories I, II and III.

23. Included categories VI and VII.
24. Calculated from Derby Borough Rent Books St. Peters and Litchurch 1880 sample 100 percent.
27. Comparison between Printed Census 'General Report' and figures for Litchurch derived from enumerators books. Because the 1881 Printed Census Returns aggregate Derby and Derbyshire this had to be done for 1851 in order to make a comparison. Single tailed chi square tests showed a very significant difference 1851 $X^2=85.45$. $12$ degrees of freedom 1881 $X^2=93.24$. $12$ degrees of freedom.
28. For the purposes of comparison the regional classification was altered from that used in the Printed Census Returns, this was done in order to pick out migrants from particularly important regions of origin for M.R. railway workers not isolated on the Census classification but recognized as important from a preliminary survey of the Litchurch enumerators books. Figures from the printed Census returns were similarly reaggregated, as follows:

1. Derby including adjacent villages; 2. Derbyshire; 3. West Midlands
   Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Shropshire; 4. East Midlands
   Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Rutland; 5. South Midlands
   Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire;

East Anglian and South Eastern counties were aggregated because very few workers from these regions, though the London area was isolated. A separate category was labelled South Midland to identify those migrating from locations along the M.R. trunk lines to London and Bristol. It was thought desirable to separate these not only from those originating in the deep South West but also those from the more industrial districts of the East and West Midlands.
29. At both 1851 and 1881 one tailed chi square tests showed significant differences between birth place of railway workers and the population of Litchurch and Derby in total not less than 18.57 with 8 degrees of freedom. Where categories contained 1 or less they were aggregated with others which were as similar as possible, for example, north east and north west; Wales and Scotland.


32. It is understood that there are a number of ways of calculating persistence rates some both more accurate and labour intensive than others, see for example C. Pooley, 'Residential mobility in the Victorian City', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers (1977) new series vol.4. pp.258-260. It is recognised that ten yearly rates may say very little about movements in between these dates during which people may move away then move back, also it is recognised that residential persistence within a locality rather than a specific street may be a much more important indication of commitment to locality (see Pooley (1979) pp.272-273) than within street residence which may be more a matter amongst middle-class groups of being tied to a house as an economic commitment rather than a social one. An attempt was made to calculate yearly rates and to trace individuals from year to year for the period 1867-1872 when Voting lists are available arranged by ward in alphabetical order, unfortunately Books are not available for the Litchurch part of Derby and the split between this and Castle Ward which runs through the middle of some streets in the district made this task virtually impossible. As a rough measure decennial rates were calculated from the Census using surname and initials, occupation and age to minimize error.


35. G. J. Pratt, op.cit. vol.1. p.3.

37. The common problem of interpreting address at time of marriage was experienced, these percentages therefore are calculated with such marriages excluded, see R. Dennis, 'Data problems' in 'Distance and Social Interaction in a Victorian city', *Journal of Historical Geography* (1977), vol.3. no.3. pp.241-242.


41. See chapter 2.


44. It is recognized that there may be problems with the recording of occupied females; as it was 'expected' that females would leave employment on marriage, it is possible that for the sake of propriety an occupied married female may well have been returned as 'housewife'. The common title 'Engine-driver's wife' etc. does not necessarily imply no paid occupation, though such entries do perhaps say much about power relationships within the household. Similarly, wives' occupations may not be recorded when females were occupied during time of economic stringency because this was perceived as a temporary measure.

45. See chapter 2.

46. The birth place, household composition and occupation data for various types of railway worker were recorded from the one in ten household survey for both 1851 and 1881, there are many interesting comparisons and contrasts to be made both for 1851 and between 1851 and 1881; however, for the sake of brevity this study will concentrate solely on 1881. Because of small sample size some statistical tests
required the aggregation of Administrative and Supervisory categories, whilst guards and signalmen are excluded as it was believed that there would be much overlap between these and the figures for Drivers and Firemen, Station and Lineside grades.

47. Two tailed chi square tests on place of birth statistics for 1881 found a statistically significant difference between Station and Lineside grades and Loco workers, Firemen and Drivers, at the 0.01 level though not with the most mobile grades Clerical, Carriage and Wagon and Administrative and Supervisory grades. However, when the categories for Derby, South West and West Midlands were excluded no statistically significant difference was found between Station and Lineside and other grades. This reinforces the assertion that Clerical and Station and Lineside grades were the most important routes for entry into the railway workforce from rural areas.

47. Two tailed chi square tests on data for the number of household with children born outside and within Derby found statistically significant differences between the Station and Lineside and all other categories except Clerical and between Clerical and all other grades except Porters and Foremen and Supervisory staff, at the 0.01 level. Firemen and Drivers and Loco workers did not show a significant difference.
The social context of non-work or leisure time activities during the mid-to late Victorian period is closely intertwined with the notions of paternalism, social stability and respectability and thereby with those of class and community, segregation and consciousness. The necessary links between work and non-work or leisure and the changing basis of society have been well expressed by Cunningham, who shows how the regularization and compartmentalization of non-worktime activities into something called 'leisure', tamed and legitimated into a spatial and temporal commodity, may be interpreted as a vehicle for the twin social dynamics of this time: the increasing class stratification and the depoliticizing of non-work activities from the radical and potentially revolutionary into socially and culturally benign hobbies and recreations. The greater national uniformity in the regularity and duration of employment helped to demarcate work and leisure, whilst only serving to set up a complementary relationship in which the alienation of work was paid for by the self fulfilment of leisure. Bailey quoting de Grazia, says:

"During the industrial revolution...leisure disappeared under an avalanche of work." When it re-emerged it had not only been reduced but relocated in the life space, forming an increasingly compartmentalised way of life."

In the second quarter of the century the transition began from a society where leisure activities were almost non-existent for the great majority of people, and where leisure was only for the select minority ('the leisured classes') to one where the possession of free time formed a common component of the wage bargain. This does not, however, indicate a 'whiggish' reduction in the mechanisms of social control in an increasingly 'liberal and democratic' society. Rather it denotes a subtle extension of the constitution of 'respectability' and good citizenship, from one based solely on labour to one based on the
Bailey argues that paradoxically in a society where non-work activities were perceived as increasingly autonomous, non-work activities were seen as the key to social conformity, what Bishop Frazer called 'the great question of the day'.

If leisure constituted "a sort of neutral ground which we may fairly call our own", as one Victorian cleric observed in the 1870's, then, as Bailey continues:

It was, however, precisely this feature of leisure which made its growth a source of considerable tension as well as gratification, for this fluid and open territory threatened to outstrip the reach of existing systems of social control.

The contest for social control, as Stedman Jones has argued, has therefore been the primary theme of the social history of non-work in this period, as may be seen from the series of essays edited by Donajgrodzki. Social institutions and non-work activities may therefore be perceived to be most important to the apparent social harmony of the mid-Victorian period. To a great extent the factory paternalism of the later nineteenth century, described by Patrick Joyce, was articulated through a lexicon of leisure-time activities.

The differences between later and earlier factory paternalism and its relationship to the establishment of social stability in mid-Victorian Britain has already been discussed in chapter 2. The contrast between the military-bureaucratic railway and the family firm in the construction of paternal affective ties between employer and employee in the period after 1840 has also been discussed in chapter 2. Company loyalty was very real for many railway workers at Derby and, as argued in the previous section, railway families formed a distinct section within the residential structure of Derby at the household level. From the 1840's the M.R. workforce at Derby generated a comprehensive system of non-worktime activities contained within social organizations based solely on the workplace. These were both company-wide and intra-departmental. Some of the social institutions adopted the language and form typical of the 'new paternalism' (see chap 2), despite a very different structural context from that of the family firm. In the railway company there was not an easily identifiable father figure and
company funds were proscribed by law from use for philanthropic and recreational purposes.

Litchurch, the principal residential district of Midland Railway workers, was an urban landscape of paternal intervention in both its old and new forms. The Arboretum and Infirmary were established by the cotton-owning Strutt family to provide rational rehabilitation for body and soul. The smaller local metal and textile masters, for whom this district was both residence and workplace, provided a round of day trips, birthday celebrations, picnics and athletic sports, in between subscribing to churches, chapels, recreation grounds, swimming baths and municipal monuments. Among the most notable of these were the Bodens, Evans, Leys, Eastwoods, Swinglers and Bemrose families. The celebrations surrounding the majority of Mr. Henry Swingler Junior, are typical of the new paternalism:

A sumptuous dinner, a day's holiday and kindly words of advice, are an admirable, and generally effective means by which a cordial understanding may be brought about between masters and men to the mutual benefit of each.  

Litchurch and the Arboretum in particular were the geographical and emotional focus for the restatements of social harmony which were annual events in the civic life of Derby. The Arboretum Festival, held annually on the 15th of August, was established in 1842 and celebrated the birthday of its benefactor Joseph Strutt, the date of opening of the park in 1840, and provided a means of generating revenue in order to maintain the park. The park and its festival were run by a committee of local political and business leaders assembled largely from the families mentioned above. It was a 'day devoted to recreation and amusement' when many of the manufacturers of the town gave their workmen leave of absence to take part in the festivities. From the first year these included a mixture of entertainments reflecting a pragmatic attempt both to draw large numbers of visitors and to encourage them to take part in improving recreations. Activities included dancing and athletic sports on the Arboretum field, band concerts, balloon ascents and appearances by the music hall stars. After assembling in the Derby market place the crowds followed the procession of bands who led the crowds out of the town towards Litchurch, through streets lined with stalls to the
Arboretum where attendance was frequently in excess of 30,000 per annum. More sober were the annual Whitsuntide Festivities when the combined Wesleyan churches of the town processed from King St. in the old part of the town to the Arboretum where the assembled Sunday schools had tea and released balloons in a non-commercial imitation of the Arboretum Festival. Symbolizing social harmony, the procession from Derby to Litchurch which formed an intrinsic part of both these festivals forged links not only between capital and labour, but also between the old paternalism of the Strutts and the new paternalism of the Litchurch factory owners.

Talking of the new paternalism, Patrick Joyce says "Works' dinners and treats, trips to the countryside and the employer's residence, libraries, reading rooms, canteens, baths, lectures, gymnasium, burial societies and the like were to become the norm rather than the exception among the big employers". Such institutions as these were well established within the M.R. by the mid 1870's, yet the culture of the nineteenth-century railway corporation was always somewhat different from the culture of the factory described by Joyce, though its mode of expression was superficially very similar. The local newspaper frequently carried reports of celebration dinners and the gift of suitably engraved plate, glass and timepieces for distinguished service and to senior management who were retiring or leaving. These echo the birthday treats presentations to old hands and coming-of-age parties laid on by paternal factory owners to delineate the wider family of the workplace as a demonstration of communal interest, by interpolating the temporal rhythms of the particular family into the lives of all. In contrast to the family firm many presentations to M.R. staff mark not the traditional, temporal and spatial rhythms of the factory community, birth, retirement, long service, but a new communal biography of the corporation— the career move and the sales convention. The former was exemplified by the 100 gentlemen who were entertained at the Midland Hotel in September 1872 to tell Mr. Cedric Vaughan 'of the regret they felt at his parting...on his accepting a more lucrative appointment as the manager of some mines in the north of England'; and the latter by the Goods' Managers 'Outdoor Department' annual dinner started in the 1850's.
Chapter 7

One of the most interesting annual occasions indicating the gulf between the corporate railway company and the family firm was the Midland Railway Ball. Like other events, the language of the spectacle was adapted from another sphere, not this time the new paternalism but that of eighteenth-century society, the County Assembly. Originally held in the large warehouse at Sheet Stores, Trent Junction and called the Trent Ball in 1859, the number of 'ladies and gentlemen' attending became so great, upwards of 800, that the event was moved first to the Derby Assembly Rooms and then to the Derby Drill Hall which was somewhat larger. The Ball was held annually during February, and the hall was dressed luxuriously with fountains, mirrors, upholstery and seasonal evergreens which were used to spell out the legend 'Success to the Midland Railway', a motto lacking even the merest gesture to metaphors of social cooperation or national interest. The name and initial location of the Ball are significant, Trent was the operational and physical centre of the M.R. network and the Ball was located to draw in senior staff from all the estates of the M.R. An orchestra accompanied dancing; card and smoking rooms were provided so that the glitterati, the upwardly ambitious and the revered establishment could engage in a gracious display of mutual admiration. If, as Ackworth said, the Counties and the Lords' Lieutenants were indeed an anachronism swept away by the new geography of the railway, then the new bureaucracy of the railway corporation appears quite willing to appropriate the mantle of power with all its trimmings.

The death of principal figures within the company led to major expressions of communal loyalty. The death of the Loco Superintendent, Matthew Kirtley in 1873 is a good example. According to the Derby Mercury, during the week of the funeral 'the men at the works met early in the week and requested permission to follow their old master's remains to the grave, expressing a strong desire "to see the last of him".' The cliches of paternalism run thickly through this request, the use of the term 'old master' and the general tenor of the event links the identity of the workmen to that of their superior in a manner most reminiscent of a paternal factory owner. On the day of the funeral the works were closed for what the newspaper called the largest funeral that has ever taken place in Derby. Of the eleven coaches in the cortege only
Figure 7.1, Secretary's Department Outing, 1890.

Figure 7.2, M.R. Literary Institute, opened 1894.
the first two contained relatives, the rest held M.R. officials from the chairman downwards, whilst walking behind in a procession formed in rank order were nearly 800 workmen from all over the system:

Outstations and Derby Foremen.

Clerks.

Engine-Driver and Firemen

Workmen.

The report continues 'The whole length of the route was lined with people, and at most of the shops and private houses the windows were darkened as a mark of respect'.

Men like Matthew Kirtley came as close as any to fulfilling the role of paternalist in the M.R. at Derby. Though he was a member of the professional and administrative middle classes, he was certainly a community leader. A servant of the company from its formation in 1844, he was a vice-president of the Railway Literary Institute, promoter and senior elder of the London Rd. Wesleyan Church and lived in one of the large middle-class villa residences near the Arboretum. An engineer of what the nineteenth-century histories of the M.R. call 'the old school', the taciturn son of a colliery owner, 'a plain sturdy specimen of a Durham man', he was perhaps temperamentally better qualified than most to adopt the paternal mantle. Observing the contrast between the factory and the corporation, one may contrast the Kirtley funeral, with the presentation to Mr. Beale M.P., retiring chairman of the company, a few years earlier in 1865, for both took place during the great decades of the new paternalism. Like many subsequent presentations, this took place not before the workforce, but before a select gathering of shareholders and directors and heads of department at a dinner in the comfortable surroundings of the Midland Hotel Derby, though 'It was originally intended that the presentation should be of a more public character, but it was ultimately resolved for prudential reasons that the company should be limited'. The presentation somewhat frostily acknowledged only his 'prudent council and successful administration' of the Company. Both event and venue spoke of the highly public privacy, legally calculated rationality and possibly also the political power struggles of the corporate boardroom.

The works' outing was a common vehicle for the expression of workplace loyalties. These annual affairs customarily comprised a trip
by horse drawn waggon or by rail to a local or regional 'place of interest'. Games and other recreational activities would be followed by a dinner or supper eaten either as a picnic, or at a local hostelry. Such events stressed the collaborative role of capital and labour, and involved the presence of the owners, management and family, as well as the families of the workmen who were collectively subject to much deferential speechifying. At the M.R. Derby headquarters, outings were departmentally based, involving between 50 and 100 participants, rather than the company-wide outings, which were common amongst the family based firms of Derby and Litchurch. These filled a large proportion of the 'Local News' section of the Derby Mercury in the months from June to September.

Without a single philanthropic master to lead the festivities, the M.R. outings were a curious amalgam of paternal and class based culture in which the clerical and supervisory grades constituted surrogate capitalists. Annual trips were usually paid for by the men of the department concerned, the Company providing only the free rail transport on a weekly special train which ran each Saturday during the summer months from Derby to Buxton. Typically excursions journeyed to one of the tourist destinations of the Derbyshire Peak close to the M.R. main line between Cromford and Buxton. On the 5th of July 1889, for instance, the Passenger Superintendent's Office went to Cromford, the Rates Office to Lea Hurst (near Whatstandwell) and the General Correspondence Office in the Goods Manager's Dept. embarked for Rowsley, all locations on the line within 10 miles of each other. Even when trips left together on the same train, the social divisions of the workplace produced a fragmented pattern with small groups each pursuing their individual interests almost within shouting distance of each other. Such events appear to have been confined to clerical grades during the 1850's and 60's, but by the mid-1870's most departments at Derby from the Accountants to the Loco and Carriage and Wagon shops appear to have taken part in this yearly ritual. There is little evident difference between the itineraries of the white and blue collar excursionists, cricket matches, athletic sports, rambling excursions feature as part of the activities in the manner little different from that of the paternally-led day trip. The protocol of the outing also mirrored that
Figure 7.3 The Kirtley Family, at Home, C.1862.

Figure 7.4 Family Group of T.G. Clayton and S.V. Johnson, C.1900.
of the family firm. As when M.R. Loco Works No. 8 Shop paid their visit to Rowsley in 1882, 'on foot via Haddon to Bakewell to enjoy as, is the annual custom, a pleasant afternoon in that highly picturesque locality'. A meal at the Peacock Inn, presided over by their shop foreman, followed by toasts to the 'Success of the M.R. Company' and to 'The Chairman'. Another foreman spoke in the glowing terms of self-congratulation, reaffirming their collective identity:

plant, rolling stock and a body of workmen unsurpassed by those of any other company in the United Kingdom. He fervently hoped that another year might find all present in the enjoyment of good health as they enjoyed that evening. And that the same harmony and good feeling might prevail amongst them...

In many respects the M.R. works' outings reshaped the notion of the paternal treat from which they were derived. They were, for instance, almost exclusively male affairs; sometimes the trip was organized under the umbrella of the Friendly Society, or other informally organized self-help club which financed the excursion. Even when the trip most resembled the paternal factory as when 150 men, wives and children, of numbers 15, 16 and 17 shops in the Loco works visited Holloway (near Cromford), it was organized by a committee of four workmen and the supervision of food, a social evening of music and singing was undertaken by a committee of wives. These events are more like the working-class community culture more typical of the turn of the century, though the format was that of the mid-century paternal excursion. Oral evidence of trips from the early twentieth century illustrates the way in which company loyalty and personal identity were partners in the departmental outing: those who could play an instrument or tell stories enhanced their status by their ability to entertain. The outing like the dinner, or funeral, is easily interpreted within a classical definition of community: it brings workmates and colleagues together in explicitly non-work roles, eating, drinking, playing, singing and dancing, thereby enabling the group to know each other more completely as 'whole people'. Significantly, it removes the theatre of intercourse from the workplace to 'neutral ground'. Yet in doing so, it reproduces the social relations of the workplace outside the place of work rather than introducing the
social relations in wider society into the community of occupation. As part of the culture of the corporation, the outing both integrates and divides and generates particular loyalties to the department which overlay those to the company. Though the metaphors of company may figure strongly, one may argue that this is because they were the dominant vehicle available for the expression of communality rather than for any overriding feeling of the company.

Like the visit to Hampton Court by Bill Banks the destinations for trips were eminently rational, Chatsworth House and Haddon Hall for example, though locations were constrained, initially by the practicalities of transport and later by routinization into custom lifted free from its origins. The co-operative saving and financing which funded the holiday similarly had its roots in rationality. Though departmentally-based and shorn of authority, both from work and family, the 'day out with the lads' easily translated into a rumbustious expression of a male solidarity, apparently chaotic and riotous in the eyes of moral reformers. The consequences of corporate culture are graphically illustrated at a date when the new paternalism was overwhelmingly dominant:

I was a passenger on an excursion train to Melbourne last Saturday, and upon returning witnessed at that station a disgraceful proceeding on the part of several railway clerks... This young gentleman was drunk... on the platform he threatened if he did not actually molest a minister who had in no way interfered with him, he attacked and forced a man onto the railway and directly commenced a free fight.

The letter continues;
He dared the porter to touch him, stating he was a clerk with a first class pass, which he frequently exhibited, and there is no doubt whatever that if it had not been for this—if he had been an ordinary passenger, unconnected with the company, who had thus acted, he would surely have been arrested. The clerk with the first class pass on an outing with his department vividly demonstrates the company loyalty of the corporation, with its manifest tensions, between the vertical and horizontal stratification of belonging, in the hierarchical structured organization. In the
occupational community of M.R. workers, the elitist self-confidence apparent in his behaviour derives from the centrifugal forces of status, from the sense of belonging, of personal identity created through the company. Yet the result was centripetal, a belligerent egocentrism by which the clerk challenges his fellow M.R. workers, both as subordinates and as colleagues to sanction his conduct.

The Literary Institute and the Midland Club.

The two principal social organizations within the M.R. at Derby were the Literary Institute and the Midland Club. The Literary Institute was ostensibly the most paternal of social institutions. Yet, as described in chapter 2, it was not until lobbying by the men forced the M.R. to make belated provision in 1851 for a library and educational facilities. In 1849 a letter in the Mercury pointed out there were between 500 and 600 men and boys employed by the M.R.Co. yet 'not one single farthing has yet been appropriated towards the intellectual culture, or moral training of the men and boys in their employ'.22 The Institute began as a self-organized 'periodical and Reading Society' formed by six men from the Loco dept, meeting in the 'Brunswick Inn' on Railway Terrace, in December 1850. It was financed by subscription amongst the members and after a petition of 423 signatures in 1851, the M.R. granted the use of a house in Leeds Place and donated £25.23 Of the original petitioners, 265 out of 423, worked in the Locomotive or Carriage and Wagon departments, suggesting a bias from the early years towards clerical grades, who were over-represented amongst the signatories by 100 percent. Of the 423 names on the petition only 183 became members, representing 36 percent of the M.R. workforce in the town. By 1891 membership had risen to 1,110 and by 1895 after the opening of the new Institute buildings, to 1,956 or 32 percent.24 The management of the Railway Institute was closely supervised by the Company, and the President was always the Chairman of the Company and the Vice Presidents were departmental heads. The location of the original institute adjacent to houses used as company offices and the periodic requisitioning of Institute rooms as overspill office space, firmly set this organization within the Company. The precise composition of the management committee

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is not known, and though oral and written evidence suggests that the organization was 'snobbish', the committee was set up to enable men from all grades to take an active part.

The Railway Institute combined a Library and reading room, and a lecture and concert programme. Like many mechanics' institutes, educational provision was of mixed success. Initially classes were provided in 'the three R's'. Forty people enrolled for these elementary classes and it is clear from marriage registers for this date that railwaymen were far from uniformly literate. Company rules required basic literacy and numeracy, so there may well have been a pressing necessity for such classes, though the loss of face and possibly even employment resulting from attendance at closely-monitored classes may well have been a great disincentive to participation. Subsequently classes were conducted in algebra, arithmetic, phonetics, technical drawing and shorthand, by officers of the company. Many of these classes failed, both because a minimum class size of 15 or 20 was imposed, and because of a decision to charge for attendance. The company Brass Band and a Choral class practised and gave concerts in the lecture hall. Lectures were a feature, as at many mechanics' institutes and sometimes were concluded with a concert by the company band. Admission charges of 1d. for members and 2d. for non-members, in audiences up to 150 suggests the recreation of polite sections of the workforce rather than the education of the masses.

There was considerable pressure to open the Institute for entertainment-based leisure activities. In 1857 memorials for Dancing and 'Amusement' classes signed by 52 and 186 members respectively were turned down. In contrast to Swindon, or Crewe, there were no prizes for academic work prior to the building of the new Institute in 1894. Unlike these and many others, the Derby Mechanics' Institute for example, the Railway Institute was unable to embrace sporting, or other recreational activities. As late as 1883 a request to use an Institute room for a meeting of the Athletics Association Football Committee was refused. Typical of its more successful events were the Mental Improvement class and the chess club. The Institute was based on neither popular recreation nor intellectual activities, but it excelled in the gentle and genteel leisure time activities by which the lower...
middle classes came to define themselves in contradistinction to both the aristocracy of labour and the rough masses. The Midland Recreation Club, which gave musical and theatrical performances in the shareholders' room and the Institute, is an example and was associated with the Institute from the mid-1870's. Several years later, under the name of the Midland Railway Musical Association, the group gave an annual series of promenade concerts and soirees to audiences of up to 700 people. The leading people in this group were clerical and administrative grades, who provided many 'pleasant evenings' for those sufficiently groomed to brave society in the shareholders' room. Indicative of the appropriation of the Institute by the clerical and professional grades were the continental tours undertaken in the 1890's which extended the concept of the works' outing shorn of its paternal trappings into an undertaking of cultural and social exclusivity. These trips perhaps had their origin in the extended works' outings of some clerical departments, The M.R. Goods Agents had taken a week's excursion to the Isle of Man on several occasions since the late 1870's. These were consummated not by the traditional gift of plate or glass but by the new middle-class luxury commodities of a diamond ring and a gold chronometer.

Sporting activities formed an important vehicle for intra-company social interaction and had their origins in the early years of the company. These centred on the Midland Railway Cricket Club founded in 1851. Its chief spokesman was W.H. Hodges, then a chief assistant in the Accounts Department, who approached the Board asking for the rental of a piece of land near the station for use as a ground. This was located behind the Loco works near the Holmes, a traditional location for informal recreation in the town. Recreational activities were soon to embrace an expanding range of outdoor sport. By 1883 the Derby Mercury reported thriving sections for football, cricket, bowls, lawn tennis and quoits, with total annual receipts of £265/8/4 in 1884. During the 1880's improvements were made, including new pavilions, fencing, new bowls and tennis pitches for which the directors with untypical generosity donated £3,000. The munificence of the board may be partly explained by the powerful allies the Cricket Club maintained in senior management who enjoyed influence in the board room. Apart from Hodges,
these included the new Loco Superintendent, S.W. Johnson and Mr. Whales, Assistant General Manager. By the beginning of the 1880's both cricket and football teams were taking an active part in local and regional competitions. The company cricket team's list of fixtures in 1883, for example, included regional matches, against the Derbyshire County side, Nottingham Forest, Crewe, Leicester, Loughborough, Chesterfield, King's Heath (Birmingham) and Hull. The football team were founder members of the Derbyshire Football Association in September 1883. Perhaps significantly the first meeting was held at the Midland Hotel Derby, location of the Midland Clubs A.G.M., whilst the chairman at the first meeting was H. Evans of the Midland Railway Club.

The development of cricket and, especially, football as a mass spectator sport posed the club with some problems. By the early 1880s popular enthusiasm was in danger of transforming the club. Non-railway people called 'town members' were commonly admitted to the club on the Holmes though they were charged more for membership. Spectating was recognized as an intrinsic activity of the club and in 1883 the committee considered the construction of a new stand and the sale of annual spectating tickets at 2/6. though spectators were confined to the part of the ground unreserved for members, perhaps suggesting the perceived need of the committee to retain control of their recreational space. When Derby Midland met Staveley at the Midland ground in the first Derbyshire cup final the crowd was estimated at well in excess of 6000 people. Such were the passions raised by the game that the match was interrupted by a succession of pitch invasions. The Derby Midland football team competed in the F.A. cup during the 1880's and it was their very success which led to the end of first-class football attached to the Midland Railway Company. Like many northern Association football clubs, Midland began to select 'professional' players in order to succeed in nationally organized competitions. By 1890 the club could no longer compete at the first-class level without becoming fully professional. The M.R. refused to support the continuation or extension of a professional team and the club returned to local football. Significantly, Derby County, an offshoot of the county cricket team was reorganized in 1891, at a meeting organized and chaired by an M.R. employee and former leading light in Derby Midland. As a professional
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cub and member of the football league Derby County moved their matches from the cricket ground on the Racecourse located to the north east of the old town to the Messers. Leys Foundry sports field adjacent to the M.R. Carriage and Wagon works in industrial Litchurch. After the break away of mass spectating to the professional game at Derby County, the Midland Club began to complain in their annual reports of a lack of support and the need to recruit new members. 42

The cricket club was an important setting for the expression of intra-company rivalry as well as the formation of a solid company identity. There were informal means for helping those who had fallen on hard times, as for instance when £21/11/6 was granted to an old member in 1884. 43 Departmental competition was discussed in chapter 5, which attempted to show how these aspects of corporate culture, loyalty and rivalry were complementary rather than contradictory. From the 1870's there developed a system of second teams and reserves in cricket and later football and an annual fixture list of matches between teams from different departments. Some, such as 'Number 8 Wheel shop' played a full fixture list against local church and works teams, while other teams seem to have played only a round of departmental fixtures. A few ad hoc teams, for instance those which played in the match between the Secretary's and Accountant's Departments in 1870, appear as one-off events more akin to the works' outing than the proletarian obsession which football became during the later nineteenth century. The manual departments seem more committed to regular competiton at the section and shop level, whilst clerical and supervisory grades were more involved in both playing and administration in the company-based competition. Possibly, the white collar grades were more likely to engage in the mixed social intercourse of friends on the tennis court of the Midland Club, or in the more individualistic leisure activities like photography, sketching, model engineering, natural history, cycling, rambling or angling, all of which are in evidence amongst developing special interest groups from the late-1850s. Perhaps while willing to act as community leaders in company wide affairs, they were reluctant to take part in a routine round of fixtures in which they would have to participate as equals. However, competition between shops and offices for the best team and to get men into the full works' team is apparent.
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from both oral and written evidence. A Cricket Club committee in 1880, for instance, thanked the heads of department for allowing the men concerned time to take part in matches. Oral testimony suggests that to excel at football or cricket could bring notoriety to an individual beyond his immediate workmates. To play well for the company could not only elevate social standing but act as insurance against difficulties at work, shielding him from disciplinary action. It was also to his material advantage as through a whip round with the hat, or being stood a pint on Friday night. Indicating the strength of socialization within departments there is evidence dating from the early 1880s onwards of a number of departmental sports clubs for a range of leisure activities, including the 'Coach Painting Department Angling Club' and the Loco Department No.8 Shop' Rambling Club. There is also circumstantial evidence that the shops most involved in sport were also actively involved with savings and sick clubs, and that these activities were in some degree complementary. The status of particular departments within the organization do appear to be important, for high levels of social interaction within the shop can be linked with the need for the men in that department to construct a social identity for themselves, as a specific group in relation to others within the company. One group of particular interest, the Coach Finishers and Painters, were associated with departmentally specific sports and sick clubs. Inaugurating an annual dinner in 1881 organized by the men, the chairman justified their activities saying:

'Success to the Finishers'....At one time this branch was scarcely recognised in coach building, but through the improved style of finish that had been lately introduced, especially by the Midland Railway, it now stood second to none either in skill or position."

The recent establishment of the C.and W. Works which brought large numbers of migrants into the Shaftesbury St. area close to the new works may have been an important factor here. C.& W. workers at this date were associated with an unusually high degree of lodging and multiple occupancy, (see chapter 6), and the newness of this group within the N.R. Derby workforce may be related to the high levels of within shop activity.
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The organization of the Midland Club's recreational activities through the medium of the Cricket Club reflects its mid-Victorian status as a game which could link the middle and working-classes in interclass collaboration on the field of play but also educate the lower orders into the upright citizenship with the ethos of the reformed public school. Support for the Midland Club from within the M.R. workforce is difficult to assess because the only documentary evidence available comes from contemporary newspaper reports of the club's activities. The club's periodic soirees attracted up to 200; the huge crowds of spectators present at important football matches perhaps indicate more precisely the growth of the game as a mass spectator recreation than any particular affection for the Midland Railway sports club. Regular active participants probably did not number more than 150 including departmental teams, tennis and bowls players. The number of people physically involved does not, of course, reflect its impact of sport on the workforce. The eleven were representatives of the whole and matches were both talked about in anticipation and dissected by post mortem.

The Board looked more favourably and with greater pride upon the Midland Club than they did on the apparently more socially acceptable Literary Institute, though there were few overtones of rationality or healthy instruction associated with the organization. The Midland Railway Horticultural Society, founded in 1885, 'not only as a means to health, but with a view to household economy', was patronized by local philanthropists rather than by the Company. The influence of the Midland club, was probably a matter of corporate politics, indicating the interests of people with influence rather than any ideology promoting social harmony and a better society. The very absence of any such coherent policy is perhaps indicative of the role of the M.R. in promoting shared life values amongst its workers at Derby. In terms of its social functions, the Literary Institute became something of a white collar enclave during the nineteenth century. In contrast, the Midland Club became, for a while, the stage for mass popular recreation which declaimed a shared interest which was very different from that of the Literary Institute. In 1890 the club appears to have formed the focus for the expression of a Derby-if not Derbyshire-wide affection. The Midland football team at the height of its success, was perceived to
represent the Derbyshire Football Association against that of the County team still associated with cricket and patronage. At the annual dinner of the D.F.A. in that year, for example, toasts were raised specifically to the success of the Midland Club who were then placed second in the Midland Football League.  

The Institutions of Respectability.

The Literary Institute and the Midland Club emphasized the horizontal stratification of M.R. workers within the vertical integrations of the corporate community. However, there were a number of social institutions in which M.R. workers fully participated in the round of organized social practices which punctuated the lives and defined the social world of those members of the working and lower middle classes who aspired to the ideal of respectability. These existed largely outside the confines of the workplace and the direct control of management and included churches and chapels, the Temperance Movement and the Derbyshire Rifle Volunteers. Such organizations constituted classical social movements of the new paternalism, yet for M.R. workmen they existed primarily in the 'voluntary' sector where the expectations of workmen on their own and the Company's role in society appears a much more powerful one than any consciously crafted policy of social control. What is perhaps most instructive in terms of the M.R. workforce as a separate group within the social structure of Derby, is that in the face of a potentially fragmentary position the social organizations developed outside the workplace developed as identifiably 'railway' institutions.

In terms of religious provision the Company was led into some modest paternal measures by pressure from its workforce. If a paternal relationship could be said to exist at all within the railway industry, then, as argued in chapter 2, the most appropriate model may be based on the generalized relationship to authority similar to that of the legally based control of English society in the eighteenth century. In this conception, the notions of majesty, justice and mercy, are translated into the bureaucratic corporation as follows: the management and the Board of Directors in particular constitute a rational mediating body between the law, represented by the constitution and rule book of the
company and the merciful and beneficent citizenry, represented by the po
ty of shareholders. In the dialectic of deferential expectations and obligations, workers are led to expect no more than is 'just' as encapsulated in the bare regulations of the organization, any greater claim has to be put through the management to the shareholders. The company remains neutral as the appeal is to the good nature of the shareholders as individuals by way of, rather than in their corporate capacity.

When the railway station and workshops opened, there were no churches or chapels within Litchurch. The first to open was the Wesleyan Chapel on London Road in 1861. Though there are no quantitative records of the composition of its congregation, the History of Derby Free Churches published in 1901 said 'It is a Church chiefly supported and attended by families connected with the Midland Railway'. Known locally as the Canal Street Chapel and promoted by M.R. workmen, its origins in the upper room of a joiner's shop in the North Street part of the N.M.R. triangle of houses indicate its parentage as an M.R. chapel. Its chief promoter was Abraham Bailey, a leading hand loco erector resident in Midland Place, who was one of the men brought from the North-East on the opening of the line. As there was much tension between this group and both local railway and non-railway residents, it is possible that it began as something of a social outlet for this minority within the workforce. The location of early services in Bailey's house perhaps lends further weight to this assertion. M.Kirtley, the first Loco Superintendent, was also an elder and his background in the north east certainly gave this chapel an artisan engineering bias for much of its early existence. Wesleyan Methodism was very strongly represented amongst the artisan section of the population during the first half of the nineteenth century which at that time, according to Gilbert, formed up to 62 percent of chapel membership. As reported in chapter 2, the Midland Railway made an unusual gesture by subscribing directly to the construction and maintenance of the London Road church and schools during its earliest years, though they refused further money when the day schools were expanded in 1884. As with the Midland Club, the reason for this generosity may be ascribed to influential friends in the board room and in senior management.
Among the Chapel's many important and influential members the 'leading light' was C.H. Turner who lived in a large villa residence on Osmaston Road and was a Director and one-time Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway. He had taken over from George Hudson who vacated his position on both railways at about the same time. Turner was the principal subscriber to the new chapel, donating £100 to the building fund and was in close contact with senior management on the M.R., perhaps because of their mutual association with Hudson.51

Significantly, the General Manager of the M.R. Sir James Alport, both a protege of Hudsons and close friend of Turner was a leading member.52 Amongst the patrons and benefactors was Abraham Woodiwiss, Mayor of Derby, local resident, a railway contractor and builder on a substantial scale. Woodiwiss was also one of the few Derby entrepreneurs to enjoy a harmonious and profitable business relationship with the M.R. One of the most active Wesleyans was T.G. Clayton, the C.& W. Superintendent, who was said to boast that he could name every minister on each of the Wesleyan circuits of the Midlands, curiously echoing the way in which railwaymen memorized the stations and depots on the line, and who was involved in the construction of the sister chapel to London Road at Rose Hill in 1882.53 The church was large by any standards, able to hold a congregation upwards of 900 people and frequently reported congregations between 500 and 600. The Sunday school could present 1,400 children for the annual Whit Sunday festivities from a figure which remained quite stable for most of the century.54 A broad spectrum of railway workers were actively involved with this chapel in addition to its basis in the artisan section, including a number of clerical workers.55 London Road was most certainly the principal nonconformist chapel associated with the M.R., but its influence cut across several railway companies. Certain leading hands were members and anyone seeking employment, 'did well to become a Wesleyan'. This was particularly so for the casual hiring of the piecework gangs who, for instance, erected locos, or worked on permanent way gangs. However, the deferential play associated with recruitment operated throughout the hierarchy; Turner, for instance, took a number of up-and-coming M.R. staff to fill senior posts on the G.E.R., Indicating a reciprocal relationship, S.W. Johnson, the Locomotive Superintendent who succeeded Kirtley in 1873, came from a
St. Andrews Church, Litchurch.

London Road Wesleyan Church, Litchurch.
similar post on the G.E.R. It is evident both from the biographical sketches of Pratt and the obituaries of railway men in the local paper, dating from the closing decades of the century, that there were railwaymen in positions of seniority at nearly if not all the chapels within one and a half kilometres of the Station.

The Church of England came rather later to Litchurch, the nearest was the old town church of St. Peters. From 1856, services were held in an iron church located near the station. Given the high status and obvious dynamism of the Wesleyan community amongst M.R. staff, the stated intention to promote services suited to 'lowely railwaymen' must have appeared as something of a mixed compliment, and perhaps indicates how out of touch the Anglicans were with the new urban, industrial society. Rapid urban expansion in Litchurch made the requirement for a permanent church quite clear to the Anglicans. It was said that there were now 6-7,000 people living in this 'populous district' without any proper facilities for worship in the Established Church, a common experience for urban areas prior to the mid-Victorian boom in church building under the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A church building committee was established and the need for funds to finance the new church was brought before the half yearly meeting of M.R. shareholders in February 1862. Consistent with their role as mediators, the Board stated that while it was not able to provide any money from company funds, it wholeheartedly supported the construction of a church and that it would throw the matter open to the munificence of the shareholders. The eleven-strong building committee was formed from a mixture of county gentry, local middle class political and business leaders in Derby and three directors of the M.R., none of whom were locally based. During the period leading to its completion, the Building Committee published a list of local subscribers in order to generate more funds, which proves quite interesting. Led by the Duke of Devonshire and including pledges to the values of £967, the list interprets 'local' rather loosely and includes people from various places in the east midlands; it also includes several prominent Litchurch industrialists, including T. Swingler, and G. Fletcher. Significantly, the advert assures the reader that these were 'Subscriptions received from Residents of the Neighbourhood but almost entirely in their character of Proprietors of
the Railway Company'. This suggests an apparent need for the committee to demonstrate the willingness of M.R. shareholders to provide for 'their workmen' and demonstrate loyalty to their company and its workforce over and above that of their normal local duties as members of a social elite. The foundation stone was laid on 29th March 1864 by the Duke of Devonshire, at a ceremony which was primarily a town and county, rather than railway-based occasion. It included major county landowners, town dignitaries, many clergy and 'In the general company several county and borough magistrates, members of the corporation, and the leading tradesmen of the district'. Though some M.R. directors did attend, including those belonging to the construction committee, there was no 'official' M.R. party. During the luncheon at the Midland Hotel which accompanied the ceremony, the chairman of proceedings, W. Mundy of Markeaton Hall, Derby, expressed the complex relationship which existed between the M.R., its directors, shareholders and workers on the matter of social and welfare provision:

For reasons which I fully admit the force, it was impossible that the Midland Railway Company, in its corporate capacity could assist this effort, but a large number of shareholders have not been unmindful of their duty and have come forward to aid in this good work.

The church of St Andrews was known in Derby as 'the railwaymen's church' and though there are no records of the composition of the members and congregation, there is much circumstantial written and oral evidence of the connection. Up to 50% of all marriages and 68% of all baptisms carried out during the 1870s and 80s involved railway families (see chapter 6). On Easter Sunday 1883, 284 communicants attended the three services. Given the importance of this festival, this is arguably not a large figure, approximately 4.5% of the population of the district, and half to two-thirds of total Sunday attendances at London Road Wesleyans, or less than one-quarter of the attendance there at a major service. A number of influential company officials were also members, though fewer than at London Road Wesleyans. Amongst the more senior were S.W. Johnson the Loco Superintendent, and W.H. Hodges, the chief Accountant, mentioned previously in connection with the cricket club, and V. Towle, keeper of the Midland Hotel. There is evidence of a
wide range of social and activity-based groups associated with the church, which in the late 1860s and early 1870s included football and cricket clubs who played against a variety of county and town teams ranging in size from neighbouring churches to Sheffield Wednesday. It is possible that W.H. Hodges was the driving force behind the sporting activities and it is possible to identify a number of players as M.R. workmen. The team played matches on the grounds to Osmaston Hall, the home of Sir R. Wilmot Bart., President of the cricket club, whose family were subscribers to the church. The proximity of the Wilmots gave the congregation of St. Andrews aristocratic connections most uncommon for a new church in an industrial suburb. This changed late in the century, when the M.R. bought the Osmaston estate to increase the size of its railway works. Amongst the organizations associated with, or which used the church, such as the St Andrews debating society, it is possible to isolate M.R. workers actively involved. The debating society's yearly season of entertainments attracted concert audiences of between 150 and 200 and at the concerts given on behalf of the cricket club, certain participants were leading men in the dramatic and musical clubs of the M.R. The church appears to have had a good relationship with the Derbyshire Rifle Volunteers and Wilmot's involvement with the volunteers was almost certainly important to this. The patronage of the Wilmots was very clear at the Whitsuntide Festivities, and illustrate the differences between the St. Andrews and London Rd. Wesleyans. Whilst, the Wesleyans took their children and members to the Arboretum (Joseph Strutt's gift to the townsfolk for improving recreation), St Andrews took their children to Osmaston Hall where, joined by the workhouse children, there were athletic sports, cricket and presentations in a quasi-feudal setting. Through the wide range of church clubs and societies which developed from the 1860's, it was possible to conduct a full social life within the protected confines of church membership. Associated with the Wesleyan and Congregational chapels of Litchurch were evening Bible classes, choral unions, operatic societies, debating societies, pleasant Sunday afternoon groups, weekly football and cricket. In addition the preparations for the major festivals in the church calendar, Christmas and Easter and the Sunday school anniversaries brought chapels together.
for musical and dramatic events. Oral evidence from railwaymen talking of the early years of this century confirms that it was possible to build a complete and diversified social life within the confines of church membership: as one respondent said, 'you could spend all your free time at the church, if you wanted...there was always something going on'. Towards the end of the century a number of local chapels, for instance, Normanton Rd. Congregational and Rose Hill Wesleyan, formalized long established practices and separated themselves from the trappings of paternal control by purchasing the fields located on the edge of the town, which they used for the Whitsuntide festivities. Here they not only provided space for the traditional round of children's sports and teas but also adult recreation, cricket, bowls and tennis together with refreshment facilities.

The broadening scope of church and chapel-based activities at a period when both the amount of free time and the number of alternatives were greatly expanding, has been recognized by historians. Stephen Yeo for example, sees it both as a response by the religious groups and moral leaders to provide respectable alternatives to counter the increasing attraction of commercially provided leisure for the unbelieving masses; but also as a way in which churches and chapels could maintain their congregations. This rather casts the changes as something of a ploy to gain or retain members. It neglects the church members themselves. For church and chapel goers membership could be something very positive. The full range of social activities gave them the freedom to mix with people of predictable and acceptable habits, through the social filter of the church. Formal group activities within the church introduced family to family and individual to individual.

Oral testimony from members of Normanton Road Congregational Church indicates the importance of secondary activities within the church to the formation of informal friendships and marriage partnerships. Amongst the most interesting activities were those in which churches joined forces in order to perform the grand sacred works which marked the church calendar. One lady member of this church, who came from and married into a railway family, tells of her experience in the church during her teens in the early 1910s. She was a member of a first aid class which held joint meetings with those of other nonconformist
chapels, and told how through the class she met and eventually married a young man from London Road chapel 'because they [boys from other chapels] always seemed more interesting than ours, anyway it was the only way we were allowed to meet anybody from outside'. Perhaps the most important point is that these outsiders were both different and yet similar insofar as they shared the same credentials of respectability. The novelty value derived from the special and occasional circumstances of social intercourse, promoted the extension of social networks amongst groups otherwise very private and insular by the very strictness of the codes of behaviour which brought them together. Through such events the individual and particular churches and chapels within Litchurch, for example, developed a network of social ties which emphasized the particularity of the individual churches as the hosts and guests of their neighbours but also stressed the localism of the network as a whole. London Road Wesleyans, for instance, stood within a group of sister churches within the district of Litchurch which defined M.R Wesleyans as not only members of a specific denominational group within the churches of Derby, but also within a group of churches and chapels within a specific district of the town.

The total number of railwaymen actively engaged in church activities must have constituted a relatively small part of the workforce. It would be interesting, though unfortunately it is not possible, to say whether and to what extent railway workers were over-represented as church attenders compared with similar groups. Most likely, as in many urban populations during this period, church and chapel attendance was very widespread amongst the children of railway families and would link many families to the activities of London Road and St. Andrews even where adults were not regular attenders. Certainly evidence from St. Andrews Church, London Road, Rose Hill and Normanton Road chapels, would indicate this was so. However, the fragmentary evidence available may enable one to tentatively suggest that there were unusually large numbers of lay preachers and active church workers amongst the railway workforce. The differential impact of particular groups in society on the historical record may possibly account for some of the apparent strength of this group. One interesting social institution within the railway workforce which does lend credence to the widespread adoption of
Figure 7.7

The 'Religious Mess Room' at Derby Loco. Works.

Figure 7.8

The Norledge.
'respectable' values and the acceptance of religious observance was the
breakfast time religious services held in No. 1 messroom at the
Locoworks. These were begun in 1856, when a stationary engineman started
to hold prayer meetings with a small group of like-minded individuals.
Influence spread until the management agreed to transfer services to the
lagging shop. Preachers were invited occasionally, the first being a
Wesleyan minister, again suggesting the strength of this denomination
amongst the loco workers in particular. When the new messrooms were
constructed, a deputation asked if the smaller of the rooms could be
taken for those who wished to take part in the breakfast services. This
held 400 and according to reports from a variety of sources was
frequently full to overflowing.68 The company agreed and the services
were supervised by a committee of workmen which according to the paper
'embraces adherents to various denominations'. Preachers were engaged
from many denominations in the town and neighbourhood and other evidence
certainly confirms this. The Mercury concluded:

these services have not been without effect in strengthening the
good understanding which has so long existed between 'director
and directed'.69

Though this sets the services within the terms of factory paternalism,
they were run autonomously by a committee of men who had to ask for even
the barest amount of help from the company: even the harmonium used to
accompany the services was purchased by public subscription.70 The
services continued until the close of the century, by which time they
included entertainment amongst the prayers.71 It may be argued that the
very existence of such interdenominational services suggests a
considerable strength of communal interest amongst this particular
section of the workforce which embraced more than merely workplace
values and loyalties.

There were several important movements within the railway workforce
which reinforce this example and demonstrate railwaymen acting in
accordance with the norms of respectability above and beyond any
encouragement by their employers. The Temperance Movement is a prime
case. Like religious services this movement had some basis in an
independent artisan culture. The drive for temperance on the railways
had its origins in the catalogue of bad accidents which cast a shadow
over railway travel in the 1850s and 60s. It was not until the early
1880s that informal groups of teetotallers amongst the railway workforce
banded together in a railway temperance society. The M.R. Temperance
Union was started as a branch of the United Kingdom Railway Temperance
Union in 1883 by a junior clerk in the loco dept. The inaugural meeting
took place in the loco works and John Noble the M.R. company secretary
agreed to act as President. \(^{72}\) It apparently brought together bands of
abstainers already in existence at various stations around the M.R.
system. Noble stressed the sobriety of the Derby workforce in relation
to the town as a whole 'For years past some of the best exponents of
total abstinence have been found amongst the ranks of railway workmen at
Derby'. In a most interesting passage he referred to communal solidarity
amongst the men as a reason for the prospective success of the union.

The Mercury reported him as saying:

\[ \text{there was an esprit de corps amongst railwaymen which made them} \]
\[ \text{stick very closely together when engaged in any common} \]
\[ \text{enterprise and he thought he might venture to say without} \]
\[ \text{passing any reflection on any other railway company, that the} \]
\[ \text{Midland Company and its employees had always been conspicuous} \]
\[ \text{for that. He thought he might say 'we work together as one man} \]
\[ \text{and that is the secret of our success.'} \]

In total the membership of the Union rose from 3065 in 1884 to over 4000
in 1887. \(^{74}\) At Derby Noble indicated that membership equalled about eight
percent of the workforce, suggesting about 480 men in 1885. The figures
for attendance at the annual meetings were in excess of 500 in 1887.
Noble's speech at the 1886 A.G.M., indicates the strength of the
movement amongst artisans in the workforce to the exclusion of those
both above and below in the hierarchy, paralleling the strength of the
Wesleyan movement amongst this section of the workforce.

There had been a very decided effort made to bring within the
scope of the society's influence a number of those who had only
hitherto been found amongst them in very scanty numbers, he
referred to the salary receiving class of the company's
servants.....Another class which was not fairly represented in
their ranks was the men employed on the permanent way. \(^{75}\)
The principal figures amongst the exponents of total abstinence at Derby were much in evidence promoting the cause of teetotalism, demonstrating in particular, the vigor of nonconformist groups. One example is that of Abel 'Coffee' Boden, a long-serving and well-known Loco driver for the M.R., who directed a movement to establish tea and coffee rooms for railwaymen on Derby station during the early 1880's. In spite of the fine words from the company when its senior officers addressed gatherings of the Temperance movement and the already extant nationally based movement to promote these which dated from the early 1870s, Boden was only granted his wish by the M.R. if he could make the venture self-financing. He did this by imitating the organization of the company, devising the venture along the lines of a joint stock company offering shares to the men at 5s each. Almost in parallel with Boden's efforts, a coffee house was opened in June 1881 on Midland Road near the station, built under the auspices of a number of local religious, political and business leaders. It was directly aimed at railwaymen, though the railway company itself was not connected with the venture. The M.R. Temperance Union became closely associated with the coffee house and held a number of their meetings there. The Midland Road coffee house and the Temperance union represent the fusion of paternal behavior by local social leaders outside the railway and uncompromisingly 'respectable' conduct on the part of a number of senior artisans within the railway workforce, which appears to be a strong feature of social life within the M.R. workforce of Litchurch.

The involvement of railway workers in the Derbyshire Rifle Volunteers is yet another example of this form of society. According to Cunningham, the Volunteers were one of the most typical institutions of the new paternalism for, as contemporary commentators claimed, 'increasing sympathy between our various classes of society'. The Derbyshire branch of this organization linked industrial Litchurch with county society through its associations with county cricket and by its commander Sir R. Wilmot, from Osmaston Hall, who was a noted cricketer as well as a part-time soldier. Several of the M.R.'s senior managers supported the organization, one of the battalions of the Derby force was made up exclusively of railway workers, whilst the Volunteer force band was for a number of years almost entirely composed of M.R. bandsmen. The
very location for volunteer activities connected the organization with these apparently autonomous realms, training and parades took place variously at the Derby race course, home of the county cricket club, in the grounds of Wilmot's residence at Osmaston Hall, whilst county-wide inspections took place at the Duke of Devonshire's estate at Chatsworth. However, the Derby Drill hall built to provide under cover facilities for the Volunteers linked the organization back into the M.R. workforce of Litchurch as the venue for the M.R. Ball, the principal Railway Temperance rallies, Railway Friendly Society gatherings, Union and Political meetings.

**The Pub and the Fair.**

Railway workers belonged to a quite distinct group of social institutions within Derby, localized in Litchurch. There is little evidence of any involvement by railwaymen in the social institutions of Derby as a whole. The Derby Mechanics' Institute, for example, was noted for the absence of railway workers from its membership, though this Institute was dominated by the lower middle-class, a stratum well represented within the railway workforce. One may assert that given the choice, the supervisory and administrative grades no less than artisans and mechanics appear to have chosen to spend much of their leisure time within a group defined by occupation as well as by social status. The predominance of non-work activities based on workplace loyalties echoes the new paternalism of the factory firm. The expansion of leisure time occupations within the M.R. workforce into a diverse range of special interest activities illustrates the innovative nature of social relationships within the railway corporation. Only in such a large hierarchically-structured organization could men find like individuals of compatible economic circumstances and social outlook to generate such varied social activities within the confined world of the same company.  

In chapter 5 it was argued that railwaymen were perceived as archetypal examples of Victorian 'respectability'. Respectability implies particular constraints on non-work activities. Many social practices within the M.R. workforce at Derby are typical of this life
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style. Not only did railwaymen take part in these activities, but they did so as railwaymen, in identifiably Midland Railway branches of these organizations. Unlike workers in entrepreneur-led factory firms, the M.R. did little to encourage such behaviour amongst their workforce. Neither can the formulation of respectability be equated directly with the independent artisan, because the M.R. staff belonged to these organizations as employees of the company as well as individuals, or members of a trade. Two factors help to create a very complex picture. Firstly, that unlike the railway workshop and headquarters staff living in other railway towns, the railway suburb of Derby was also its expanding industrial suburb with a full complement of local business and political leaders who took part in philanthropic provision impinging on the non-work lives of the railway workforce. Secondly, the hierarchical structure of the corporation and the centralized system of maintenance and administration, meant that large numbers of employees of middle rank from senior artisans to middle management were co-resident with the body of manual workers from labourers to craftsmen. Because these various groups grew alongside each other in a balanced authority structure, there never developed the unregulated proletariat which Stedman Jones talks of in relation to East London. In East London, contemporary social commentators saw the only solution to the perceived threat from the unmonitored masses, to be the grafting of a middle-class stratum of social leaders onto the fundamentally working-class society. Within the M.R. workforce of Litchurch the absence of paternal owners within the company was countered by the dominating role of social leaders from the middle ranks of the M.R. staff. However, there appears to be some clear differentiation between the role of the clerical and artisan led organizations. White collar dominated institutions seem to have embraced entertainment based activities sport, music, drama, far more quickly than the artisan dominated institutions. This may perhaps be observed from the activities surrounding St Andrews church and London Road Wesleyans; whilst, St Andrews had cricket clubs and drama groups during the 1870's; social activity at London Road was still centred around temperance and choral music. It is possible here to detect differing interpretations of 'respectability' between white and blue collar sections of the company. Perhaps the need of senior artisans to separate
their lifestyle from that of the rough masses may account for the apparent earnestness of their conduct. Whilst it was perhaps the requirement to generate popular support within the working classes, where there was little popular basis, which accounts for the earlier adoption of alternative entertainments at the church of England in the manner described by Stephen Yeo.

Through sport and football in particular, railway workers may be identified at the forefront of the class division of mass recreation. The horizontal stratification of the corporation workforce and the consistency of income and security of employment prospects amongst railway workers was probably most important in enabling them to develop the strong and regular social institutions which formed the basis of the class-divided leisure time practices which developed in the early twentieth century. The very fact that it seems justifiable to talk in terms of white and blue collar groupings within the company suggests its modernity in the context of the social structure of the industrial factory town. The most important individual formal social institutions within the railway workforce were almost certainly the London Road Wesleyan chapel, the Literary Institute and the Midland Club. If any social institutions may be said to have had company-wide influence then these must surely be the clearest examples. Yet they account for the non-work activities of a relatively small percentage of railway workers. Though the Literary Institute could boast a membership of 36% of company workers, arguably only a small number were active members. The Midland Sports club may well have had far fewer members, but because of the growing importance of spectating and the round of intra-works fixtures it probably impinged more extensively on the workforce. Perhaps most interestingly the classically respectable institutions of church and temperance probably involved only 6-700 workmen, just 10 percent of the Derby workforce. The influence of the London Road chapel and Wesleyan Methodism within the Company belied its absolute numerical strength. Most social interaction must have taken place outside the round of, churches, chapel and societies, within the growing sphere of commercial leisure provision, for which Litchurch was conveniently located.

Whereas eighteenth and earlier nineteenth-century public entertainments had taken place in buildings around the old market
square, in the medieval core of the town, the new places of mass entertainment opened from the 1860s were located on the southern edge of the old town, adjacent to the railway district. The Star Theatre music hall in Babington Lane and the Canvas theatre 'Blood Tub' on the Morledge which specialized in melodrama were the two most important locations for mass entertainment and were set conveniently to attract audiences from both the old and new industrial areas. The Morledge, a triangular open space which linked the town centre with the Siddals Road into Litchurch, constituted an informal zone for the traders, hawkers and street entertainers who formed the underclass of commercial popular entertainment. The popular view of the Morledge as a zone of rude recreation may be perceived from a letter in the Mercury which describes a late night disturbance on Ashbourne Road as 'like the Morledge at fair time'. The nineteenth-century accounts talk of this area at the weekend as a market with the atmosphere of a fair, where one may have seen anything from a fire-eater to a second-hand clothes stall. Such regular fairs appear quite important features of the industrial town. Well documented examples existed for instance in London, Salford and in Glasgow. They may be interpreted as linking the rhythms of regularized wage labour back to the pre-factory carnivals, festivals and wakes. In the tradition of the fair, there were stalls selling food, clothes and household goods, as well as entertainments. Derby had two other markets, both more salubrious than the Morledge: the 'traditional' weekly market in the market place and the new controlled and sanitized one in the newly built civic market hall. Yet the Morledge appears to have had a distinct place within the non-work routines of town residents. For the very poor it was probably vital to family economy, for the purchase of cheap food and household goods as well as providing perhaps the only form of commercial entertainment. It also had a distinct fascination for the polite and respectable: 'it was like a day's holiday to be taken to the Morledge, you could see all sorts there'. Accounts tell of being taken to the market when children as part of weekend shopping trips into town, of the colourful ambience of the Morledge on a dark winter evening where a cacophany of competing traders declaimed their wares through the flickering brilliance of naphtha flares. The Baseball Ground, home of Derby County F.C., and the Morledge stood as polar
opposites at the extreme ends of the Litchurch district, counterposed physically and ideologically with the institutions associated with various shades of respectability, the churches, chapels, institutes and public parks. These two venues represent respectively the bounds of formality and informality in popular commercial entertainment. However they appear to play a similar role within the non-work activities of railwaymen and may well have provided an important means of escape from the constraints of acceptable conduct, away from the gaze of the administrative and supervisory staff on Railway Terrace and Regents Street. Certainly, during the debate over the incorporation of Litchurch into Derby during the late 1860's, local councillors talked of the lack of facilities for recreation in Litchurch and the phenomenon of large numbers of people coming into Derby from this suburb at the weekend to partake of the town's entertainments. The Siddals and London Roads, for example, which were the direct routes from Litchurch to Derby, were frequently the scene of late night disturbances as people returned from the town.

Railway workers were particularly associated with a number of public houses within the district, particularly the 'Brunswick' and the 'Railway' on Railway Terrace and the 'Midland' on Nelson Street. These houses not only had railway names and a railway clientele but were, reputedly decorated inside with locally painted pictures of railway scenes. According to oral evidence, like the London Road chapel these were important for the hiring of piecework gangs, as well as constituting the meeting place for Friendly Societies and Union Branches. To frequent a public house need not necessarily be in conflict with a lifestyle of thrift and self-help. The M.R. Literary Institute, for example, was started after an informal meeting in the Brunswick Inn; within the railway workforce of Derby the public house was potentially a venue for the generation of highly respectable social practices. However, not all public houses were of equal social status. Reminiscing about the 1870's, Pratt contrasts the 'common singing rooms' found amongst the warren of streets between the Siddals and the London Road with the 'Midland Tap', 'where drivers of the old school would congregate to declaim their accumulated wisdom for the benefit of deferential juniors'. The beer houses of Canal Street adjacent to the
station, for example, were of dubious status, recognized as the location for petty dealers and traders in goods of uncertain origin, particularly poached game. The pub constituted a communal space outside the workplace where workmen could meet outside the discipline of the workplace yet still retain their work-centred identities as a vehicle to socialization. Because of the directed and controlled nature of church and chapel membership it is doubtful whether the membership of these kind of organizations could fully fulfil this role. Yet there is evidence which suggests that it was possible for the abstainer to participate in the exchange of ideas and information which made the pub an important location for social intercourse, in the sort of informal social institutions, usually lost in the archival silences which plague the study of social routine. Talking of his early days as a young clerk, G.J. Pratt speaks of his acceptance into the circle of John Faulkner, an abstainer whose office was located significantly 'on neutral ground free from Midland domination' at the North Stafford end of the station. He describes it thus:

It was like a tap-room without drink, a barber's shop without razor and scissors, or like a mother's meeting without needle and cotton.... the place was a refuge for certain privileged entrants, who often liked to spend a quiet or a happy hour.

Even the most conformist and respectable railwaymen it would seem needed the sort of privately defined social space which would relieve the oppression of the all-invasive corporate culture, which might alternatively bring one to the Baseball Ground, the Morledge, or the Midland Tap. The tension between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour within the railway workforce may be observed from one of the tricks played on G.J. Pratt as a junior clerk. The senior clerks in his office were noted as 'sports' and one day 'when but a child' he was sent with a letter written on M.R. note paper to Messrs Bennett and Patch's travelling theatre on the Morledge, asking them on behalf of the office if they would perform a play of dubious quality called 'Dread, or the Dismal Swamp'. He says 'Imagine their consternation not unmixed with fear', when next morning the canvas theatre was adorned with large letters along the outside to the effect that the following evening's performance was 'By special desire of the chief officials of the Midland
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Railway Company'. Their fear was justifiable in so far as the misuse of official stationery was quite a serious offence though perhaps not quite so serious as misappropriation of the company name. However, Pratt was sent with his letter to the Norledge, the location of barely respectable entertainment and became the unwitting correspondent in an ironic gesture to link the great corporation of the M.R. with a band of itinerant players. In doing this the men in the office were able to demonstrate their awareness of the limits to acceptable recreation, by playing with the status of their own respectability.
Notes

5. Ibid. p.5
10. Ibid. 18th. May 1864.
13. Ibid. 5th. February 1858, 9th. February 1870 and 3rd. February 1892.
17. Ibid. 23rd. August 1882.
18. Ibid. 1st. August 1888.
19. See chapter 5.
22. Ibid. p.22.
24. Ibid. p.34.
25. Ibid. p.41.
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32. Ibid. 23rd. January 1884 see D. Russell, Popular Music in England 1840-1914 A social history. (Manchester, 1987). He suggests that though choral societies may have resulted in the mixing of different strata and certainly involved people of differing social status spending their leisure time together, the subtleties of dress and manner worked with the micro-politics of the organization to heighten rather than reduce the experience of class.
33. G. J. Pratt op. cit. vol. 1. p. 53.
35. Derby Mercury 1st. October 1884.
36. Ibid. 2nd. May 1883.
38. Derby Mercury 2nd. May 1883.
40. Ibid. p. 8.
43. Derby Mercury 1st October 1884.
44. Derby Mercury 31st July 1881.
45. Ibid. 1st. April 1885.
46. Ibid. 28th. May 1890.
47. B. A. W. Alger, Derby and District Free Churches. (Derby, 1901) p. 89.
49. B.A.M. Alger, op.cit. p. 89.
52. Ibid. p. 12.
54. Ibid. p. 91, Derby Mercury 18th. May 1864 and 22nd. May 1872.
55. G.J. Pratt, op.cit. vol.2. p. 46.
56. J.B. Radford op.cit. p. 84.
58. Board of Directors Minutes 3459.
60. Ibid. 30th. March 1864.
61. Ibid. 28th. March 1883.
62. Ibid. 2nd. March 1881.
64. Ibid. 5th. June 1872 and 7th. October 1877.
65. Ibid. 8th. May 1871.
67. The importance of church and chapel membership for social contact particularly with the opposite sex has been noted by R. Dennis and S. Daniels op.cit. p. 18, G. Best, op.cit. p. 197. P. Anderson (1971) p. 103. The importance of the grand choral works 'Handel's Messiah' and 'Mendelssohn's Elijah' to working-class chapel culture was remarked on in J.T. Morgan, Peasant Culture. (Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of Welsh, University College Swansea, 1962, published Oxford, 1962) p. 10-12.
69. Ibid. 17th. October 1877.
70. Strephon op.cit. p. 32.
72. Ibid. 21st February 1883. and G.J. Pratt op.cit. vol.1. p. 58.
73. Derby Mercury 21st. February 1883.
74. Ibid. 21st December 1887.
75. Ibid. 17th. February 1886.
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76. Ibid. 1st. June 1881.
78. A similar diversity of social special interest and departmentally based groups has been found by A. Redfern, 'Crewe: Leisure in a railway town', in J.K. Walton and J. Walvin, eds. *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939* (Manchester, 1983).
80. Derby Mercury 21st June 1894.
85. T. Gwinnutt, *Tales of a Derby Poacher*. (Derby, 1985); also Derby Mercury 5th. October 1873, 17th. February 1886.
86. G.J. Pratt op.cit. vol.2. p.16.
87. Ibid. p.74.
'Class' and 'community' have frequently been viewed as polar opposites. Class interests, defined as generalized economic relationships within internationally construed capitalist production, appear to have little in common with community interests, which stress the primacy of specifically local and group concerns often set in competition with those of other localities and groups sharing similar 'class' positions. The relationship between localism and internationalism has proved problematic for historians of the nineteenth century labour movement and remains an important question for contemporary politics.¹ Winter, for instance, sees the Labour Party from its origins in the 1890s as 'infused with the spirit of a defensive and politically inert working-class consciousness'.² Why for example, after the widespread mobilization of Chartism, directed towards large scale political goals, did trades union consciousness change to a defensive sectionalism? From the late 1840's, unionism was characterized by the growth of elitist craft based unions such as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Generally, the concern of such societies was to protect the immediate living standards and trade position of its membership. Even the new group of trades unions founded in the 1880s and dedicated to semi-skilled and marginalized occupational groups, such as gas workers and dockers, concentrated on less vulnerable groups and resorted to restrictive policies with the down-turn of trade in the 1890s.³ Outside the specificities of union organization, which was only a minority concern into the twentieth century, the question of regional differences in the development of political practices and formations has presented related problems. For example, why did the working class in different parts of Britain develop differing political responses to industrialism? The 'Red belts' of South Wales and Sheffield may be contrasted with the accommodatory deference of Lancashire and many northern factory cities.⁴ Gramsci's work pinpointed the mechanisms involved in producing regionally distinctive political formations. In his work on the
historical role of Italian cities, the importance of the Piedmont in the 'Risorgimento', and the question of southern underdevelopment, Gramsci shows how 'specific, spatially distinctive social relations could lead, for example, to profound quiescence amongst rurally based manual workers- as in the South- or surprising radicalness amongst middle-managers in certain Northern engineering centres'. Cooke's critique of Gramsci indicates five categories of regionally distinctive activity important to the production of regionally distinctive political practices; these are:

1. the productive base, the nature and extent of definite forms of the appropriation of surplus value.

2. the labour process, the degree of autonomy of direct producers.

3. the ownership of capital.

4. specific social relations, gender relations, wage relations, consumption relations, popular (including ethnic) struggles.

5. institutional specificities, cultural, intellectual, cognitive and ideological practices.

If political practices can be theorized as regionally specific, then one may enquire as to what extent local circumstances and social relations are a necessary precursor to the formulation of political action. Offe and Wisenthal have argued that there are fundamental differences between the capacities of capital and labour to recognize and act upon their material interests because of their respective structural characteristics. For the working-class the exercise of power is inextricably linked to the individual labourer. Working-class action is always based on an association of individuals and, because of this, the motivation for action is always ambiguous and contingent upon its particular context. Price shows why the focus of labour action has consistently been at the workplace rather than in wide political movements, because the 'volitional' quality of all work, an element necessary to production, constitutes for labour the primary bargaining strategy. Some authors have suggested that the way in which 'community' ties provide the bonding necessary for sustained organization is central to any understanding of collective working-class action. Calhoun has argued for the period 1780-1850, that because it is difficult for
classes to act collectively, collective action depends on communal bonds which integrate individuals together.  

This chapter looks at the relationship between local and national politics and labour organization within the community of M.R. workers in Derby. It will endeavour to explain these in terms of variations in the experience of economic relations, the particularities of the labour process and the institutional specificities of the locality. For the study of this workforce as a 'community', questions relate both to movements which create internal linkages within the workforce and the railway industry as a whole and to actions which forge connections outside the workforce into other sections of the working classes. It will look in turn at the role of railwaymen in the production of locally based organizations of self-help and co-operation; it will then consider the accommodation of local political tradition to the rise of railway workers as a political force in Derby; before looking at the role of geographical factors to the success of strikes on the M.R. and importance of local and company loyalties to the formation of industrial action; it will conclude by considering the role of railway workers in the beginnings of the labour movement.

Co-operation and Self Help.

The closely linked foci of social harmony, respectability and independence, were perhaps best expressed in the organizations devoted to thrift. Moral imperatives were played out in economic behaviour; saving implied the conduct of a good life, the absence of frivolous expenditure on drink, luxury goods and commercial entertainment. Historians of the mid- and late-Victorian period agree that social stability was founded on national economic strength. Many suggest that for the individual family, political contentment went hand in hand with financial security and, in the context of the times, a degree of affluence. However, as Gray has argued for Edinburgh and Crossick for Kentish London, local and national, vertical and horizontal social integration developed in a complex relationship. Respectability and self-help, created to promote a vertically integrated society at the local level, generated a form of sectionally based collective action.
which was a foundation for more extensive horizontally stratified collective action in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The railway workforce occupied a privileged place in Derby. While railway work was not highly paid, its distinguishing feature was regularity and security. The vicissitudes of the silk trade and the demise of putting out were only the most conspicuous manifestations of the difficulties experienced by Textile workers in Derby. The constant downwards pressure on wages was a constant source of unrest for labour relations in this industry, where the substitution and dilution of labour by outsiders, women and children reduced the bargaining strength of male weavers. After the financial troubles of the late 1840's when there were extensive reductions in staff numbers and wage rates, the prospect for railway labour in Derby was one of almost continuous expansion. Though this was tempered by periods of relative stability, the 'progressive' policy of the company to extend its network both generated employment in Derby and created an integrated private labour market of national dimensions. The iron and engineering trades which, with the textile industry, formed the base of the town's employment structure, were also susceptible to cyclic fluctuation and inter-regional competition. Whilst the railways suffered from the downturn in the economy during the later years of the century, railway workers were to a certain extent cushioned from the main thrust of unemployment by two factors peculiar to the industry. Firstly, the need to maintain the infrastructure of the network and the basic service of trains maintained staffing levels. Secondly, government intervention in the industry, mainly on railway safety, enforced investment in plant and rolling stock. This non-voluntary, largely counter-cyclical, investment from the late seventies to the mid-nineties helped to avoid severe slack periods in the workshops. The regional employment figures for the Amalgamated Society of Engineers presented by Southall, give some indication of the differences in continuity of employment between railway and non-railway engineering sectors. Unfortunately, the figures for Derby do not separate railway and non-railway members. The A.S.E. had significant representation within the railway workshops during the later part of the century, whilst the A.S.E. were certainly active in non-railway industrial action from 1851 onwards. The large Derby branch which
represented both railway and non-railway members substantiate what has been said above about employment in railway workshops. Statistics for Crewe and Swindon, where engineering employment was totally within the railway workshops show low unemployment levels throughout the period 1862 to 1904, never greater than 2.1 percent, during the height of recession in the early 1890s. In comparison figures for Derby are higher, between 3.9 percent and 6.6 percent, but numbers unemployed are quite low compared with other non-railway engineering towns, especially during the 1890s. Moreover, conditions of service in the workshops were the yardstick of those engaged in non-railway iron trades for example in a strike at the Fletcher's Ironworks Litchurch in 1871, workers specifically asked for parity with the M.R. works. In a study of poor relief in Derby between 1850 and 1880 there were no railway workers amongst adult males requiring assistance, whilst over 60% were textile workers.

The M.R. workforce was prominent in the working-class self-help movements of Derby, including the Friendly Societies and Co-operative Movement. Surprisingly so, given the number of friendly societies and sick clubs organized by and for railwaymen. The danger of railway work was undoubtedly a major influence on the growth of such societies for men engaged in this trade, particularly in the period up to the 1870's and the most dangerous occupations were train crews and other traffic grades. Like most other railway companies the M.R. had a Friendly Society for its men which it took over from the paternal N.M.R. at amalgamation in 1844. Though the society was severely underfunded by the Company for a large part of its history, it did provide an important form of insurance- 12s. per week for sickness and 15s. to 25s. for death by accident. The scheme was compulsory for men in the most vulnerable grades, the Traffic and Locomotive Department staff. The subscription of 8d. must have been easily affordable by train crews earning in excess of 30s. per week but somewhat more daunting for other compulsory groups like shunters and porters on 17-20s, for whom this must have represented a significant component in the family economy. Right to full benefit depended on continued employment with the company and better illustrates economic dependence on the M.R. than an assertive independence. As an average rate, benefits of 12s. and 15s. are similar to other railway
company friendly societies. However, the M.R. Society did not have a graduated subscription scale, or a variable rate of benefit according to grade, so that more well paid sections of the workforce were severely under-insured. In 1865 the Society's A.G.M reported membership 1,083 below its maximum level to that date. A minute of the Board of Directors dated December 1870 indicates that 1,527 workmen at Derby were not members of the M.R. Friendly Society but that only 371 men (approximately 9 percent of the Derby workforce) were not members of any society, whilst out of those not in any society 72 percent earned under 21/- per week. The inflexibility of the society, and friendly society-like benefits provided by many new unions may be a primary reason for the lack of support for the Company fund. For staff not compelled to membership, other societies were probably more appropriate to their circumstances and this may help explain the high profile of M.R. staff in both sectional Friendly societies within the Company and in the general orders within Derby. The inability of the Friendly Societies in Derby to pick up membership from those occupational groups most needing help and most subject to the vagaries of trade, can be seen from a report of a Druids Lodge in the old textile and iron working area north of the town centre in 1889. The chairman of this Lodge stated with resignation, 'The benevolent fund started last year for the purpose of paying the contributions of members in distress or out of employment had failed to reach these cases through them not having joined it.'

Amongst the sectional societies within the M.R. was the Midland Railway Locomotive Engine Drivers and Fireman's Friendly Society. Footplate crews were the ideal constituency for Friendly Society activity, being both a risk group and a relatively well paid one able to afford the benefits of membership. The society could boast funds of £14,453 in 1890 and a membership within the company of 620 amounting to about 15% of potential membership. Though the society was reputedly set up by drivers from London and Bristol, A.G.M.'s were for most of the century confined to the Derby-Nottingham area perhaps indicating a variation in regional strength within the workforce based on the leading loco sheds of Derby and Toton. Several societies are evident within the workshops, most of these were small clubs. If, as Hunt says, by 1888 at least 80% of working men were subscribers to Friendly Societies of one
sort or another, and that many of these probably belonged to more than one society, then many of the other grades, must have belonged to the non-occupationally based Friendly Societies within Derby town. Extensions to the M.R. staff at Derby were perceived by the town’s friendly societies as leading directly to the ‘augmentation of the societies funds’. By the 1880’s the major Friendly Societies in England, the Manchester Unity, Forresters and Druids were well established in Derby. At least two Provincial Grand Masters of this order were Derby M.R. railway staff, whilst several of the branches of this order in Derby can easily be linked to the M.R. staff; the Engine Drivers’ retreat Lodge of the Manchester Unity, which held its meetings in Canal St. is the most obvious example. C.& W. workers were not allowed to join the Company society and the Pear Tree Lodge opened in the early 1880’s, concurrent with that of the new Carriage and Wagon works, which had a number of prominent railway men as members, may perhaps be viewed as an alternative to a C.& W. works based society in a district dominated by workers in this department. The connection between non-conformism and self-help appears a strong one amongst M.R. workers, the same engine drivers and artisans prominent in chapel and temperence were also prominent in the friendly societies. Certain branches were directly connected with religious institutions; the Royal Victoria Lodge of Druids for example, were formerly known as the Wesleyan Friendly Society and held meetings at the London Rd chapel.

The strength of M.R. workers in the Derby Co-operative Movement is most illustrative of their role in the development of labour-based organizations in Derby and an indication of family economic status. Because they stressed food quality rather than cheapness and because they did not allow credit, consumer co-operatives were always the territory of the better off sections of the working population. In Derby the Co-operative Movement was begun in 1849-50 by members of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in premises in the eighteenth-century core of the town. The Derby Society had 40 members in 1860 when membership was thrown open to non members of the Carpenters and Joiners. Growth was rapid: ‘As many as 36 were admitted on a single night in 1860. Railwaymen, in particular, came about the place and put new life into it.’ In 1861 the society’s first branch was opened in
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Park Street close to the core residential area of the railway workers. Expansion over the following two years was quite dramatic; in 1862 the Derby society had 1,385 members and by the end of the century the society had over 13,000 members and dominated the retail trade of the town. Indicating the importance of M.R. workers to the development of the Co-operative movement in Derby, the 'history' of the society says 'it should be interesting to note the many recruits the Derby Society has gained from railway workers'. It is impossible to give the relative numerical strength of railway and other workers in the Derby Society; however, this and other circumstantial evidence suggests the crucial role of M.R. workers. If the evidence of the 'Official History' is taken at face value, then the role of M.R. workers in the movement might initially be surprising because membership of a co-operative society was considered by the company as participation in outside business, which breached the Company's terms of employment. After a long running battle with the Board during the 1870s, the directors finally consented to allow membership of a consumer co-op. but refused to allow employees to take an active part in the management of a society. The date of this debate is not unimportant, for the 1870s witnessed the greatest period of growth in numerical strength of the Derby society, from 1,291 in 1869 to 4,346 in 1879, and also the period of major expansion in the Derby workshops. The first two managers of the society, John Riley (manager 1872-86) and Robert Hilliard (manager 1886-1902) were both former engineering artisans at the Loco works, whilst two of the five society secretaries before 1900 were also senior artisans in the M.R. shops. These men had previously served on the Society committee and therefore it would appear that the M.R. enforced its rules very loosely and only forced the matter when a post of some seniority within the Co-operative Society was involved.

Amongst the other activities of the Derby Co-op. clearly associated with individual thrift, were a penny bank and a Building Loan Department. The latter was responsible for a group of streets constructed between the late 1870s and the 1890s to the west of the Arboretum where the street names - Industrial St., Co-operative St., Provident St. and Society Place - announce the product of self-help and collaboration. Significantly, this area of the Litchurch district formed
an enclave of railway workers at some distance from the works, (see chapter 6). It is the only part of the Derby railway district where high levels of owner-occupation are observable in the 1880's; in this group of streets it was quite remarkably over 85 percent.\textsuperscript{24}

The Derby Co-operative Society together with the Trades Council became the dominant interest groups behind the Derby Labour party, and the first Labour Mayor of Derby in 1921 was a long-serving member of both these organizations, having been the first official Labour member of the town council for the Osmaston ward of the railway district in 1911.\textsuperscript{25} The establishment of a Labour mayor represents the maturity of working class self-help organizations within local politics. It is possible to identify a clear manifestation of the increasing separation of self-help and paternal patronage in one highly symbolic event which marked this process twenty years previously in 1892. The Arboretum was constructed as part of the age of early nineteenth-century factory paternalism but it also played a fundamental role in the new paternalism post-1850. The Arboretum and the adjacent field hosted a fund of communal events in the calendar of Derby social and religious institutions.\textsuperscript{26} The Arboretum festival financed Strutt's gift to Derby and attracted huge crowds from various areas of the North and Midlands for many years. The festival was very much in decline by the early 1890s and the mutual congratulations which suffused the relationship between capital and labour were now lost in the midst of a round of strikes, short time working and unemployment. At the meeting of the Derby Town Council in 1892 it was decided to end the Festival after being held continuously for forty-two years, as it was believed to have 'lost something of its freshness and bloom.'\textsuperscript{27}

Not without vigour were the annual Whitsuntide celebrations of the Derby Friendly Societies, who marched to the Arboretum, on the Monday following the Sunday demonstration by the Sunday Schools. This event had gained new significance through the co-operation between the Friendly Societies and the newly prominent Derby Trades Council, who were instrumental in organizing action and aid at the onset of economic depression.\textsuperscript{28} In November 1892, when the Friendly Societies requested use of the Arboretum grounds, permission was refused by the committee still formed of local manufacturers and businessmen, previously visible
promoting social harmony. At a meeting of the Town Council, a member of the Trades Council spoke out in defence of the Friendly Societies, asking why the Friendly Societies were refused use of the Arboretum as they were a 'boon and a blessing to thousands of working men'. A Councillor replied, 'The Council had stopped their own Festival and did not see why for £25 the whole place should be damaged for the rest of the Summer'. The ties of a generalized paternalism, loosened over a number of years, were severed at the focal location of philanthropy in Derby.

**National Politics and Local Paternalism.**

An early alliance between landed Whigs and the liberal-radical middle-classes, under the influence of the cotton owning Strutts and Evans' families, resulted in early political stability in Derby (see chapter 1). The struggles for control and recognition which typified politics in Manchester and Bradford were suppressed in Derby for most of the nineteenth century under a code of taken-for-granted liberal-radicalism used by both Liberal and Conservative.\(^4^0\) The stranglehold that the Strutts maintained during the first half of the century meant that the Conservatives could only make an impact by addressing the Liberals on Liberal terms. The enduring legacy of the Strutts marked the relationship between the town and the national political arena until the 1880s. Early nineteenth-century factory paternalism set the mould for political expectations in the town through the years of mid-Victorian stability to the end of the age of the new paternalism. Of members returned between 1832 and the end of the century, on only three occasions did Derby return a Conservative member and there is little evidence of a widespread popular Toryism, or even a pragmatic propensity to shift allegiance as in some textile districts.\(^4^1\)

The principal figure in Derby politics for much of this period, Michael Bass, was head of the large Burton based brewing concern, Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton Ltd. and constitutes a direct link between the paternalism of the Strutts, the philanthropy of mid-Victorian stability and the beginnings of nationally-based union organization in the railway industry. In the 1830's he was evident supporting Edward Strutt during
Figure 8.1,

Sir Michael Bass.
the town election campaigns. When the two Liberal candidates, Edward Strutt and E.F. Leveson Gower, were unseated for bribery and corruption at the 1847 election, Bass was asked to stand in Strutt's place. He was elected in 1848 and served continuously as M.P. until he resigned due to ill health in 1882; for most of the period he stood unopposed. The best Tories could hope for was to claim Bass for their own camp. 'Some of Mr. Bass's views were what would now be and were then termed Conservative'. Only in 1865 did he fail to head the vote by a clear majority. Bass realized the potency of allying himself with the Strutts and visibly deferred to their family name throughout his early years as Derby M.P. He was for instance most prominent in promoting the Strutt testimonial in 1848; whilst in 1850 he stood alongside Strutt and the Duke of Devonshire's representative, Joseph Paxton, at the soiree of Strutts' Derby Mechanics' Institute, where he was given honorary membership; and at the General Election of 1852 he asked to step down in favour of the now eligible E. Strutt, though this was declined. Bass appears to have moved easily into the role of principal benefactor to the town and to have taken over much of the more radical ideology of his predecessor. Like them he was noted as a 'model' employer. During the 1840's Bass spoke out in favour of the extension of the franchise and was guest speaker at a major reform meeting at Derby in 1850. In 1848-9 he was a prime mover in the establishment of the Derby Freehold Land Society, a building society designed to create a wider parliamentary constituency by enabling 'working men' to build a house and thereby fulfil the voting qualification as £10 freeholders. Though it was arguably quite a failure in its original aim. The census enumerators books for 1861 show this area dominated by small businessmen and the rate books indicate almost 98% rented occupation.

If the M.R. Company had a specific political outlook, then it was that of Liberal Free-trade and therefore did not contradict the dominant power in Derby Town. Sir James Alport, the General Manager, was a staunch Liberal, whilst Samuel Beale represented Derby as a Liberal alongside Bass from 1857 to 1865, during much of the period of his chairmanship of the Company. Railway issues were not part of his political agenda outside those of protecting the 'Railway Interest' in the mass of railway legislation. Prior to the Second Reform Bill in
1867 the railway workforce appears to have had no individual voice in Derby politics whatsoever. However, from 1865 railway working conditions became a central issue in Derby as part of a debate of national scale. At the local level, the extension of the franchise and the extension of the Borough of Derby to include the parts of Litchurch where railway workers were most concentrated, were important. From 1868 onwards, the round of both Liberal and Conservative re-election meetings necessarily included a rally at the M.R.works. Normally these took place in the Loco Works' mess rooms on a Saturday at noon, when work was stopped early in order to allow all men to attend. When the Liberal candidates, Bass and Plimsol, addressed the workmen they were given a vote of sanction not extended to the Conservatives as they were joined on the platform by the Loco Superintendent, M.Kirtley. During his speech Bass acknowledged the importance of the new body of voters. He said:

it was a pleasant sight to see in that room as he believed there was present 1,000 voters, besides non-electors all from one great establishment. What prodigious power was now in the hands of the people.... From 2,500 voters, he understood the constituency of this town was increased to 8,000 and the men in the works were raised from 100 electors to 1000. (cheers) 49

Though it is not possible to link patterns of voting, residence and occupation as Joyce has done, the overwhelming vote of Derby railway men was in favour of the Liberal candidates. Canvassing at the Conservative meeting in the railway works by the admission of the Tory Mercury indicated a vote in favour of the opposition to the extent of 9 to 1. 50

The difficulty of the Conservative cause may be observed from the fact that they were concerned that pressure from peers in the workplace was inhibiting men from defending the Tory cause. Amid scenes of strong barracking in the Temperance Hall when a crowd tried to stop the Tory candidate from speaking, a Tory operative painter claimed, 'this is somewhat like the tyranny we find in our workshops; simply because a man differs from his fellow workmen he is humbugged and called a numbskull by those who never knew what the letter A was from the letter Z'. 51 Such informal pressure was probably very important in moulding opinion amongst the newly enfranchised, though it is difficult to find, as Drummond has at Crewe, any direct attempt by the M.R. to direct voting
patterns.\textsuperscript{52} Although, in 1876, the Conservatives did complain that they were denied access to the works in order to put their case there is no evidence of a repetition of this. In the 1868 election at least, the only open accusations were made in the Conservative meeting at the Loco works against the Tory Lace Factory owner, Walter Boden.\textsuperscript{53}

By the early 1870s a local journalist could write 'The opinion of the station, the voice of the station, must be heard and marked by all those seeking to represent the town'.\textsuperscript{54} As Bass clearly recognized, M.R. staff as a group now comprised about 12.5 percent of the Derby electorate. Given the continuing expansion of the railway workforce during the subsequent decade the importance of this group within the town electorate must have increased substantially. Partly accounting for the greatly increased majority in favour of Bass at elections post-1870. Dunbabin suggests that even after the Reform Bill of 1867, 20 to 30 percent of the potential electorate were disenfranchised, because of the high degree of residential mobility within sections of the newly enfranchised electorate, when registration required providing an address up to eighteen months before the election.\textsuperscript{55} The relative residential stability and economic security of railway households leading to high rateable values, may very well have resulted in railwaymen being enfranchised in disproportionately large numbers. From the late 1860s, the area around the station certainly appears to have become the location of liberal-radical agitation at election time. In 1874, for example, a gang of 'radical roughs' decked in yellow ribbons marched from the vicinity of the station up the Siddals Road into the Morledge and then on to the Mercury Offices in Iron Gate, during which they broke windows in pubs exhibiting blue favours and at the premises of noted local Conservatives.\textsuperscript{56} At the election of 1885, the Conservatives complained about Liberal hoardings directly aimed at railwaymen travelling to work, in Siddals Rd.\textsuperscript{57} In his election speech at the station, Bass, much more than any other candidate went out of his way to address the men as railwaymen and to appeal to them as a special breed of working men:

He often envied those men engaged in what he might call the science of constructing locomotives, when he was going along at speed almost faster than a bird could fly, and he looked upon
them as superior beings and thought that if members of Parliament were put into competitive examination with them they would cut a very indifferent figure.\textsuperscript{59}

It is not without note that in the 1865 election Bass was beaten into second place by the Conservative Cox, part of a nationwide swing to the Conservative party. His Liberal partner in 1868 Samuel Plimsol, was a figure of national political stature with whom Bass had a number of political differences. Plimsol achieved notoriety by his support for the cause of merchant seamen. It may be that both local rivalry and electoral expediency were amongst the motivating factors when Bass instigated a campaign on behalf of railwaymen in 1871.

Bass’s campaign took place within changing national circumstances. In a period of national economic prosperity during the 1860’s there was growing pressure for a further improvement in working conditions in a number of industries, where little had changed since 1850.\textsuperscript{60} As Best says, ‘whatever improvement there may have been by 1860 over what conditions had been like in 1830, the factory inspectors were still in the sixties encountering grim and ghastly industrial accidents and diseases even within their strictly circumscribed domain’.\textsuperscript{60} Outside the domain of the factory inspectors, rapid expansion of craft based Unionism was given a political dimension through the establishment of Trades Councils and the initially radical London based newspaper, ‘the Beehive’.\textsuperscript{61} Combination in order to improve working conditions, evident in the part played by the National Miners Association in helping to secure the Coal Mines Regulation Act in 1860, was fused to ideas of electoral reform, evident in the National Reform League of 1867. The apparently disconnected issues of national politics and local working practices were conjoined through the possibility of change via Parliamentary legislation made possible with the co-operation of Liberals. After 1850 Liberals came to be less closely identified with factory employers who had become less resented as working class hostility was diverted towards the great landowners. Under Gladstone the advocacy of franchise reform and sympathy for non-conformity and temperance gave the party considerable support particularly amongst skilled workers and trades unionists.\textsuperscript{62} The interests of Trades unionists and middle-class Liberals were concatenated into a movement
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for parliamentary and factory reform which came to fruition in the Second Reform Bill of 1867 and the Factory Acts of the 1870's, though the appropriation of good causes by middle class reformers arguably limited the radical extent of change. In parallel with the concern over hours, conditions and safety in factories there was a similar concern with railway safety resulting in the Board of Trade investigation in 1877. Public opinion and the national press were drawn to the subject by the catalogue of bad accidents during the early years of railway operation. Though 'the Government was primarily concerned with the safety of passengers rather than the safety of railwaymen'.63 These concerns soon brought the working conditions of railwaymen into close examination.

In 1871 400 M.R. workmen wrote to their M.P., Michael Bass, complaining of 'excessive hours and low wages'. As a result of this Bass instigated a series of open letters which were published in the national and local press in which he endeavoured to show that 'the management of the Midland Railway is oppressive and illiberal towards their workmen, inconsistent with public safety, and injurious to the permanent interests of the shareholders'.64 Bass was in a privileged position to 'intervene' on behalf of the men; he was a major shareholder and probably the most important single customer of the M.R., which carried most of the 500,000 barrels of Bass's beer at an annual cost of £135,000. The very prosperity of the nation was a cause of overwork on the railways, an increased volume of traffic was not cleared by increasing the workforce but by lengthening working hours. On the M.R. traffic congestion resulting in delays to trains and a consequent increase in working hours was particularly severe in 1870 and 1871.65 As a result of his correspondence with the M.R. a number of railwaymen wrote to Bass outlining the extent of overwork on the M.R. Amongst the correspondents was a clerk at the Railway Clearing House, Charles Bassett Vincent, who was taken into the employ of Bass, to collect information, organize meetings and publish propaganda.66 After a number of large meetings in favour of the nine hours movement agitation, Vincent addressed meetings of railwaymen at Manchester and Leeds at which he brought the promise of £100 from Bass towards the initial costs of starting a railwaymen's union.67
Figure 8.2,

Charles Bassett Vincent.
Figure 8.3,

John Graham of Derby, First Organizer For the A.S.R.S
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The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was registered in 1872 as an all grades union. Vincent was an important driving force behind the establishment of provincial branches and John Graham of Derby, another of Bass's early correspondents, was prominent within the early organization. Bass was offered the position of President of the Society, which he refused, though he continued to act as benefactor. It has been estimated that Bass contributed well over £1000 to the early years of the Society. At the conference of the A.S.R.S. all the delegates all signed a testimonial of gratitude to Bass which began as follows:

We, the undersigned delegates in meeting assembled, and representing the members of the A.S.R.S. in England and Wales, unanimously concur in the desire to express to you our deep and heartfelt thanks and gratitude for your sympathy for the sufferings endured by the class to which we belong, and for the timely support and invaluable aid rendered by you in the formation of the society, which, we trust, may be the means of improving our social condition and protecting our rights and guarding us against injustice.

The above quote indicates the close ties between the development of this union and the form of paternalism which had started mechanics' institutes and promoted friendly societies. The utopian undertones arguably stemmed from its middle-class patronage, unlike the other 'Amalgamated Societies' this new model union was designated open to all grades within the industry and incorporated a strong element of institutionalized philanthropy. Though the new craft unions were noted for their welfare benefits these were mainly confined to financial grants. The A.S.R.S. at the instigation of Bassett Vincent and under the guidance of Bass began a campaign to construct an institution to care for the orphaned children of railway men killed at work. The model of Plimsol's work on behalf of seamen appears important here, as Vincent was dispatched to visit Plimsol's Sailors' Orphanage in Hull during 1876 whilst the Railway Orphanage was at the planning stage. As a formal organization the Railway Servants' Orphanage had its origins in 1874 when a meeting of A.S.R.S. districts and a number of Local politicians from Derby met in the town. At this meeting Derby was declared to be the location of the orphanage dedicated to Michael Bass, 'the John Howard of
railway employees'.\textsuperscript{73} The parochialism of the local dignitaries on the platform may be observed from the tenor of the meeting. After Captain Tyler had stood up and stated that, 'over 1,200 railway servants had been killed in 1873 and a large number of orphans thus left totally unprovided for', another speaker claimed:

he had watched these families after their bereavement and he found a large percentage found their way into the workhouse; so that the project was calculated to relieve the rates.\textsuperscript{74}

Funding was to be jointly by the A.S.R.S. and by subscription and donation from the general public, in April 1874, an appeal to the A.S.R.S. branches resulted in 200 of them contributing £3,000 for the purchase of an orphanage and the support of orphaned children.\textsuperscript{75} No major railway companies contributed on their own behalf. A number of senior M.R. staff and directors did contribute as individuals, the minutes of the Board record a refusal to subscribe from company funds.\textsuperscript{76}

Temporary premises were taken at the centre of the railway township of Litchurch at the corner of Bradshaw St. and London Rd.\textsuperscript{77} Though the committee was comprised 30 percent of members of the A.S.R.S. the most prominent and vociferous members were figures in Derby's municipal politics, the Mayor, J. Turner, Aldermen Longdon and Renals, Councillors Hobson, Woodiwiss and Bemrose. Though Bagwell suggests that a number of the committee were connected with the M.R. it has not proved possible to find anything to substantiate this. Though the firms of Bemrose and Woodiwiss worked for the M.R. their connection was as subcontractors only, though they were both residents of the Litchurch district.\textsuperscript{78} In 1877 a piece of ground was sought in the Litchurch/Normanton district close to the station to build a permanent orphanage but suitable land could not be found. Eventually a piece of ground was bought from Woodiwiss, the Derby builder, and one time treasurer of the Orphanage, at the opposite end of the town to the north. Here it was proposed to build an Institute to accommodate 250 children, at a cost of £5,000.\textsuperscript{79} The removal of the Orphanage from the railway district illustrates the increasing control of the Institute by local politicians.

The tensions between the nascent A.S.R.S. and the rest of the orphanage committee were clear early in its existence: in 1876 the Metropolitan committee of the union were against the construction of an
orphanage in Derby.\textsuperscript{60} They favoured the maintenance of orphans in the family home rather than removed to a distant institution and justified this as both more humane and more economical. Believing themselves to have little say in the control of the Derby orphanage, the dramatically escalating costs during 1877 which increased by 30 percent must have added weight to the discontent of the A.S.R.S. executive committee.\textsuperscript{61} Consequently in February 1879, the 'Metropolitan committee' sent a circular to all its branches suggesting an orphan fund should be set up under the total control of the union resulting in a complete break between the union and the orphanage charity. The circular read as follows.

The Orphanage Committee, long since elected to disparage and contemn [sic] the influences which enabled Derby to possess a Railway Servants' Orphanage by publicly washing its hands of any connection with the Amalgamated Society (as it had long before ignored its suggestions and depreciated its help)..... There is ample scope for both institutions. The difference between them is that ours leans on self-help for its main support; Derby, on charity. Ours diffuses the help in the children's home, helping each other alike; Derby bestows all its help on one child separating it from the family. The help from our fund reaches every family of orphans of members who subscribe;\textsuperscript{62}

The severance of the Railway Servants' Orphanage from the A.S.R.S. must be seen as part of the turbulent internal struggle within the union during its early years. Principally this was between the London based executive committee and the semi-autonomous federation of regional branches. The ambitious Bassett Vincent was engaged in a power struggle with the 'Metropolitan Committee'.\textsuperscript{63} The form of welfare preferred by the London committee was that typically associated with the new craft unions and was quite in accordance with their form of centralized control under the auspices of a London based committee, characteristics exemplified in the 'Amalgamated' unions. In opposing the Derby orphanage, the Metropolitan committee opposed Bassett Vincent- its full-time travelling representative- and in doing so sought removal from the patronage that he represented as righthand man to Michael Bass. It is
not without significance that the A.S.R.S. circular articulated the
difference between themselves and the Derby Orphanage as that between
self-help and charity.

**Localism and Collective Action.**

Until the formation of the A.S.R.S. there was no formal union for
railwaymen. According to Kingsford, the relative peacefulness of labour
relations on the railways up to the 1870s may be largely attributed to
economic factors, security of employment and an expanding industry which
led to early promotion. Railway companies endeavoured to maintain the
myth of the individual labour contract well into the 1880s, by awarding
wage advances to each person individually. M.R. Committee minutes still
record individual wage advances at a time when the company had 40,000
employees. From 1858 the railway employers grouped together within an
employers' association firstly designated the Railway Companies'
Association and later reconstituted as the United Railway Companies'
Committee. This organization, generally made up of director M.P.'s,
was designed to monitor parliamentary legislation, though co-operation
between railway companies at board level had the effect of co-ordinating
labour policy, regulating wages and blacklisting 'known troublemakers'.
Where the men were concerned, the structural importance of railways to
national economic strength and social integration was used by the
employers as a powerful argument against union organization. This was
crystallized in the concept of railwaymen as a service class with a
responsibility to the public in their care. Bagwell quotes one General
Manager, who claimed during the 1870s:

> There is no doubt that the most serious effect of the
recognition of the trades' unions from the point of view of the
railway companies would be the lowering of the standard of
discipline throughout the railway service. Without a high
standard of discipline the safe working of the line would be
jeopardized.

Railway companies were reluctant to recognize the unions which developed
within the industry from the late 1860s, and as a group they
successfully avoided recognizing the railway unions until the widespread
industrial unrest of 1911. As late as 1893 Mr. G. Findlay of the L.N.W.R. articulated managements' attitude to organized labour in an emphatic formulation of this opinion '... that you might as well have trades unionism in Her Majesty's Army as to have it in the railway service. The thing is totally incompatible'.

Apart from the economic terms of railway service discussed by Kingsford and Bagwell, a number of factors hindered successful collective action within the railway industry which are closely related to its spatial and organizational structure. Because railway work encompassed many different types of employment owing allegiance to many different trades, very particular circumstances were required to generate a common cause. Moreover, because railway companies were spatially extended industrial organizations which formed integrated networks of multi-regional extent, strikes required a sophisticated level of organization if they were to be effective. On the network of a major trunk railway such as the M.R., industrial action needed to be nationally co-ordinated to have any local success. The difficulties surrounding collective action are reflected in the low figures for union membership within the industry. Though there were officially no railway unions until 1871, attempts were made to establish unions on a craft basis through thinly disguised friendly societies. Yet even after the establishment of official trades unions with the A.S.R.S. in 1871 fewer than one in twenty railwaymen were in a union by 1880. Compared with other industries transport as a whole was poorly represented in trades unions; in 1888 only 8 percent of transport workers were unionized compared with 25 percent in metal trades, 20 percent in mining and 16 percent in textiles. Even by 1910 less than one railwayman in three belonged to a union.

Though railwaymen did not suffer as directly as others from a deterioration in trade, railway work was prone to intensification and reduction in wage rates at times of recession, and most strikes within the industry can be traced to this as a source of discontent. There were few strikes on British railway companies in the period up to the formation of the A.S.R.S.- Kingsford traced just eleven in the period 1836-70. The number of strikes were unevenly distributed between the British railway companies, largely reflecting periods of financial
stringency within individual companies, leading to cost-cutting in the form of wage cuts and an intensification of the work load. During this period there were three strikes on the M.R. and they aptly represent this genre. The first industrial unrest affecting Derby railwaymen, involved enginemen working for the N.M.R. in 1843 and resulted from the financial crisis which beset the three companies terminating at Derby prior to amalgamation (see chapter 2). This strike illustrates both the form of work intensification typical of company assaults on the working conditions of train crews and the weak bargaining position of the elite body of engine drivers even during the early years when this group were at a premium. As part of economies to reduce locomotive department expenses staff numbers were reduced and several stations closed. However, the primary means of generating savings was by an increase in work load for train crews. This constitutes an early example of an attempt to impose the 'trip' system, a form of work intensification involving the redefinition of a day's work in spatial rather than temporal terms. It was a system against which railwaymen had to fight on a number of occasions throughout the century. In this case a day's work was defined as a journey the whole length of the line from Derby to Leeds of 146 miles or its equivalent in local working, with no limitation to hours until this distance had been completed. Details of the protest are sketchy but it appears that it involved the withdrawal of labour. At a board meeting on January 3rd, 1843, the directors considered a letter from the engine drivers and firemen offering to resume work 'on the old terms'. The lack of power which the train crews based at Derby and Leeds were able to exert is clear. It made itself apparent after a fatal accident on the line, involving a driver brought in from one of Geo.Hudson's other railway companies, had led to questions of safety on the railway. In a letter to the Board of Trade the M.R. directors endorsed the new men; 'fully competent to work the Line with safety and regularity' and the Board of Trade expressed their satisfaction with this affirmation. Several other strikes, all involving traffic staff, took place in the following decades and lack of success may be attributed both to the lack of concerted action and vulnerability to substitution. In March 1854 M.R. porters and pointmen at Sheffield, Masborough and Derby did successfully resist the
attempt of management to pay them once a fortnight instead of weekly. During the strike the men canvassed support for their action in Derby, the public subscribing 'a considerable amount of money to their cause'. It may be because of their ability to rouse support outside the industry on this occasion that this grade of railway workers, highly vulnerable to replacement, were able to gain a victory.

The lack of successful strike action on the M.R. in the period 1839-70 illustrates the difficulty in executing industrial action in an industry where there was no single way of demarcating skill levels. Outside the railway industry, successful trade union activity was almost totally based on craft organization. Industrial strength relied on the ability of trades to resist changes in the construction of skill levels, particularly through the control of entry qualifications. The ability to monitor and restrict the numbers in any particular trade helped control the labour supply, hold up wage rates and give the trades union some bargaining power. Because railway work involved new occupations with no or little precedent in previous industries, there was no established craft guild tradition with formal rules of apprenticeship which could help delimit different grades within the industry. The direct routes to promotion, one of the principal attributes of railway work, meant that though the skill factor was very real and the differences in skill levels between a driver and an engine cleaner, or a passenger guard and a goods porter were marked, the actual cut-off point at which an engine cleaner became a fireman and a fireman a driver were social constructions which were discretionary. What passed for apprenticeship in the traffic grades may be described as on the job learning by example, supplemented by company-organized 'examinations' after which passage to the higher grade was at the volition of the company. The lack of absolute or clear demarcations between grades made traffic grades most vulnerable to dilution, as well as to substitution by men from outside the company, or the industry. Workshop grades occupied a somewhat stronger position. In the Locomotive Works, for example, men had recourse to craft-based definitions of skill through apprenticeship in engineering, boiler-making or iron-puddling for instance. Such skilled craftsmen were not organized through the railway unions but through their own craft-based associations, the Amalgamated...
Society of Engineers, the archetypal new model artisan union of the labour aristocracy, and the Steam Engine and Boiler Makers' Society. Both were well represented in Derby and amongst its railway workforce by the 1870's, though membership would have involved a small proportion of workshop staff even amongst those eligible to join. In Crewe, for example, 19.8 percent of workshop staff were unionised in 1870 and 34.3 percent in 1890. However, with a complex mix of piece work, mechanised production and single article hand production in the workshops, many men were engaged on semi-skilled machining work which lay outside the sphere of craft unionism. The new highly automated Carriage and Wagon works had particularly large numbers of semi-skilled workmen, categories which remained outside the confines of any form of organization until the 1890s.

There is little evidence of industrial unrest within the Derby workshops during the nineteenth century. With one notable exception there were no strikes and few memorials from the shops appertaining to wages and conditions. The craft unions appear to have had little success in resisting the dilution of skill through automation, or intensification by the regulation of machine speeds and piece rates. Partly, this may have been because railway workshop production was relatively unmechanized throughout the century compared with such hotbeds of both unionism and mechanization in engineering as Platts in Oldham. Not until the introduction of turret lathes in the early years of the twentieth century did the position of skilled craftsmen come seriously under threat. At Derby the status of craftsmen was undermined one Easter holiday at the turn of the century, when the General Superintendent organized a gang of labourers to clear out the benches in the erecting shop and lay the tools out at the end of the shop, classified and put into the stores. Possession of his own tools was the hallmark of the time served craftsman and the seizure of these by the company indicate the new attitude to workshop organization. This argument cannot stand for the C.& W. works which was highly mechanized, the fact that this group of workers comprised a body of heterogenous migrants when the works was established in the late 1870's may have made this group difficult to organize.
The notable exception where workshop staff played a leading role in collective action was on the matter of the nine hours movement of the late sixties and early seventies. In this movement Derby workshop staff pioneered action which involved not only other trades in the town but also railway workers in other companies and formed part of a national chain of action. Strike activity began on the North Eastern Railway in 1867 when on March 23rd men gave a month's notice in pursuit of a 10 hour day. The strike was held under the auspices of the Engine Drivers and Firemen's United Friendly Society. A delegate meeting was held in Derby at which over 1,000 men were present, which came out in favour of calling a general strike. The radical atmosphere in Derby came in the wake of a series of strikes in a variety of trades in the town dating over several years. This was coupled with meetings which pledged strong support for the lockout in the Sheffield file trade; these included one addressed by Geo Potter, the aggressively radical, then editor of the 'Beehive'. In contrast to the radical atmosphere in Derby a meeting at Leeds on the evening of the Derby one was opposed to extending the strike on the N.E. and this ended with no more than 25 of the 1,050 who came out being reinstated. Four years later in 1871, the radical attitude of railwaymen in Derby again precipitated widespread action, when they were again asked to support men from the north east, as part of the agitation by engineers and shipwrights in respect of the nine hour day. At a meeting on July 5th in the Temperance Hall Derby, at which Potter spoke, material support was pledged for the strikers. As a result of what can only be described as a heightened political consciousness, M.R. workers held a meeting on October 1st. and a petition signed by hundreds of men was delivered to the directors in favour of a nine hour working day. It is probable that Bass's sympathy for a reduction in working hours and his recently instigated national campaign on behalf of railwaymen provided an influential confidence boost and helped to precipitate action by the Derby men. The Mercury reports that the directors refused to receive the petition because the meeting was held outside the company's premises and informed the deputation that 'if any questions arose between them and their workforce, they must be discussed and settled on the company's own ground'. This move was indicative of the M.R.'s continued attempts to
contain labour relations under their direct control, beyond the influence of any form of outside combination. Yet the whole protest movement was directed by Derby workmen outside formal union supervision. Like the protest in the North-East which initiated the Derby action, it constituted a form of 'grass-roots' protest, which was integrated into a regional and national dynamic by the agitation of nationally active propagandists and its easy coalescence with the framework of a political movement generated in a different sphere by Bass and others. Half-an hour after their interview with the management a meeting of the workmen was convened in front of the large mess room, the location for party political meetings, 'and the same petition previously adopted was carried by the 2,000 men assembled'. Faced with such a mass protest involving 2,000 out of the 2,200 workmen in the shops, the directors acceded to the demand.

On the Saturday after the accession of the men's petition, a 'grand demonstration' was organized to 'signalize the promised concession of their employers'. About two o'clock the 2,200 men from the workshops moved off from their assembly point in the Morledge accompanied by five bands and two giant clocks, one with hands pointing to six and the other to five o'clock. The complement of banners demonstrated the mixture of class consciousness and paternal deference which marked the occasion; these included 'Success to the Nine Hours Movement', 'United we stand divided we fall', the quite radical banners, 'Unity is strength', 'Eight Hours for Women' and 'Honour to Labour' as well as the more reactionary 'Success to the trades of Derby' and 'Capital and Labour United'. The procession moved through the centre of Litchurch to the house of the Locomotive Superintendent, Matthew Kirtly, where a committee read him an address. As a result of the precedent set by the M.R. shops, not only did most of the iron foundries in Derby adopt the nine hours' system, but it precipitated similar petitions and subsequent adoption of nine hours working at the railway workshops in Crewe and Doncaster. The momentum generating collective action was not dispelled by the apparent show of deference manifest in the rally of workshop staff at Derby. Because the directors wanted the men to finish at 5.30 instead of 5 o'clock as the men had requested in their petition, nearly 2,000 workshop men walked out on strike at 4.30 on Tuesday 19th. of
December. The strike lasted into early January and failed to alter the working hours set by the management. In consequence, the men went back piecemeal and the strike leaders were not reinstated. At a meeting of 1,500 workshop staff in the Temperance Hall, the question of the sacked men was raised. In a mood of despondent but hard line resolution, strike action in their favour was ruled out, though 'organization' was called for. A fund to support the dismissed men was launched. Significantly the meeting, under the chairmanship of Mr. Wheldon, Liberal Mayor and chairman of the Derby Railway Orphanage Committee, was concluded by a move which suggested the recognition of shared interests between railway workshop staff and other Derby trades and pointed to intensified support for the Derby Trades Council founded in 1865. This organization was later dominated by railway workshop groups and played an influential role in directing Derby politics at both a local and national level:

under the present circumstances they were disorganised, and if they wished to strike they had not funds to carry on a strike, but would have to be dependent on charity for support. It was then resolved to form an association including all the labourers and trades in Derby. It was also resolved that communications should be made with men in each workshop with a view to a representative meeting being held for the purpose of electing a committee.

This strike illustrates the extent to which contemporary unionism was unable or unwilling to gain membership and organize the workshop grades within the railway industry at this time. It is interesting that membership of craft unions within the shops numbered no more than 170 people, yet it was possible, given a sufficiently emotive cause, to mobilize almost the entire workforce. It is a point of some note that when the General Railway Workers Union, a new all-grade union formed in 1887, held a recruiting drive in Derby in 1891, the object of its attentions were the semi-skilled workshop hands, the sawyers and machinists. Given the lack of involvement by the craft unions, it may be argued that the workshop strike of 1871 did much more to promote the cause of collaboration within the Trades of Derby town than it did to
encourage unified action by the various grades employed in the railway industry.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an upsurge in the amount of labour action on the railways; this was evident in the rise in the number and numerical strength of the railway unions. On the M.R. there was a great increase in the number of petitions, deputations and memorials and the period was punctuated by several major strikes. These involved only traffic grades, though the legacy of the workshop strike of 1871 was not insignificant. These both demonstrate the difficulties of pursuing a successful protest which required co-ordination of striking groups at a number of locations and reveal the tensions between regional and national organization within the railway union, the A.S.R.S., which was a major barrier to successful industrial action. In 1878-79 the railway companies generally experienced a reduction in receipts and the companies reacted by reducing wages. On the M.R. the reductions affected more grades than on other systems. In 1876 M.R. guards had been the butt of an M.R. economy drive, at that time 800 of the guards had gone out on strike but the failure of the A.S.R.S. to support the strike had led to its defeat. In 1879, the union was converted to a more radical stance in defence of the guards by the refusal of the Midland Board to refer the matter to arbitration or to acknowledge the existence of the A.S.R.S. However, because the strike only involved Goods Guards and the response of various depots around the network depended on the amount and type of goods traffic in the locality, the strike ended in disarray after seventeen days. One consequence was the foundation of a strike protection fund.

The control of funds was a central issue for trades unionists during the second half of the nineteenth century. The new craft-based unions who were noted for their resistance to industrial action did so for financial as well as political reasons. Unions such as the A.S.E. had friendly society activity and therefore industrial action could threaten funds set aside for welfare purposes. It was believed industrial action in poorly subscribed districts could soon lead to money being siphoned off from the more wealthy districts. For branches used to managing their own funds and exercising respectable sound stewardship, the prospect of nationally-based strike funds and the lack of immediate and personal...
accountability for the use of locally gathered money was an anathema. The power struggle in the early years of the A.S.R.S. was very much couched in terms of the control of union funds, their caution over the Derby orphanage was partly because they feared it would drain resources. The circular quoted above concludes; 'Our fund will not entail 5 percent of its income on management, leaving 95 per cent for the orphans.' In 1872 the A.S.R.S. had 17,247 members yet by 1882 it could claim only 6,000 although this was the low point of membership. Bagwell says:

A large part of the explanation of the decline in membership lies in the provincial members' continued distrust of the Londoners and their reluctance to make available to the full time officers adequate funds for the efficient management of the union.

Localism was a potent constraint on the organization of railway unions. However, sectionalism, the inability of individual grades within the industry to act together, was also a primary factor in dissipating the effectiveness of industrial action. Frustration with the powerlessness of the A.S.R.S. in the face of concerted action by railway companies, provided an upsurge of sectional interest within the industry and led to the break away from the union of men in the senior traffic grade, the loco drivers and firemen, in the belief that only the protectionist policies of craft organization, could result in successful action. In 1879 the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (A.S.L.E.F.) was formed on the grounds that the A.S.R.S. was 'not defensive enough'. Though ostensibly an all grades union the reality of district organization had sometimes fallen short of this ideal. Such branches formed the power base from which A.S.L.E.F. was launched. Craft elitism was structurally intrinsic to railway work, and it is clear from delegate meetings of the union several years before the break that the union could not dissipate evident inter-grade antagonisms. In October 1877 it had been decided not to compel all branches to conform to the 'all grades pattern'.

If the guards' strike of 1879 had brought the inadequacies of district organization into prominence, then the strike of footplate crews on the M.R. in 1887 reveals the continued dominance of local labour practices over national union organization long after the
latter's establishment. It illustrates the difficulty of maintaining a strike even within an elite group, the effective use by the Company of the geography of the system and the dilution of 'skilled' grades through a company-determined definition of skill. On August 5th, 1887, nearly 3,000 drivers and firemen on the M.R. came out on strike, when, after being guaranteed payment for a six-day working week, the company decided that 'men will not be entitled to a full week's pay unless it is actually earned'. The emotive question was deemed by the men as an insult to their honesty and integrity, 'as a slur upon themselves'. The Mercury reported:

The Company under the old system say that they occasionally had difficulty getting the men on duty, the latter knowing their week’s pay was guaranteed and that this had led to a bad and unfair distribution of labour.\(^\text{124}\)

The regional strength of various unions was important to the pattern of industrial action on the railways. On the M.R. the principal union was the A.S.R.S. With only 7-8,000 members nationally the A.S.R.S. had only about 111 members out of the entire workforce in Derby at a high point in membership during 1875, and one may assume that membership at Derby was little different to this in 1887.\(^\text{126}\) The strike involved about 240 footplate men in Derby alone and the vast majority of these would not have been in a union, though the union did however generally endorse the action. The M.R. drivers' strike involved only 600 members of the A.S.R.S. throughout the M.R. system and was an unofficial action taken by the men independent of union co-ordination. It remained under the control of a Central Committee of M.R. workers based in Derby throughout the duration of the strike. Outside Derby the chief centres were in the mineral districts of the north and Midlands—Sheffield, Bolton and Nottingham, for example.\(^\text{126}\) After enduring ten days, the strike had ended by the 16th of August; a number of reasons may have contributed to its demise. Though the vast majority of goods drivers and firemen had withdrawn their labour it did not prove possible to gain support from higher-status passenger train crews who were unaffected by the new regulation. The guards had similarly been unable to mobilize support amongst this high status group in 1879.\(^\text{127}\) This obviously diminished the effect of the strike, as did the company's decision to bring in 558...
drivers from other systems; some were even members of the A.S.R.S. The shortfall between the 3,000 who were on strike and the men brought in from other companies, was made good by the early promotion of cleaners and firemen and then recruiting at the unskilled junior level. Nevertheless, at the close of the strike the footplatemen's committee believed that the M.R. still had a shortfall of 800 men and that the great accumulation of goods traffic on the system would soon block the system. However, they believed that the company was 'moving men about to different centres day to day' in order to keep traffic moving at the various places most affected. Coupled with the fact that a number of key locations outside the districts generating large volumes of mineral traffic—such as St. Pancras, Birmingham, Peterborough, Leicester and Gloucester—did not join the strike or soon returned to work, the action soon became unsustainable. In the end a large number, possibly as many as 723 men, including 183 members of the A.S.R.S., were not taken back by the M.R.

Organized from Derby, the strike had major impact on the town. Early in the strike, protest was taken on to the streets and afterwards there were a number of cases claiming violence and intimidation against non strikers brought against M.R. workmen, their wives and families. The generally tense atmosphere was described in the Mercury:

Groups of people were to be seen about the streets of Litchurch, where many of the men reside, anxiously discussing the question which was in everyone's mind. And towards midnight a large crowd gathered in Midland road close to the station. Access to the platform was barred to all except those having business there, but still the station had a very unusual appearance for that hour of night, a great many official and others being on duty.

After the strike's failure, the cause of the footplatemen still generated much emotion. At a meeting on open ground in the centre of the town, close to the Market Hall nearly 3,000 strikers and their sympathizers were present. Significantly, the meeting was presided over by the manager of the Derby Co-operative Society, Robert Hilliard one of the foremen involved in gaining victory for the workshop staff in the nine hours agitation of 1871-2. Like the goods guards strike of 1879
this protest was seen as part of a 'tradition' which linked back to this former victory and was woven into the mistrust which some men still felt for the centralized A.S.R.S. Evidence of this may be found in the differing attitudes of various districts of the A.S.R.S. towards the Derby Railway Servants' Orphanage. Long after the union had broken with the orphanage, it had admitted that the membership were split in their affections for the two systems of welfare and that there remained considerable support for Derby Institution. Railwaymen in Derby and some other locations continued to raise funds and support the orphanage throughout the century. The 'unofficial' strike of 1887 may be part of continued pattern of grass-roots independence from the centralized control of the London-based unions which was coupled with the latent ability to organize labour action present within Derby from 1871. This potential for collective mobilization arguably found an alternative form of locally based institutional expression within the Co-operative movement and the Trades Council.

The labour movement in Derby was deeply grounded in the local social relations and in the capacity of various groups of workers to pursue different forms of practical politics. If anything the evidence of working-class organization and industrial action in Derby suggests the peripherality of official trades unionism. The Trades Council and the Co-operative movement were dominated by railway workers, particularly workshop staff. This must partly result from the financial and residential stability of workshop staff, partly also from strong Wesleyan and liberal independence within the workforce. Through these two sets of local organization, the railway workforce, in other respects quite distinct, were instrumental in forging links of common interest with other working-class groups in Derby. In 1897 and 1898 the Trades Council organized aid for distressed groups in the textile and iron trades. Whilst in 1899, the Derby Trades Council adopted Richard Bell as its Parliamentary candidate, indicating a certain consciousness of wider political aspirations however defensive these might be, as they did this even before the formation of the Labour Representation Committee instigated to promote the return of working-class members to the House.
Bell, the General Secretary of the A.S.R.S. was a principal actor in the Taff Vale Railway dispute of 1900 and was elected as M.P. for Derby in the same year. He was elected alongside the Liberal, Sir Thomas Roe, who had taken over Bass's seat when Bass had retired in 1883, and who was also closely connected with the railway district of Litchurch though not the M.R. Company. It was only with the co-operation of Derby Liberals that Bell won the seat. Bell's Liberal sympathies were always close to the surface and he freely deferred to Derby's senior member in Parliament. In this attitude he was little different from many of the first generation of Labour M.P.'s. For them it was the most natural thing in the world to fight elections in alliance with candidates standing as Liberals; who were, 'in the years before the First World War, uncommitted, not merely to Socialism, but to any programme whatsoever'.

The relationship between the liberal-radical political tradition of Derby, the development of working-class organizations and the labour movement is complex, with no clear division between either the intellectual or material basis of their support. Even though the national A.S.R.S. had endeavoured to break free of the patronage of Derby's Liberal-radicals in the late 70's they were forced to recombine forces in order to gain parliamentary representation in 1900. Whilst the third element in their election pact were the Trades Council and the Co-operative Society, the local institutions of working-class politics which had formed something of an alternative to nationally based unionism.

Just as the local loyalties which split railwaymen and created barriers to collective action were by 1900 instrumental in placing a railwayman in Parliament so, the geographical factors which inhibited the capacity to pursue industrial action by the railway traffic grades were later to constitute their guarantee of industrial strength. The first all-grades agitation was held in 1897, in 1913 the A.S.R.S. and the G.R.W.U. amalgamated with the United Pointsmen and Signalmen's Society to form the National Union of Railwaymen. In 1914 the railwaymen, miners and transport workers came together in an organization which would, according to Pelling, 'threaten the employers and the Government with a disruption of the economic life of the country
on an unprecedented scale'. The 'Triple Alliance' set out to exploit
the structural necessity of the basic and transport industries to
national integrity and security. This was the very notion which in
the metaphorical guise of the 'Railway Army'—with its overtones of
service and duty—had held railwaymen in a web of deference.
Notes.


4. P. Cooke, 'Class Practices as Regional Markers: A contribution to Labour Geography', in D. Gregory and J. Urry, eds. Social Relations and Spatial Structures (London, 1985) p. 213. M. Savage, 'The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics, The Labour Movement in Preston, 1880-1940.' (Cambridge, 1987) verbalises the problem succinctly. 'The working-class recognises the existence of power-based divisions in society; yet is driven by this belief not into revolutionary politics, but into defensive struggles to gain what can be achieved within the existing system. The problem raised is that a certain set of beliefs appears able to generate different forms of political practice: revolutionary movements in some cases, social democratic politics in others, or simple apathy and hopelessness in others'. p. 4.

A useful recent overview of recent material relating to the development of local political practices in nineteenth-century Britain is N. Thrift, 'The geography of nineteenth-century class formation', in N. Thrift and P. Williams eds. Class and Space: the making of urban society (London, 1987).


6. Ibid. p. 222.


In many respects these works represent prime examples of the post
Bravermanian concentration on control at the workplace which interprets labour relations on the basis of formal control of production to the exclusion of all other aspects of workplace social relationships; see chapter 4.


12. D. M. Smith (1962), *op.cit.* p. 28 Between 1862 and 1890 the number of silk factories in Derbyshire fell from 42 to 14 and numbers employed from 4,732 to 1,664. Against the general tide of economic prosperity and worker quiescence, there were four strikes in the Derby ribbon and web weaving trades between 1850 and 1872; the strike of 1851 lasted nearly twelve months.


Notes to Chapter 8

28. Ibid. p.29.
29. Ibid. p.37.
30. Ibid. p.46.
31. See chapter 2 for discussion of rules and regulations of which this was a part and chapter 6 for the way this related to the conduct of other business, the keeping of small shops etc.
33. Ibid. pp.257-258.
34. Derby Borough Rate Books - Litchurch 1880.
36. See chapter 7.
38. Ibid. 25th. May 1892.
39. Ibid. 10th. May 1893.
42. Ibid. 7th. May 1884.
43. Derby and Chesterfield Reporter 29th. September 1848.
44. Ibid. 11th. October 1850.
47. Ibid. 11th. May 1848.
49. Derby Mercury 14th. October 1868.
51. Ibid. 9th. August 1868.
54. Ibid. 11th. February 1874.
64. Derby Mercury 4th. October 1871.
72. Derby Mercury 9th. February 1876.
76. Board of Directors Minutes 1623.
77. Derby Mercury 7th. March 1877.
79. Derby Mercury 16th. May 1877 and 7th. March 1877. In spite of the fact the orphanage had been justified in Derby as a means of reducing the burden the workhouse, the place of origin of children in the orphanage suggests only a little bias in favour of local families. Of the 34 children in 1877, only 5 came from M.R. families and just 3 from Derby. The greatest number originated with the G.W.R. and L.N.W.R. in Manchester and London totalling 17 in all. *Ibid.* 8th. March 1877.
Notes to Chapter 8

82. G.W.Alcock, op.cit. p.162.
83. Ibid. chapter V. Alcock portrays the official union line whilst Bassett Vincent's side of the story is represented by C.Bassett Vincent, An Authentic History of Railway Trade Unions. (Derby, 1902) and 'Reminiscences of Railway Life and Work', Alfreton and Belper Journal (1895) April 11th. to May 10th.
86. P.Bagwell (1963) op.cit. p.96.
88. P.Bagwell (1963) op.cit. p.96.
89. P.W.Kingsford (1959) op.cit. p.79.
91. Ibid. p.303.
94. Ibid. p.181.
95. Ibid. p.185.
96. Derby Mercury 28th. December 1849 During this strike Guards and Drivers successfully resisted attempts to intensify their work load and dilute the grade, the Porters however went back at the reduced rate of 10s. as the directors were rapidly filling in this grade 'with cheap redundant agricultural labour'.
101. See chapter 4 for discussion of work techniques in the workshops and chapter 6 for consideration of those described in the Census as 'Railway Labourers'.


105. The differential ability of workshop and traffic grades to defend their workplace position may be seen from the experience of the U.S.A. in S. Stromquist, 'Enginemen and Shopmen: Technological Change and the Organization of Labour in an Era of Railroad Expansion', Labour History (1983), no.24.


111. Derby Mercury 8th. November 1871. The address began as follows:-

Sir- We the employees of the Midland Railway Company, desire to express our deep gratitude to you for the greatest and unvarying kindness and consideration which you have ever displayed in all various grades of men serving under you; kindness manifest not in isolated and remote instances, but uniformly and without intermission.

112. P. Bagwell (1963) op.cit. p.52.


114. Ibid. 10th. January 1872.


116. Ibid. 30th. September 1891.


118. Ibid. p.81. and Board of Directors Minutes 1911. 14/1/79.


120. Ibid. p.162.

121. P. Bagwell (1963) op.cit. p.70. Bagwell suggests 'The great drawback of such decentralization was that it left the central office starved of funds and impotent to come to the assistance of districts with poor
membership figures and poor resources... Weak districts were likely to become even weaker unless they were given a helping hand from outside to put them on their feet. Furthermore, members of the union were likely to be at the mercy of the companies so long as central funds of the union were too weak to pay compensation to those victimized, or to support a strike. *Ibid.* p.73.


125. G.W.Alcock *op.cit.* Appendix.


127. Derby Mercury 10th. August 1887. said 'The truth was that the goods drivers and firemen had struck pretty generally, but that the passenger men, with perhaps a few exceptions, remained on duty. It may be that the men were influenced by the message from the committee that they were to finish their trips, not intending to return, but it was more probable that they were not inclined to turn out, as the new regulation, really affected them but very little'.


132. J.Hinton, 'The Rise of a Mass Labour Movement: Growth and Limits', in C.J.Wrigley, ed. *op.cit.* says 'Membership of the co-operative movement grew, in line with the unions, from about 600,000 in 1880 to over three millions by 1914. Trades Councils, previously confined mainly to the larger industrial towns, spread rapidly over the whole country, reflecting a growing identification among working-class activists with a national movement, broader and more political than mere sectional trade unionism'. p.20.


135. In a speech he made in Derby in 1903 Bell articulated his Liberal sympathies; 'I was born into Toryism and was taught to pay homage to parson and squire, but when I read Mr. Chamberlain's speeches I refused to obey my father and became a follower of the man who taught me to be a radical and to put my trust in Trades Unions and Free Trade'. Derby and Chesterfield Recorder 1st. June 1903, see J. Bonsall *op. cit.* p. 43.


137. For the intellectual links between the two see T. Tholfsen *op. cit.*


139. P. Bagwell, 'The Triple Industrial Alliance, 1913-1922', in A. Briggs and J. Saville, *eds. Essays in Labour History 1886-1923* (London, 1971) vol. 2. says that the Alliance failed for exactly the same reasons of sectionalism and trade interest it was set up to overcome.
Conclusion.

This chapter will first summarize some of the primary conclusions from preceding chapters in a series of short paragraphs, taking these into account; it will then return to the discussion of community and company loyalty set out in chapter 5, before briefly examining the relationship between the Midland Railway Company and Derby town.

Before the railways came to Derby the town had a distinct experience of industrialization based on its integrating role as a county town and the dominance of its political structures by an alliance of aristocratic Whigs and Liberal paternalist-manufacturers who treated the town like a factory village.

Because of the corporate and legally bound status of railway companies they were both unwilling and unable to engage in philanthropy. Though initially the N.M.R. reflected early models of factory organization, the later Midland Railway was amongst the least generous of railway companies, gaining a reputation for avarice and aggression as it built a national network.

The problems of temporally and spatially-distanced decision making and the great territorial extent of the individual railway network promoted a complex form of space management, which translated a form of financial triple accounting into traffic and service spheres of operation. This resulted in a devolved form of power by which each employee was vested with the means of his own supervision.

Although workplace loyalty was a very real phenomenon in the railway industry, it was not based on simple paternal ties but may be interpreted as resulting from a complex of ideologically situating systems which result in the railwayman as an independent, respectable citizen.

As a group, railway families inhabited a specific district of Derby; they were predominantly migrant families, son followed father into the industry, intermarriage and family connections were predominantly within the workforce and out of the district into distant kin networks rather than into other occupational groups within the town. A high degree of lodging and boarding amongst the workforce was accommodated almost exclusively within railway households.
Internally coherent, the railway workforce was internally differentiated, in terms of residence, marriage patterns and the impact of the workplace on the home. This both reflects status differentials within the workplace and results from the variable impact of the workplace on home and family life for different grades.

The social institutions based on the railway company illustrate the tensions between vertical integration and horizontal stratification which are intrinsic to the railway corporation and are illustrative of the differences between the culture of the factory and the culture of the corporation, even when they share a similar language and mode of expression.

Outside the specific social institutions based on the company, railwaymen were involved predominantly in churches, social institutions and self-help organizations which were part of distinctly railway orientated social networks.

Though the M.R. was reluctant to engage in the civic theatre of the 'new paternalism', the particular social and economic mix of the Litchurch district resulted in railway workers living within a milieu which fused local philanthropy with corporate detachment.

Because of the particular economic circumstances and residential stability of artisan groups derived from financial security and regularity of employment, particular groups of railwaymen were prime movers in the formation of local institutions of self-help and cooperation.

Trade and political activity demonstrates the influence of local liberal-radical tradition. The difficulty of collective action on the railways is suggested by the need to achieve national co-operation in order to achieve a local agreement with a company operating within a multi-regional network. Even in the workshops which were located in one place the labour force had little leverage because they served an internal market.

The railway-based institutions of self help and the long-standing liberal radical tradition of Derby combined to develop a specifically local form of working class mobilization, giving the railway workforce a basis of strength at the local level, a route to penetrate the national
arena of formal politics, but little leverage within the railway industry itself.

Company Loyalty and Respectability

At the beginning of chapter 6 it was stated that railwaymen were perceived as archetypally 'respectable' people and indeed understood themselves in this way. Evidence from the study of the railway workforce in Litchurch indicates that the notion of respectability was a key element in the delimitation of the railway workforce as an occupational community. Financial security, and career prospects led to domestic stability and household independence from the vagaries of trade and the requirement for female employment. Social networks were centred on the chapel, the Sports Club, the Literary Institute, Temperance Movement, Friendly Societies and the Volunteers. Even the public house, arguably the most important location for male social intercourse and frequently viewed as disreputable, was bound up with 'respectable' institutions, like the friendly societies, trade unions and the Literary Institute. A consideration of the constitution of company loyalty within the M.R. illustrates how the notion of respectability was intimately bound up with the formation of workplace loyalties.

Figure 9.1 illustrates the formation of company loyalty in the railway industry of nineteenth-century Britain derived from the above study of the Midland railway and its workforce. Because of the physical size and organizational complexity of the railway organization it is inappropriate to apply models of company loyalty based on the family firm. If the geography of the railway industry creates a problem in terms of pre-existing formulations of company loyalty, it is possible to argue that the geography of the railway industry is fundamental to the construction of affective ties which bind men to their jobs as railway workers. Following the concept of ideological formation set out by Therborn and described in chapter 5, this may be represented as a complex of ideologically situating systems which work through the routine day to day experience of the physical and organizational space of the railway network, to produce a sense of belonging centred on the
respectable concepts of duty, service, pride and elitism. The diagram has three dimensions:

1. In chapter 3, it was shown how the railways played a vital role in Britain's regional economic and social systems and were therefore perceived as important to the growth and stability of the state. Railwaymen were therefore not only employees of the company but servants in the public interest. The situation of railway workers within the explicit extensions of the state were further emphasized by the legally binding status of the codes of rules and regulations which governed their working lives. So that when railwaymen were addressed by the common metaphor of the 'railway army', the connotations of duty service and obligation were more than merely figurative. This aspect of the formation of workplace loyalty is represented on the left hand side of the diagram.

2. Chapters 3 and 4 showed how the management of the railway company as a 'state in microcosm' resulted in a complex form of space management, a form of devolved authority structure to enable decision-making and information gathering spatially and temporally distanced from the origins of power. This was fundamental to the construction of company loyalty. Firstly: because the corporate structure resulted in clear paths to promotion and the security and possibility of promotion within the railway industry marked this form of employment off as something special in the nineteenth century. The concept of respectability rests on such employment prospects. Whilst through the organizational and physical space of the company, a workman had the opportunity to give meaning to his overall life trajectory by a 'career'. Secondly: the clear demarcation of responsibility by grade strictly outlined the limits of a worker's physical and administrative responsibility, giving the railwayman a heightened sense of individual skill, a distinct sense of his own situation and importance to the efficient functioning of the organization. These two aspects are depicted to the right of the diagram.

3. The particular interlacing of public and private domains within the railway industry also had important implications for the construction of company loyalty. Identification with work and work-centred social networks develop most strongly where circumstances create clear
demarcations between workers and others. There are three aspects to this
Firstly; because restricted entry symbolized by rituals of acceptance,
exams, tests and entry qualifications, produced a sense of belonging to
a chosen few. As set out in chapter 2, the requirement to present a good
public image of safety and security for the investing and travelling
public resulted in a system of entry exams and promotion by 'merit' was
important, creating a sense of belonging to an elite group. Secondly;
because work involves particular and intimate conditions of intercourse
between workers and clients emphasizing the dependent role of the
latter. As shown in chapter 4, there was a complex relationship between
workspace and what constituted public territory; this included both
physical and administrative elements ranging from the concourse of the
station, specified areas of the rolling stock, the shareholders room,
the company accounts and parliamentary committees. All workers from
senior management downwards worked at an interface with the realms of
public circulation. Thirdly; because of the large scale bureaucratic
structure of the railway corporation, formalized and fragmented
relationships within the organization result in individual groups or
departments identifying themselves as special to the functioning of the
whole, resulting in interdepartmental rivalry and competition, (see
chapter 5). This aspect is conveyed by the dimension across the lower
part of the diagram which links public and private domains, the railway
within the state and the railway as a state in microcosm.

Individually, each of the aspects of company loyalty set out above
may be found in many and various forms outside the railway industry,
what is particular to the railways was their specific combination in one
industry. The internal rhetoric of the three dimensions have a
coherence which qualify and reinforce each other to such an extent that
it becomes most difficult to separate them and they fuse into a
pervasive univocal ideology of respectability. Conceived as three
modalities 'of being-in-the-world', this diagram does not represent a
deterministic stimulus-response type model typical of the behavioural
sciences in the 1960s and 70s.' Such 'hyperdermic needle models' portray
company loyalty as the mechanistic implantation of a cocktail of
attitudes and values, a dominant ideology, into the minds of workers. It
is argued here that railwaymen were not the simple dupes of the
capitalist system or automatons slavishly following a set of reified social rules. Rather, that we may more easily understand company loyalty in the railway industry by isolating from the undifferentiated milieux of social life a number of ways by which the railwayman was able to understand himself as an individual within larger social groupings. Though represented here as distinct, it is recognized that these would be experienced as part of an unreflected and partly reflected totality, from which individuals construct themselves as people, through the everyday experience of workplace, family and friends.

Respectability and Community

If it can be established that Derby railwaymen formed an 'occupational community' on the basis of their routine experience of every day life as railwaymen, then it may be argued that the concept of respectability was central to the coherence of the railway community in the routine practices of every day life outside the workplace. Giddens makes an important distinction between 'everyday life' and 'day to day life'. He suggests that everyday life is specific to capitalism, a form of daily routine shorn of the taken-for-granted rules and moral codes which circumscribe the day to day routine of traditional societies. If one accepts this argument then a form of community based on 'everyday life' rather than 'day to day life' must be specific to the development of capitalism and can only be understood as such. In the absence of community founded on unreflected tradition, the concept of respectability may be perceived to occupy a central role in the formation of social routine. For mid-Victorians, respectability was an organizing strategy for daily routine which, as Tholfsen says, worked in the immediate and local spheres of the family, neighbourhood and workplace; 'Civility meant neighbourliness, good fellowship and mutuality amongst equals'. But the organizing framework of respectability also operated in a broader sphere of existence in the life trajectory of the individual; 'rationality, civility, morality, self-respect, responsibility- has to be understood in the context of an aspiration to genuine independence and freedom'. Respectability was a framework via which the individual was able to orient himself to wider
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society through everyday routines and practices - a multi-dimensional process by which individuals both form themselves from the material and social circumstances of their existence and monitor the presentation of themselves to the outside world; producing and reproducing both themselves and the world they occupy in the process. In a community based on respectability as part of the appropriation to the self of the circumstance of everyday life one may detect the foundations on which a modern suburban 'community' is based on the secularized and depersonalized dynamic of consumption, in which people identify with those who present themselves to the world in a similar manner. The importance of respectability to the community of railway workers in Derby may be understood from evidence indicating that railway workers instigated and subsequently associated through the archetypally respectable institutions of religion, self-help and self-improvement with little encouragement from a railway company reluctant to engage in paternalism. As suggested in chapter 5, respectability was open to many, various and sometimes apparently contradictory behaviour patterns. However, the potency of the concept may well result from its adaptability to the aspirations of particular groups. In a community largely built outside the direct control of the workplace, encapsulated in the concepts of individualism and citizenship, the notion of respectability rearticulated social control as self control.

Given the discussion of 'community' in chapter 6 one must enquire in what way and to what extent the railway workforce of Litchurch constituted some form of 'community'? It is evident that railwaymen lived within a distinct area of the town, that they belonged to specifically railway orientated social organizations and that other sections of the town recognized this workforce as a distinctive and somewhat aloof group. Ecological structure is not a sufficient or even a necessary condition for 'community', for the purposes of this study it is preferred that two conditions are of fundamental importance. These are, firstly, the experience of others in a multiplicity of roles and situations, though this does not imply that individuals interact with each other as 'whole people' in every situation. Secondly, a sense of belonging, a consciousness of collectivity, though this does not imply that this is continuous, or that the emotive content of an individual's
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sense of belonging, or their motivation, are either uniform or even similar. Certainly, railwaymen interacted in a number of free-time social institutions which transposed workplace relationships into non-work activities. These ranged from formal organizations such as churches and chapels, temperance society, friendly societies and sports clubs, to informal gatherings in pubs and 'at homes' derived from church membership. A number of factors suggest that the experience of colleagues and their families in a multiplicity of roles was a 'real' phenomenon. As Cohen says, nicknames, stories and gossip are important ways of maintaining a representation of the 'whole person', of conveying aspects of individual character outside the circumstances of their production into other regions of life. Not only do such stories help fellow workers to remember that their boss is dominated by his wife or that a workmate was a good footballer, but they also project these images outside the inevitably restricted realms of personal knowledge to create three dimensional pictures of those known only partially. In a large workforce like that of the M.R. there was a widespread resort to such 'folk tales' of which only a tiny fraction remain and of these only a small proportion can be referred to in a thesis like this. It may be argued that consciously, or unconsciously, such tales worked to maintain and create an imaginative construction of multi-dimensionality in a workforce which became too large to enable any individual to know more than a small percentage of railway workers as workmates, social companions and neighbours or family. The inclusive nature of railway work was also important here, the way in which the temporal rhythms of the working week for traffic staff and the career of the artisan and clerk impinged on the functioning of the household, coupled with a high degree of intermarriage and of lodging within railway households, constantly brought the circumstances of work into the interstices of domestic routine. One must not forget either, that the very concept of company loyalty through respectability, was all embracing, forging powerful links between conduct within and without the workplace.

If railwaymen were aware of themselves as railwaymen and of loyalty to a particular railway company, then the phenomenon of local identification may appear more problematic. The M.R. did little to create a local identity, yet the workers invested the locality with a
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railway based culture which cannot be explained solely in terms of residential concentration. The role of local paternalist capitalists must have been important in creating the generalized milieux of social harmony which enabled the heterogeneous migrant railway workforce to develop a form of local identification which keyed into and complemented a company loyalty otherwise devoid of place specificity. It is arguable that the familiar language of paternalism generated as part of local social relations helped to mediate the unfamiliar experience of the corporation for railway workers moving to Derby. The enduring potential for locally produced political and trade activity centred on Derby, made possible through the powerbase of local co-operative and self-help organizations and the patronage of local Liberal-radicals is evidence for this. One may even suggest that at particular moments, for example, the workshop strike of 1871 and the loco drivers' strike of 1886, the strength of local solidarity became not so much a complement but an alternative to company identification. Rather than providing a greater penetration of economic and social circumstances working-class co-operation remade ties to locality unnecessary to a new corporate culture.

As it is possible to argue that the railway workforce exhibited the characteristics of 'community' as outlined above, one must ask by what means this 'community' was produced and maintained? The origin of some of the most important social institutions within the railway community, were in social practices brought from the north east. The London Rd.Wesleyan Chapel, the Literary Institute and several friendly societies were instigated by migrants and may be described as providing a form of protective sub-culture within an alien and antagonistic local society. These particular institutions were the foundation on which later social interaction within the workforce was built. However, these institutions certainly changed their role within the community over the period of the study, though they may have remained little changed formally. The Literary Institute founded by a group of artisans as part of an evangelical ethos of self-help bears little relation to the Literary Institute in the 1880's as the enclave of white-collar self-indulgence. Whilst there was no capital-owning managerial class within the M.R. to act as community leaders, it is evident that a number of
artisan and clerical workers were central to the promotion and maintenance of company based social life. Though there is little evidence to suggest that the upper working-class and middle-class workers played any part in local politics, it is notable that this group of salaried employees adopted the role which otherwise would have been taken by employers and capitalists. The permanence of a number of these people resident in Derby over a long period of time as they worked their way through the hierarchy of headquarters was most important. This gave a degree of temporal continuity to the functioning of social organizations within a workforce which would otherwise have been lacking. It must be remembered however, that the social practices encouraged and instituted by artisan and clerical grades indicate the very different conceptions of 'respectability' which informed the daily routines of these groups. If as the anthropologist Michael Sallanow argues community-'a cluster of symbolic map references' is the hallmark of 'pilgrimage' rather than 'communitas' -'shared aims and aspirations' then 'respectability' arguably constitutes the poly-valent 'cluster of map references' by which railwaymen negotiate the career structure of the railway corporation. For the young clerk lodging in a household with others of similar age and occupation away from parental supervision, preoccupied with 'pranks and jests', fashionable clothes and exploring a new and unfamiliar locality, respectability lay both in an affected sophistication and the future prospect of power and responsibility. For the senior administrator commuting between public accountability and a comfortably-walled private-domesticity, respectability was protection against the threatening masses and a burden of office. For the artisan arriving in Derby to become a respected pillar of chapel, friendly society and co-operation, respectability gave local status in the help of those less fortunate and constituted a means of personal self-improvement. For the porter-guard meeting his comrades in a tavern near the Morledge, respectability was a regular copper in his pocket and a few stories of distant places. For all workers Company loyalty and an occupational community founded on respectability balanced life trajectories mediating a multiplicity of life experiences and expectations.
With reference to the great tension between horizontal stratification and vertical integration evident from the study of both workplace relationships and their translation into free-time social interaction, it seems quite remarkable that any sense of community could be maintained. It is possible that the structure of routine social networks was important in this. It is arguable that a crucial factor was the way in which free-time practices mirrored the corporate structure of the company. From the discussion of the Midland Sports Club and the Literary Institute it is apparent that these functioned as umbrella organizations creating a vertically integrated framework for a variety of departmental and workshop based social groupings. As stated in chapter 5 the Company was so arranged that inter-departmental rivalry, resulting from corporate structure, became a unifying rather than dividing dynamic. Under the auspices of the Midland Club, it was through inter-departmental football and horticultural competitions that antagonism and mistrust was redirected into a common cause of departmental boosterism. The capacity of Company wide social organizations to embrace a diversity of special interest groups may also be perceived as important; the Midland Club, for example, managed to accommodate bourgeois tennis and cycling, alongside paternal cricket and proletarian football. The Literary Institute incorporated societies for photography, music and drama and an 'executive' dining club alongside its more 'official' functions as a lending library and the provider of education classes. It is perhaps the facility to pursue a variety of forms of individuality and independence within the organizing framework of respectability which defined the railway community of Litchurch as something different in Derby society.

It was suggested in chapter 6 that community was constructed at the moments when everyday routine juxtaposes the familiar and the unfamiliar, the valued and the threatening. During the course of the previous discussion of family, social and political practices the thesis has endeavoured to show how particular events construct the railway community as a distinct component in Derby society. One of the most clearly recurring themes was the way in which railwaymen delimited themselves by probing the boundaries of their own respectability, the example of the Clerk on Melbourne Station, or the footballing engine
fitter who was found drunk at work may be viewed as examples of this. It is possible to suggest three forms of circulation within everyday routine by which the railway community constructed itself and presented itself as a coherent group to outside society.

Firstly, one may isolate a form of informal group representation. In this category one may, for example, cite the placing of railway pictures in local pubs in order to delimit the locations in which railwaymen socialize from other town hostelries; the graffiti scrawled on local walls by which apprentices and boys expressed their opinion of their superiors; or the clerks' practical joke with the canvas theatre in the Morledge. To a large extent this formed a private language of insider humour and closed reference which was a product of the day to day experience of the workplace and locality and emphasized horizontal and sectional loyalties.

Secondly, one can suggest a circulation of formal-internal social institutions, which encourage a form of vertical integration and company loyalty. Amongst these one may include the Annual Company Ball, the Works' Outings and the events organized through the Sports Club and Literary Institute. These practices worked to define the M.R. railway workforce as an entity.

Thirdly, a set of externally-based institutions, amongst these one may list church and chapel, Volunteers, Temperance and Friendly Societies. These institutions derived their vigour from a combination of the independent respectable practices of railway workers with the efforts of local middle-class paternalists.

What is perhaps interesting here is that it was primarily through social institutions and practices outside the railway company, in the sphere of local paternalism and independent self-help that the railway workforce presented a public face to wider society. Both the formal and informal social routines based on the workplace spoke primarily for internal consumption. When the Midland Railway football team, for example, became the object of local interest, it was not long before the Company had it removed to the neutral territory of the Baseball Ground. It is possibly because the railway workforce interacted through social institutions external to the Company that a simplified image of the railway community
was presented to the external world without the internal tensions and contradictions which were intrinsic to it.

The Midland Railway Company and the Town of Derby.

The relationship between the M.R. Company and the county town of Derby was always tense. Though initially it was locally capitalized, the financial difficulties and mergers of the mid 1840's soon took the Company out of local control. Whilst in the 1840s and 1850s the Company provided a market for the local iron founding and engineering industry, it can be clearly observed from the purchasing policy of the M.R. that it very soon outgrew the ability of local companies to supply machinery and parts in sufficient quantity and within defined time limits. An examination of purchasing policy indicates that during the early years of operation the Company did purchase machine tools from Fox's and castings from local foundries. However, by the late 1860's local firms were unable to meet the contract conditions laid down by the M.R. even though they made the requisite products and were able to supply at a competitive price. In 1872, for example, a contract for 2,000 sets of wagon wheels was given to the Oldbury Carriage and Wagon Works rather than to Eastwood and Swingler of Litchurch even though their price was 2s. an axle cheaper, because the former could deliver in eight weeks and the latter would have taken twenty. A number of Derby firms did thrive on M.R. work, Bemrose, the Litchurch printers, published all M.R. timetables, guides and publicity material, whilst Woodiwiss, the Litchurch based builder and railway contractor tendered successfully for many of the contracts for new buildings and repairs both at Derby and elsewhere on the M.R. system. Amongst the most lucrative work, his firm undertook much of the new building work for the greatly expanded workshops during the 1870's. Provender and sundry stores, from hay and lamp oil to needles and cloth were perhaps the only area where Derby merchants dominated supply throughout most of the period from 1840 to 1900. Even here the amount of material purchased from local suppliers diminished from 85 percent in 1848 to 45 percent in 1890. By 1870 the M.R. looked to the major engineering establishments of Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow for its supplies. A national network and
financial base, a cosmopolitan board of directors, and an immigrant workforce placed the M.R. outside the influence of local social and economic systems. The M.R. never developed local political influence and gained its voice in Parliament through directors who held seats for other parts of the country. Unlike the G.W.R. at Swindon and the L.N.W.R. at Crewe, the M.R. did not attempt to control local politics and only maintained one official in local politics in order to monitor local affairs and ensure they did not impinge on the interest of the M.R. Company. With respect to Derby and its inhabitants the Company policy was to monitor and react to events but never to get involved, prejudice the independence of the company, or make a financial commitment.

The tension between town and railway may be observed in the mid-1860's when the Chamber of Commerce began to complain about goods tariffs charged from Derby. The question of railway goods rates had first been raised at a meeting of the Chamber in February 1865 at which most of the town council were present. At this meeting it was claimed that tariffs from Derby were 25 percent higher than those from Burton or Sheffield and that 'one would think all the Midland Railway Proprietors were Yorkshiremen'. At a further meeting in May it was decided to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Railway Rates outlining 'unequal and excessive charges made by the Midland Railway to this district'.

It was further decided to support the construction of a G.N.R. branch line from Nottingham to Burton which would cut through the old part of the town, as 'it was well known that Derby was bounded on all sides by the Midland Company, and the inhabitants were compelled to pay what rates the company chose to demand'. The decision to sanction the construction of the G.N.R. branch came during a difficult period in the relationship between the M.R. and the town, when the reluctance of the Company to participate in town affairs was becoming quite marked. In 1867 the M.R. gave both financial and professional support to the campaign to oppose the incorporation of Litchurch into the borough of Derby. Whilst, at a more humdrum level, there were several long running disputes between the Derby Town Council and the M.R. in which the Company persistently refused to honour their commitments regarding access to, and maintenance of, rights of way in the Nottingham Rd. area.
The M.R.'s refusal to support the construction of St. Andrews Church, Litchurch, opened in 1866, to adequately subscribe to the Derby Infirmary and to give a donation to the Railway Servants' Orphanage highlighted its reluctance to engage in philanthropy. It is possible that a recognition of this, both by local middle-class community leaders and the rank and file of Derby society was an important factor in rallying support for the railwaymen against the railway company during the 1870's and 80's. Strephon's 'Midland Railway Sketches' of 1876 portray the antagonism between town and railway with customary literary affectation,

The Midland Railway found Derby a sleepy old-world borough, ....they have made it a big, busy, bustling commercial centre. They have more than doubled the town's population and have metamorphosed a common-place chrysalis of the ugly streets into the handsomest of architectural butterflies. Yet, notwithstanding the obligations Derby is under to this railway Romulus, she has repaid the kindness by assuming an attitude to her benefactor, if not of outright antagonism, at least of undisguised ingratitude.12

It is not insignificant that 'Strephon' should represent the relationship between Derby and the M.R. in terms of 'obligation' and 'beneficence', both core ideas of paternalism. Neither is it insignificant that he should conflate munificence and economic dependence. As suggested in chapter 2 the importance of the railway to the economic prosperity of particular localities frequently constituted a component in the public image of the railway company which masked the parsimony informing the relationship between the railway company and its workforce. Yet as may be perceived from the economic and political independence of the M.R. from local systems, the form of dependence on the railway experienced by the town had few economic benefits and multiplier effects were somewhat limited. The fact that Derby did not experience the rapid industrial expansion of Nottingham, Leicester and Sheffield even though the town harboured a major industrial plant and corporate headquarters may lend weight to this assertion. Possibly the major economic contribution the M.R. made to Derby was through its contribution to the rates and this was perceived as a major prize when
Litchurch was incorporated into the Borough of Derby. The reliance of
the town on the railway was brought into focus at the high points of the
civic calendar. Whether it was the Arboretum festival, a Royal Visit, the
Royal Agricultural Show, or all visiting dignitaries arrived by train
and therefore all processions and parades began at the station and
worked their way through the streets of Litchurch to the town centre,
thus the Midland Railway was an uninvited participant in all events of
municipal independence. In Derby the gulf between the paternal
intervention of the entrepreneur-led factory and the corporate
detachment of the railway corporation was most marked. The long history
of liberal-radical paternalism stretching from the early factory
settlements of the Strutts through to the great 'new paternalist'
Michael Bass, benefactor to the town and champion of railway workmen
against the very company of which he was a director and major customer,
was an ever present measure against which employer behaviour could be
judged. The very townscape of Derby communicated the ties between old
and new paternalism, the Arboretum, Infirmary and Mechanics Institute
were important venues for events celebrating social harmony until late
in the century. It may be argued that a primary cause for the poor
relationship between the M.R. and Derby town was precisely the
conjunction of an impoverished form of dependence on the M.R. and the
corporate detachment of the railway corporation with an historically
grounded expectation of paternal intercession.

In 1906 the Derby Borough Development Committee was set up by the
town Corporation, though it was not the first such organization, it was
certainly one of the earlier examples. The aim of the Committee was to
broaden the town's industrial base and reduce its dependence on the
Midland Railway as the town's major employer. Perhaps significantly,
other early examples were in the railway towns of Doncaster and Crewe. One of the prime movers in the organization was Alderman V.G. Wilkins;
Bonsall describes him as belonging 'to a recognizable class of late
nineteenth century, urban, nonconformist business men who combined
philanthropy with business success and public service'. His
philanthropic activities focussed on an old Derby theatre which his
father had purchased to convert into an interdenominational chapel and
social relief centre. According to Bonsall, apart from conducting
services and holding magic lantern shows, he gave breakfasts to children and the unemployed, and set up a labour exchange to put employers in contact with the unemployed. Wilkins very much represented the liberal-radical tradition in Derby politics founded on the intellectual circle of Erasmus Darwin. It found high-Victorian expression in the work of the sociologist, Herbert Spencer, and was fused with an academic socialism by the economist, J.A,Hobson, at the turn of the century. His efforts represent the last attempt of a local philanthropy, a civic localism to counter the bureaucratic machine of the railway corporation. As shown in chapter 9 the alliance between liberals and the Labour movement became crucial to politics in Derby. As Bonsall says, as a progressive liberal, Wilkins actively built the alliance with Labour that is characteristic of early twentieth century radical Liberalism. He was greatly interested in town planning and belongs to the school of utopian-modernism characterized by his acquaintance Patrick Geddes. Wilkins was, for instance, a founder member of the National Housing Reform Council, whose Derby branch was formed in 1900 with Wilkins as president and Tom Taylor, the chairman of the Derby I.L.P. as secretary. In 1909 he produced a personal plan for the redevelopment of Derby which included clearing the banks of the Derwent in the town centre and replacing the unsightly buildings with gardens, radiating boulevards and civic buildings, including a 'peoples palace of culture'. The key to redevelopment was to open up areas of land for new industrial development. Though this plan never moved beyond the stage of visionary model building, Wilkins as town Mayor perceived the importance of the Borough Development Committee and the role of town planning in managing and promoting industrial development. The primary area of the town which he outlined for industrial growth and reduced dependence on the M.R. was an area of the Derwent flood plain between the Railway works and Spondon. The M.R. owned the convenient access to this land and as a consequence of the Company's refusal to have anything to do with the scheme in 1922-3, the Council in the face of serious internal differences dropped the proposals. This portion of prime industrial land remained undeveloped into the 1970s and Derby missed a major opportunity to gain independence from the oppressive indifference of the railway corporation.
Conclusion

Notes

1. See the discussion in G. Salaman, *People and Organizations* (Milton Keynes, 1978) chapter 1, also J. E. T. Eldridge, *Sociology and Industrial Life* (Middlesex, 1976)
4. Ibid. p. 247.
7. Locomotive Committee Minutes 2039.
8. RAIL 491/ Minutes of the M. R. Stores Committee 1844-1900.
10. Ibid. 31st. May 1865.
15. Ibid. p. 291.
18. See J. D. Y. Peel *op. cit.*
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