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THE CHURCHES AND THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN MIDDLESBROUGH 1890-1914

by Peter Stubley

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Durham

January 1979

Department of Theology

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THE CHURCHES AND THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN MIDDLESBROUGH 1890-1914

This thesis surveys the rapid growth of Middlesbrough, its basic industry, and the establishment and growth of the Christian churches in the town between 1830 and 1914; but the work is particularly concerned with the years 1890-1914. It aims to discover the church's understanding of its mission in relation to the iron and steel industry and the society which it produced, in order to evaluate the church's successes and failures.

The thesis begins with a summary of Christian social teaching in the second half of the nineteenth century to establish what ideas were current at national level (Chapter 1). It proceeds to a study of Middlesbrough and its iron industry, as the environment with which the local churches had to contend (Chapter 2). The attitudes and activities of the churches are then examined in two chapters. The first of these (Chapter 3), discusses their institutional response in church extension, schools, hospitals, church life, missionary activity, and the 1904 religious census. The second (Chapter 4), considers the churches' concern for personal morality, temperance, gambling, Sunday observance, the 1912 Church Congress, and the churches' reactions to the iron and steel industry as the determining factor in the life of the community.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 5), uses Richard Niebuhr's study, Christ and Culture, as a framework for a theological assessment of the church's work in Middlesbrough on the basis of what, in the earlier chapters, has been established historically.

Peter Stubley

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PREFACE

I had various reasons for writing this thesis. Among them was the desire to stand back and take stock after twenty years in the ordained ministry of the Church of England, twelve of them as an industrial chaplain closely concerned with the iron and steel industry on Teesside. I believe industry to be one of the most important frontiers between Christian faith and social order, and after many years on this frontier I began to feel the need for more disciplined, systematic thinking. To do this under the supervision of a university department seemed the surest way of achieving some personal development and improving my, albeit small, contribution to the work of the church in industrial society. It also ensured that my own prejudices were treated to regular and bracing doses of academic 'cold water.'

The choice of subject was quickly settled. Implicit in the story of Middlesbrough and its iron and steel industry is the wider problem of Christianity and social order. The years 1890-1914 are 'second generation' Middlesbrough; the town passed the 100,000 population mark, and its industry was already of national and international significance. Sources for research into this period are adequate in areas where they had not always before been well preserved, as the mushroom growth and decline of nineteenth century Middlesbrough and its industry has not usually aspired to the permanence of history.

The general background to the church's role in Victorian society has been well worked over by scholars like K. S. Inglis, Owen Chadwick, and E. R. Norman, but much local material still remains to be quarried. In Middlesbrough the chief local newspaper, the North Eastern Daily Gazette, is the best continuous source of information, and its

religious census of 1904 has some value. The newspaper is supplemented by the Year Books which it began to publish in 1900, and there are a number of useful local histories. The British Steel Corporation has a fine set of archives, many rescued just in time, which means that others have been destroyed. Church records are disappointing. There are the usual registers of services, baptisms, marriages, and so forth, and a few account books and minute books, now being looked after by Cleveland County Archives Department. But parish magazines and other sources, commenting on day to day affairs in church and community, hardly exist at all. I have not been able to find first hand information about the religious allegiance of individuals and social groups, nor the class structure of congregations.

It is, of course, a vanished social and ecclesiastical world that I describe, and the steel industry is now concentrated outside the town at the mouth of the river Tees. A large part of the old terraced housing has been destroyed, and there has been considerable movement of population to the council estates on the outskirts of the town. Central Middlesbrough is given over to more demolition, temporary open spaces, urban motorways, and its first office tower blocks, surrounding the inevitable new shopping centre and dwarfing the 'new' town hall of 1889. New social and moral attitudes and patterns of leisure have emerged with the changing environment.

Although the iron town and its 'little brown streets' are disappearing, Nikolaus Pevsner's comment in 1966 still captures something of the atmosphere of the place.

> The big-townish appearance goes only skin-deep. Everywhere, looking out of the few main streets, are the interminable rows of two-storey cottages, and outside the centre hardly anything calls for perambulating.

In the same work, The Buildings of England: Yorkshire North Riding,

Pevsner describes the Transporter Bridge as, 'without doubt the most impressive building in Middlesbrough.' It was built in 1911 by the Cleveland Bridge and Engineering Company, and today its likeness is used by television, newspapers, and the Post Office telephone directory as the symbol of Middlesbrough, rather than some older, more venerable symbol of permanence like monument, guildhall, cathedral, or parish church.

This lack of symbolic permanence about Middlesbrough is reflected in the decline of the churches. Half the Church of England buildings in use at the 1904 religious census no longer exist, and at least two more, St. Cuthbert's and St. Columba's, have an uncertain future. Most Nonconformist buildings have disappeared, but the two Roman Catholic buildings, the cathedral and St. Patrick's, remain. Having less money, the Catholics perforce built more wisely. The main denominations continued to build on a more limited scale in the suburbs and council estates between, and after, the two world wars. Nevertheless, this vanished world of the late Victorian and Edwardian era has left behind certain attitudes and expectations in the people and generations who were formed by it, and in those who today live with its results.

Many people have given me much support and encouragement in the sabbatical year I have had to research and write this thesis, more than I can name here, but in addition to my own diocese, of York, I am particularly grateful to the Teesside Industrial Mission Management Committee and my fellow chaplains, representing the dioceses of Durham and York, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, and management and trade unions from steel and the other industries on Teesside.

Among the others I would like to thank are Mr. Derek Saul, Managing Director of Teesside Division, British Steel Corporation, Mr. Carl Newton, BSC North Regional Archivist and his staff, Mrs. Audrey M.

Newton, local history librarian at Darlington Public Library. The staff at Middlesbrough reference library provided invaluable help, material, and advice throughout the whole time I worked on the project. My particular thanks are due to Mr. Larry Bruce, the reference librarian, and to Mrs. Moira Smith, specialist librarian in local history. I would also like to thank Mr. David Tyrrell, Cleveland County Archivist and his staff, Mr. Norman Moorsom, Cleveland Schools Museums Officer, Canon Robert Carson, administrator at St. Mary's Cathedral, Canon Roger Sharpley, vicar of All Saints' and rural dean of Middlesbrough, Sister Jean Francesca, C.H.R., the Rev. Geoffrey Rushton, until recently superintendent minister of Middlesbrough Methodist Circuit, the Rev. James Cargill of Cambridge Road Baptist Church, Mr. Albert Stockwell,one time secretary of St. George's Congregational Church, and many other clergy and lay people in Middlesbrough for the loan of books and documents and for numerous conversations in which they readily shared their own knowledge and experience with me.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Stephen Sykes, not least for his interest and enthusiasm in the project, and to Dr. Sheridan Gilley for continuing that interest and enthusiasm, and helping to bring the thesis to a final shape during Professor Sykes's absence on sabbatical leave in my last term.

Finally, I would like to thank Miss Karen Johnson for typing the larger part of the finished essay.

Saltburn-by-the-Sea
January, 1979

Peter Stubley

Chapter One

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL TEACHING IN ENGLAND
IN THE
SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

'You have a very hard yet noble task committed to you in this parish. You are surrounded by much of the strain of industry and labour, by much poverty, by many things that darken and depress.'
Archbishop Lang in St. John's, Middlesbrough 1909

The Problems and the Response of the Churches

Industrialization, urbanization, and a rapid growth in population were directly connected with most of the problems and pressures facing the churches in England in the nineteenth century. Between 1801 and 1851, the population in Great Britain almost doubled; from 10.69 millions in 1801 to 20.88 millions in 1851. In the next sixty years it doubled again to 40.89 millions in 1911. In 1851 half the population of all English towns, except Leeds were immigrants, though the majority of these immigrants had travelled comparatively short distances from the surrounding countryside.[1]

The assumption has often been made that agricultural labourers were habitual worshippers, only to lose the habit when they migrated into the expanding manufacturing towns; and further, that they lost the habit chiefly because of the inaccessibility of church buildings.[2]

Hence the wide spread use among churchmen of the term 'spiritual destitution' to describe the condition of the poor. This destitution, it was believed, could only be relieved by providing church buildings as quickly as possible in the new districts, and clergy to man them. Not only churchmen, but politicians too, subscribed to this diagnosis and prescribed the same cure. Between 1809 and 1821 parliament voted £100,000 each year to endow and increase the number of Church of England benefices in the newly populated areas. In 1818 parliament gave the Church of England one million pounds, and another half million in 1824, to build churches in parishes of 4,000 inhabitants, or over, where there was only church accommodation for under 1,000. In 1843 Peel passed legislation to lend the Ecclesiastical Commissioners enough money to build two hundred churches in areas where the church was virtually unrepresented.[3] But this vast building programme produced only meagre results. The official report of the 1851 census, published in 1854, drew attention to the masses of working people who were never, or but seldom, seen in religious congregations.[4] Nevertheless, church extension, as it was called in the Church of England, continued as a major part of the policy of all denominations almost to the present day. The success in increasing church going, in which all the churches shared, was largely from the middle and upper classes of society. Whatever the agricultural labourers had done in the villages, and a sanguine view of their attendance at church is open to question, on the whole they declined the invitation in the towns.

Migration from the countryside into the manufacturing towns coupled with the dramatic increase in population, produced social problems on a vast scale; poverty, disease, overcrowding, bad housing conditions, low wages, and uncertain employment which in times of slump led to starvation. In consequence, the social teaching and the activities of the churches contained a mixture, in varying proportions, of attempts to tackle the physical as well as the spiritual destitution of working people. The commercial and industrial expansion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries produced not only a new proletariat, but also a new entreprenurial middle class. But although the economic principle of laissez-faire came under increasingly critical examination from some churchmen in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the middle and upper classes, on the whole, figure less prominently in the churches' social pronouncements than the working classes. Perhaps this was partly because the clergy themselves were often drawn from these same classes, and so inevitably absorbed some of the same class assumptions. Any account of Christian social thinking in England in the nineteenth century must acknowledge the importance of the relationship, or lack of it, between the churches and the working classes.

Three major influences are apparent; traditional Tory paternalism, evangelical religion, and political economy. Paternalism, with its notion of the obligations which went with privilege, was open to piece-meal, limited social reform to remove obvious abuses. Political economy could often seem radical, and mean the disruption of a traditional social order. Nor are the social reforms brought about by evangelicalism to be despised:

the two great lay leaders of the Evangelical party, Wilberforce and Shaftesbury were arguably the two most influential social reformers in nineteenth century England. But the combination of paternalism, evangelical religion, and political economy often made poverty morally acceptable to the better off for most of the century. Some poor were seen as suffering because 'the poor ye have always with you,' for their own sins and feeble-mindedness, and as the results of iron laws which were not open to question. Charity might ease the workings of the laws of political economy, but in any case, after a short period of tribulation, death would put an end to all earthly hardships and distinctions.[5]

But by the last quarter of the nineteenth century a change had taken place. Social reformers were more acceptable and were given a more respectful hearing within the churches. A range of social question were discussed at the Church of England's annual Church Congress.[6] The Wesleyan leader, Jabez Bunting, who died in 1858, had declared that Methodism was as much opposed to democracy as to sin. Yet some thirty years later Hugh Price Hughes, founder of the Methodist Times, published a book entitled Social Christianity, urging social reform. In 1894 Andrew Fairbain, a leading Congregationalist, observed that ministers of all churches were expressing a new view of the state and the claims of labour.

Christians had traditionally recognised the duty of compassion towards the poor, and throughout the nineteenth century all churches had their charities. Religion and charity went together; but towards the end of the century there were two sharp criticisms of the connection.

The first, voiced by A.F. Winnington-Ingram in Work in Great Cities (1894), called for a separation of pastoral and relief work. The self-respecting working man could not come to church, nor let his wife attend, because he was firmly convinced that people went to church for what they could get.

The second criticism applied to every kind of philanthropic help given by religious bodies. In an essay, The Christian Church and the Problem of Poverty (1894), H.C. Shuttleworth argued that the church was now called to a new task, not simply to relieve the poor, but to enquire what influences made men poor and how these should be dealt with. Stewart Headlam had written four years before in The Guild of St. Matthew, an Appeal to Churchmen, 'not that they (the evils of poverty) may be alleviated by Christian charity, but that they may be prevented by Christian justice.' Headlam and Shuttleworth were left-wing clergymen, but on this issue they had wide support. The Wesleyan Conference of 1890 owned that in the past, concern for the material welfare of the poor had been largely directed towards effects, while causes had often been overlooked. Nevertheless, there were many Christians who still believed that social reform had nothing to do with religion.

There is an inevitable congruence between the mental history of the churches and that of the society which surrounds it. Thus in the case of Christian social attitudes there is a certain dependence upon secular economic theory. Arnold Toynbee (1852-83) remarked that his contemporaries were content to sit still and witness a degradation worse than that from which women and children had been rescued in mines and factories, simply because they thought this condition of things was inevitable.

An undated SPCK tract, published well after 1850, informed working people that they 'might as well try to stop the wind or the tide or to alter day and night' as combine to increase wages.[7]

However, John Stuart Mill had argued that some economic laws were not at all like the law of gravity; although under certain circumstances the law of wages was inevitable, and Ruskin, in Unto This Last (1862) said that although in a sense both natural and economic laws were immutable, man was not helpless to control either natural or economic phenomena. Ruskin helped many of his readers to escape the conflict between social and economic theory. Yet, in spite of legislation aimed at adjusting economic relationships, many were inhibited from protesting against social distress precisely because of the alleged immutability of economic laws. When, at the Church Congress in 1890, B.F. Westcott said that Christians should encourage steps towards social equality, he was taken to task by The Times, which commented 'that in spite of every conceivable social reform, under any and every ideal scheme of human organisation, economic laws will continue to operate and will often produce painful results.'

Christian social radicals, however, were encouraged by Arnold Toynbee, who aimed to produce a professional challenge to the older orthodoxy in economic thinking; and also by Henry George, whose land tax was seen as a method for circumventing economists without overturning society. The more cautious found liberation in Alfred Marshall's Priciples of Economics (1890), which asserted that 'ethical forces are among those of which the economist has to take account.' Marshall also suggested that extreme poverty could be removed.

The Church of England

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, many looked back to the Christian Socialism of F.D. Maurice as the source of their inspiration. In Christian Socialism (1849), Maurice attacked evangelical theology, calling it the only form of Christianity compatible with the evil economic doctrine of competition, making religion a matter of bribery and terror which persuaded men to comply with certain rules and maxims.[8]

Maurice was a firm supporter of the first phase of the Tractarian movement, and believed that they had recovered the great principle of social faith, the principle that we exist in a permanent communion which was not created by human hands, and cannot be destroyed by them. What secular socialists wanted to introduce into society, Maurice found existed already in the church. He wanted Christians to recognise the co-operative nature of the whole of society, and to apply themselves to the task of raising the poor into men instead of merely treating them as poor.

This Christian Socialism was breaking new ground which the Tractarians never reached, even though it was founded on doctrines of God and the church which Maurice learned from them. Pusey was anxious for the spiritual and moral condition of the masses, and founded sisterhoods to teach and care for them. But he saw the challenge which the industrial working classes presented to the church as one of evangelisation and charity like the Evangelicals Wesley and Wilberforce. The Tractarians' successors had to make up their own minds concerning their attitudes towards poverty and social inequalities.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century two societies were formed as expressions of social concern.[9] The first was the Guild of St. Matthew, formed in 1877 by Stewart Headlam, curate of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green. Its initial purpose was apologetic; to meet the case against the church from secularists like Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, but it soon began to spend the greater part of its energy in trying to interest churchmen in social problems. Headlam did not subscribe to the contrast between Christian Socialism and state socialism usual in church circles. He believed that the state was a sacred organism to be used for righteous ends, and that it was a Christian duty to work for land nationalization, progressive income tax, universal suffrage, and the abolition of the House of Lords as an hereditary chamber. He called himself a Socialist and a Liberal as well, but he refused to allow 'socialist' and 'socialism' in the stated objectives of the Guild on the grounds that either word would be misleading.

At the highest point of its membership, in 1895, the Guild consisted of 99 clergymen and 265 laymen. The clergymen were mostly young and, like Headlam, they believed that they had inherited the traditions of the Tractarians and of F.D. Maurice. Others saw the Guild as ineffective and not radical enough. Conrad Noel wrote in his autobiography (1942), that the weakness of the Guild was that beyond a general support of the working class movement, it had confined itself to land reform, and had been dominated by the teachings of Henry George. It also reflected Headlam's personal programme which contained a number of issues outside those of social reform, such as ritualism, anti-puritanism, and the abolition of church patronage.

These matters, more than its radical social principles, account for the Guild's limited influence within the church.

The second society was the Christian Social Union, formed at Oxford in 1889 by Henry Scott Holland, which grew at the expense of the Guild of St. Matthew. Headlam, at least, believed that the moderation of its social doctrine gave it an advantage over the Guild. The CSU was open to clergy and laity and, like the Guild, it showed the influence of the Tractarian movement and of F.D. Maurice. Its leaders, however, were less ready than Headlam to identify themselves with secular social reformers, and as members of the church they were much more respectable. Until 1900 B.F. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, was president of the CSU. Between 1889 and 1913, out of fifty-three episcopal appointments, sixteen were members of the CSU. Its intellectual leader was Charles Gore, who in the same year that the CSU was formed had, with Scott Holland and others, published the series of essays known as Lux Mundi. If Lux Mundi aimed to arm the church to face the intellectual challenge of the day, the CSU was the same group's response to the social challenge.

A branch of the CSU was formed in London, and after 1890 many other branches came into being, but those in Oxford and London remained the strongest. Social theories were discussed, social reforms encouraged, and an interest taken in local affairs. A 'white list' of manufacturers who paid and treated their employees well was produced, publicity was given to industrial processes which were dangerous to the health of employees, and in 1897 the CSU suggested to the Home Secretary that the primary object of the Factory Acts was to protect employees, not just manufacturers.

In 1891 the Oxford branch began publishing a quarterly Economic Review, which encouraged Christian discussion of economic morality. Scott Holland's Commonwealth, a more popular magazine dealing with social questions generally, first appeared in 1897.

Inevitably some found the CSU's social attitudes too radical, while others thought them not radical enough. Some believed that the Union should stand for social reforms of a piecemeal, gradual, non-controversial kind, but in 1908 Percy Dearmer and others of a more extreme point of view, signed a manifesto declaring that their Christian Socialism involved the public ownership of the means of production and exchange, and therefore was the socialism of socialists throughout the world.

The CSU failed to attract working class members, so the Christian Fellowship League was formed in the late 1890s in an attempt to rectify this state of affairs, but it only survived for little over a year. Gore believed that the CSU also failed in not stirring up what it believed to be the right spirit in the mass of those who preached in the pulpits or sat in the pews of the Anglican Church. The local church was still regarded as alien to the Labour man and to the social reformer. Conrad Noel felt that the CSU gloried in its indefiniteness, and considered it a crime to come to any particular economic conclusion. He and other radical members found a more congenial place in the Church Socialist League which was formed in 1906. Even so, many people were influenced by the CSU. In 1900 there were nearly fifty branches covering 4,060 members, including 1,436 clergymen.

There was, however, a general interest in social questions within the Church of England after 1880 which cannot all be attributed to the work of the CSU. The CSU exploited the general feeling and

encouraged it to spread. Between 1880 and 1900 the agendas of every annual Church Congress, except one, included at least one session on social problems. A committee of ten bishops defined socialism, for the 1888 Lambeth Conference, as any scheme of reconstruction which aimed at uniting labour and the instruments of labour (land and capital), whether by means of the state, the help of the rich, or the voluntary co-operation of the poor. The church could co-operate with that kind of socialism, but could form no alliance with atheist socialists; or those who held that the very existence of private property was wrong. The state was an instrument to help preserve the poor against the effects of competition, so long as its protection was not strong enough to undermine thrift and self-restraint. A writer in Christian Socialist remarked that the bishops had accepted socialism and rejected it in the same breath.

Socialism was not on the agenda of the Lambeth Conference in 1897, but a committee of bishops reported on the unemployed. They advised the church not to identify itself with any one social system, but the numberless Christians who never thought of applying their religious principles to society were rebuked. The bishops urged that moral standards be applied to industrial affairs; in particular that the principle of brotherhood be embodied in economic relationships. Yet clear indications of an older view of 'the poor' remained, both in the report and in the encyclical letter commending it for study. The poor faced the temptation to throw off their burdens and to expect aid without any exertion on their own part. It was character that was needed.

While Lambeth Conferences admitted the responsibility of Christians for the conditions of society, and further, that many social

arrangements were unjust, they made no specific recommendations about the actual policies which socialists and their opponents were debating. Individual bishops and other churchmen were, except for certain notable exceptions, rarely specific in their pronouncements on social problems. Among the exceptions were Fraser of Manchester, Lightfoot, Westcott, Mandell Creighton, E.S. Talbot, and C.W. Stubbs of Truro. There were, of course, good grounds for avoiding the specific. William Cunningham, Archdeacon of Ely from 1907, and a political economist in his own right, maintained that Jesus had declined the part of an arbitrator between brethen, and that no bishop could claim, on account of his office, to be competent to arbitrate between capital and labour in any dispute. True, but perhaps more encouragement to sit on the fence has been drawn from the archdeacon's maxim than is warranted.

However, Headlam, Holland, and Gore were in a less isolated position than Maurice and the earlier Christian Socialists had been. Their arguments were listened to, and the majority recognised their right to raise questions of social policy at church meetings. The resolutions of such gatherings were usually too vague or neutral to satisfy the radicals, yet they could claim that the initiative was in their hands. In 1897 Scott Holland claimed that a fair proportion of the clergy supported boards of conciliation, shorter working hours, the principle that wages were the first charge in determining price, increased communal control of the land where the public good demanded it, and the regular absorption of unearned increment. Not long before, most clergymen would have firmly resisted such ideas, but even the most confident radical could hardly have believed that a 'fair proportion' represented anymore than a vanguard of the 25,000 clergymen in the land, still less the total membership of the Church of

England.

Nonconformists

The Nonconformists had no Christian Social Union, instead they had the British Weekly and the Methodist Times. Both these periodicals endeavoured to persuade its readers to consider the social implications of their faith, and provided a forum for the public discussion of those implications. The British Weekly was founded and edited by W. R. Nicoll, a Free Church of Scotland minister who was compelled to go south for his health in 1885. Hugh Price Hughes, the founder and editor of the Methodist Times, was the dominant voice in Wesleyan Methodism in favour of social reform. Hughes, less radical than some Anglican clergymen, saw personal compassion rather than state interference as the solution for social distress. He believed that if any employer asked, 'What must I do to be saved' the answer was, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and adjust your wages sheet.' J. Scott Lidgett one of a small number of Wesleyan ministers who thought Hughes too conservative, wrote a book called, The Fatherhood of God (1902), the first work by a Wesleyan containing a full-blooded profession of socialism. [10]

Samuel Keeble, another Wesleyan minister, spent three months in 1889 reading Marx's Capital, which he considered a masterly study of the economic development of human society, but he never became a Marxist because he believed there were huge fallacies as well as great truth in Marx's work. The truth Keeble saw in Marx was a vindication of Ruskin's protest against the unscrupulousness of modern masters and men in trade. On the opinions expressed in his own book, Day-Dreams (1896), Keeble commented, 'The only thing is they

are novel in a Christian minister alas - such rarely touch the industrial question proper - not even P. Hughes.'

In the Congregational Church there was a wide range of opinions on social matters. Early in the twentieth century R.J. Campbell was well known for his 'new theology' and for his social radicalism. B.J. Harker at Bolton persuaded his congregation to form themselves into a Labour Church. Bruce Wallace founded the Brotherhood Church which stood for socialist principles and untheological religion similar to those of the Labour Church. Other men wanted reforms which would not involve any upheaval of the existing social order. They were also more conservative theologically; John Brown Paton of Nottingham, Andrew Mearns, promoter of The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, C.Fleming Williams, a minister who was also a member of the London County Council, and Andrew Fairbain, the first principal of Mansfield College, Oxford.[11]

R.F. Horton displayed a concern with specific social matters. At his church in Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead he gave lectures on unemployment, the eight hours day, and the housing question. He founded the Social Reform League, which campaigned for sanitary improvements in the neighbourhood, and introduced the Adult School movement into Hampstead and Kentish Town. Horton once referred to Jesus as the head of the Labour Party. He declared that he was eager to make the church the champion of the people and the leader in economic progress.

This was not an acceptable view of the church to many Nonconformists. Charles Garrett, head of a Wesleyan mission in Liverpool, was reported in the Methodist Times in 1886 as saying, 'Of course we have helped thousands of people who have been in distress, but never until we have assured ourselves that their religious professions or intentions were sincere.'

In 1895 Edward White, one time chairman of the Congregational Union, was of the opinion that social Christianity, and the like, seemed unnecessary because of the self-acting machinery of civilized society by which capital was compelled to minister to the necessities of labour and poverty, irrespective of good will. Thomas Green another chairman of the Congregational Union, expressed his concern in 1890 about the secular element in church life which he believed was threatening to hide Jesus Christ by confounding the Gospel with a comprehensive but material benevolence.

The balance between radical and conservative views of social policy is indicated by the resolutions of the Wesleyan Conference and the Congregational Union. In 1885 the Wesleyan Conference resolved that more practical interest should be shown in the domestic and social well being of people in the neighbourhood of urban chapels. In 1887 the Conference recommended sympathy towards the working classes in their legitimate efforts to ameliorate their condition. In 1891 it urged members to help those who were trying to relieve the physical necessities of the poor. But more traditional utterances were also heard. In 1894 Conference assured its members that their great work was to save the soul from sin, and if they could accomplish that, all other evils would naturally and necessarily disappear. They must work on society through the individual.

The Congregational Union expressed similar views to those of the Wesleyan Conference, both bodies often representing a compromise between conservative and radical social opinion. In 1885 the Union, although deprecating all action that would lessen the rights of property, affirmed the duty of every Christian citizen to seek to diminish the inequalities which unjust laws and customs had produced.

In 1890, after discussion on the failure of recent evangelistic activity among the working classes, working class leaders were invited to address subsequent assemblies of the Union. In 1892 Keir Hardie addressed the Congregational Union during a session on the Church and the Labour Problem. In the course of an impromptu speech he informed his listeners that the reason the Labour Party had turned its back on the church was because the church had turned its back on them. They got respectable congregations on Sunday and preached to please respectability.

On the whole, Nonconformist ministers experienced greater resistance to their socialists leanings from the middle class members of their congregations than did their opposite numbers in the established church.[12] Lay control over Nonconformist ministers was one cause of this, but a more important cause was not denominational but doctrinal.[13] It was evangelicalism, not nonconformity, that was inately antithetical to social radicalism. To the evangelical, social reform was one thing; spiritual religion was another. Joseph Parker, chairman of the Congregational Union in 1884, told his congregation in 1889 that they would never get right by socialist theories, but only by 'Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.' Evangelicalism in the Church of England was but one tradition, but in nonconformity it was orthodoxy. The revolt against evangelicalism in the Church of England had come from the theological conservatives of the Oxford Movement. Among Nonconformists it was the theological radicals who took the lead. Hughes, Horton, Lidgett and Keeble were not, of course, theological radicals, but they were open to influences outside evangelicalism, from Maurice, Westcott, T.H. Green, and Toynbee, and in the case of Samuel Keeble, even from Ruskin and Marx.[14]

Roman Catholics

Cardinal Manning was deeply involved in efforts to improve the material circumstances of the working classes. During his lifetime he had seen Roman Catholics gain tolerance; he hoped they would go on to gain popularity. He mediated successfully in the London Dock Strike of 1889, and in 1890, in a letter to Vaughan, wrote, 'The people are not against us if only we are with them.' In the same year he said that Catholics in England must be prompt and foremost in working with all who were labouring to relieve every form of human suffering, sorrow, and misery. If Catholics could come forward gladly and usefully the people of this country would be visibly glad to receive them.[15]

Manning did not draw up a specifically Catholic programme of social reform. He was of moderate reformist views himself and was prepared to offer his support to programmes originated by secular radicals. He disliked socialism, but he did not approve of the word being used to discredit moderate attempts at reform. In 1891 he wrote in The Tablet, 'When the Corn Laws were abolished it was called robbery! When the Irish Church was to be disestablished it was called confiscation! When the world of labour is to be protected by law it is called socialism!'

E.G. Bagshawe, Bishop of Nottingham, held similar views on social questions. The Reformation, he believed, was responsible for pauperism. It plundered the religious agencies which had provided social relief, and failed to offer any adequate substitute. The overthrow of the authority of the true church opened the way in England for the inhuman laws of political economy which ruled unchallenged by the Divine precepts of justice and mercy.[16]

The state had a duty to foster, regulate, and protect the industry of its subjects, and to defend the poor from being ruined by the tyrannous caprices of wealth. These sort of declarations incurred the wrath of upper class Catholic laymen like Edwin de Lisle, who said the Bishop's ideas were socialist and subversive.

The encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum (1891), aimed to apply the traditional Catholic teaching on the relationship of a man to his work, profit, masters, and servants in the new conditions created by the Industrial Revolution. Private property was proclaimed as a natural right, and consequently socialism was condemned as infringing this right. Settling of wages by free agreements, and the rightfulness of combinations of workers or employers was upheld. The encyclical laid stress upon the ideal of the just wage as enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal comfort with his family, and emphasised the duty of the state to preserve justice, and the responsibility of the church in the moral aspects of employment.[17]

Rerum Novarum did not provide a set of rules from which a specific Catholic policy on detailed issues could be worked out, but set limits within which the Catholic Church was prepared to tolerate social controversy. Uncontrolled capitalist exploitation was condemned at one extreme, and the common ownership of goods at the other. Its concern was with principles, not with programmes.

Interpretations of the encyclical varied in different parts of the world, according to the predilictions of the individual interpreter. In England it was published or paraphrased in all the Catholic journals, and variously interpreted. For some it blessed individualism. Others took a different view, like Bishop Bagshawe,

who saw it as confirmation of the very principles which he had been abused for holding a few years before. By the turn of the century contradictory interpretations were still being offered. One writer argued that the Pope had rejected social democracy; another that he had justified a Fabian-type collectivism.[18]

Secular comments were significant. Ben Tillett, secretary of the Dock Labourers' Union, deplored the Pope's remarks on socialism, but found his arguments 'generally more wholesome than could ever be expected from our protestant prelates.' Robert Blatchford felt that the Pope had pinned his faith to the old rotten method of preaching mercy to the rich and patience to the poor, a method which had been tried for nineteen centuries without success. To the secular socialist the churches seemed either against him, or neutral. From the socialist's point of view the churches, even at their best, were ineffective because they seemed to agree that capitalism and social justice were compatible.

However, ideas as national leaders define them are often very different from the pragmatic attitudes of their followers, who are much less concerned than the national leaders with abstract theory. In his recent work, Church and Society in England 1770-1970, E.R. Norman suggests that local clergy were much more conservative than bishops and other church leaders.[19] He argues, moreover, that the Christian Socialism of leading churchmen was the comfortable armchair radicalism of the Oxbridge common room and episcopal palace, not a social doctrine forged in the fires of first-hand experience of industry itself. Norman, therefore, paradoxically hints that it was the parochial clergy, with their greater knowledge of poverty and the poor, who none the less adopted the more conservative position which Norman approves as 'realism.' Whether this 'conservatism' was 'realism' or not, we

shall see that there is something true here in Norman's argument, in studying Middlesbrough, where there was a greater conservatism among the clergy, and less critical comment than from the most cautious national figures we have considered in this chapter.

However, Norman has little material on the social attitudes of the parochial clergy, and his book gives a picture of opinion at the national level from statements by church leaders and tells us little about what was happening outside London, among ordinary churchmen. There is a need now for local studies below the national level to show what parochial church opinion was.

Thus, the story of Middlesbrough can show us whether, at least in one locality, the ecclesiastical radicalism at a national level, which Norman and others have described, had any influence at all. Indeed, the test of the effectiveness and importance of this radicalism to industrial Britain was whether the local church was willing to respond to it in the industrial society which it condemned. Indeed, was the Christian Socialist condemnation of the industrial system a justified indictment of nineteenth century Middlesbrough, to which the local churches should have responded? To know if that is so, we need now to look at the origins and development of Middlesbrough and its industry, and understand something of the environment in which the local church was set, and how the church understood it.

Chapter Two

MIDDLESBROUGH AND ITS IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

> A place in which every sense is violently
> assailed all day long by some manifestation
> of the making of iron.
> Lady Bell, At the Works

A visitor to Middlesbrough in the years immediately following the second world war would have seen a town which had changed little, in its central area, for over half a century. In a study of Middlesbrough which she edited in 1948,[1] Ruth Glass wrote,

> Middlesbrough is the very prototype of a town born and reared during the past century. Hence all its defects and all its assets. Hence it is chiefly known for its iron and steel industry, for its mushroom growth, its grid-iron layout and its alleged ugliness. Instead of growing around a castle or a cathedral, it has grown around coke-ovens and blastfurnaces. The founders of the great combines have been its Lords of the Manor. The scenery is marred by weird and giant industrial structures. The sky is obscured by the twin bursts of flame and smoke which emanate from industrial processes. The river is cut off from the town by the machinery of the docks and of the iron and steel works. Its bed is muddy. Its banks are littered with all the debris and the appurtenances of the works and the docks; vast slag heaps interspersed with railway lines, cranes, chimneys, furnaces, and sheds. This core of Middlesbrough is still, as it was at the beginning of the century, 'a place in which every sense is violently assailed all day long by some manifestation of the making of iron.'

Thirty years later Middlesbrough was undergoing drastic surgery, not a time when a patient looks his best, and most of the works moved out of the town to larger sites nearer to the mouth of the river Tees. A recent visitor, Roy Hattersley, knowing that Gladstone had called Middlesbrough in 1862 'an infant Hercules;' has written,[2]

> The modern traveller can only conclude that it outstripped its strength, grew too quickly to grow well and developed a strain of urban rickets that has yet to be properly treated and fully cured. There can be no town in England with more dereliction within a mile of its Town Hall. To the casual visitor it

seems that most of Middlesbrough is boarded up, knocked down or just left to crumble away.
Much of the town centre is temporary mud and cinder car park, designed in the style of bomb site circa 1955. Down by the world-renowned Transporter Bridge - a giant, horizontal funicular railway that carries cars and passengers across the river dangling at the end of a dozen steel hawsers - dereliction turns to desolation. On the eastern horizon, between the bridge and the sea, a Victorian clock tower still tells the right time. But the visitor arriving in Middlesbrough across the Tees from the north is greeted by a long facade of broken glass and missing slates. Single walls, the remains of what were factories, gape with black windows and frameless doors. To move on into the town, the motorist must cross a disused railway line. Modern Middlesbrough is the child of the railway age and the twisted rails are a tribute to the heavy industry that made the infant grow. But they are also a rusty reminder that the triumph of iron and coal left a lot of casualties in its victorious path.

To retrace that 'victorious path' we must go back a century and a half.

The River

The river Tees, shallow and winding as it approaches its tidal estuary draining into the North Sea, gave its name to the sub-region of Tees-side, an area of about 450 square miles bounded on the south by the Cleveland Hills, and on the north by the low Durham plateau.[3] Around the navigable estuary of the river Tees, some 250 miles north of London, major industrial developments began as recently as the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Within Tees-side a number of useful geological deposits are juxtaposed; coal and limestone to the north in the Durham coalfield; deposites of salt and anhydrite in the centre; large quantities of iron ore to the south and east in the Cleveland Hills.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century agriculture was the staple occupation of the region, and the villages and hamlets were served by the market towns of Darlington (4,670), Stockton (4,009), and Yarm (1,300). Hartlepool had a population of about 1,000 while on the site of later West Hartlepool stood the village of

Stranton with 600 people. The land on which Middlesbrough was to be built was farmed by twenty-five people. The total population of the Tees-side area in 1801 was 45,825. A century and a half later it was to be around half a million people, most of them employed in the iron and steel, heavy engineering, ship building, and chemical industries.

Since the thirteenth century coal had been shipped from Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sunderland, on the river Wear, to London and the south coast ports. It was over five hundred years later before coal was exported in any large quantity from the Tees. The meandering river with its constantly shifting deposits of sand and stones, its small depth of water at low tide in some parts of the channel, and its large areas of exposed sand in the estuary, offered poor facilities for shipping. Ships often took as long to reach Stockton, after entering the river, as they did to sail from London to the mouth of the Tees. A navigable cut made just below Stockton in 1810 was only 200 yards long, but it shortened the distance between Stockton and the sea by over two and a half miles, and by 1812 the tonnage of the port had almost doubled.

The Railway

The river passage was improving, and soon land communication between the Tees and the Durham coalfield was transformed by the building of the world's first public railroad. The Stockton and Darlington Railway Acts were passed in 1821 and 1823. And on the 27th September, 1825 the main line of $26\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the Auckland district to Stockton via Darlington was opened, with a branch line to Yarm; further branch lines being added in 1827, 1829 and 1830.

In 1830 the main line was extended across the Tees down to the site of Middlesbrough where there was deeper water. At the same time, back on the north side of the river, rival companies were opening railway lines with a view to exporting coal from Hartlepool and Port Clarence. In 1841, with the building of a line from York to Darlington, Teesside was connected to the national railway network. In 1846 the Stockton and Darlington Company extended their line from Middlesbrough to Redcar, and bought the Middlesbrough Dock in 1852.

The New Town

In 1801 the twenty-five inhabitants of Middlesbrough lived in four houses. By 1829 the population was still only forty. It was in that year that Joseph Pease and his partners, a group of Quakers from Darlington who owned the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company, bought the 500 acre Middlesbrough estate for £30,000. After inspecting the site from the river during the previous year, Pease recorded in his diary, 'I was fancying the coming of the day when the bare fields we were traversing would be covered with a busy multitude, and numerous vessels crowding to these banks denoting a busy seaport.' [4]

In 1831, within a year of the arrival of the railway, over 150,000 tons of coal had been exported from the new port. By 1840 this had risen to 1,500,000 tons. Middlesbrough's population in 1831 was 154; in 1841 it was 5,463. Joseph Pease's 'fancy' was coming true. The Middlesbrough Owners laid out a new town behind the wharves on a symmetrical plan with a central square for the town hall, from which ran four main streets. When the Duke of Sussex visited Middlesbrough in 1838, William Fallows, agent of the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company, replied to the Duke that, 'though the town could not boast

of the ancient and valuable institutions' which might be seen in the older towns around them, 'yet we have far greater pleasure in seeing those institutions rising up in the midst of us, by our own industry and exertions, growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength.' [5] In 1846 J.W. Ord, the first historian of the Cleveland district, described Middlesbrough as, 'one of the commercial prodigies of the nineteenth century... this proud array of ships, docks, warehouses, churches, foundries, wharves, etc.' [6]

A successful coal exporting trade inevitably attracted other industries. There was already a brickyard in Middlesbrough by 1830, and another brick and tile yard was established in 1839. A pottery was opened in Commercial Street in 1834, and next to it about the same time, a ship and boat building yard. A factory to make sails, ropes, and other ships' gear was opened in 1842. But the completion of the national railway network made it more profitable to transport coal by rail than by sea, and Middlesbrough's remaining coastal trade passed to Newcastle or Hartlepool. The new town was threatened with stagnation within its first ten years, but an unprecedented expansion of the iron industry saved it from economic decay, and Middlesbrough's rapid growth after 1850 overshadowed all that had gone before.

Iron and the Ironmasters

The Middlesbrough Owners had realized by 1840 that it was not enough to base a town entirely on the export of coal. Capital investment in new industry was needed. It happened that Henry Bolckow, an accountant from Mecklenburg who had settled in Newcastle, had money to invest, and he transformed the economic and social life of Middlesbrough. John Vaughan, born at Worcester in 1799, was an

experienced ironmaker. He had worked at the Dowlais ironworks in Wales before becoming a manager, first at Carlisle and then at Newcastle. The two men teamed up in the 1830s to manufacture and process iron. They were looking for a site for a new ironworks, and when Joseph Pease offered them several acres in Commercial Street, Middlesbrough, they bought it in 1840. The Bolckow Vaughan partnership was a remarkable one, typifying the Victorian tradition of the self-man man extolled by Samuel Smiles. The two men lived next door to each other and were constantly in each other's company. The firm to which they gave their names was only absorbed into another one in 1929, and to this day almost every town and industrial village in Tees-side has its Bolckow Street or its Vaughan Street. With Bolckow and Vaughan the days of the Middlesbrough ironmasters had arrived. The industry they brought was the main factor in determining the character of the town and quality of its life for many generations to follow. As Lady Bell[7] wrote in 1907, Middlesbrough is,

> A typical town in which to study the lives of those engaged in the making of iron, for it has come into existence for that purpose and for nothing else... There is not a building in the town more than seventy years old; most of them, indeed, are barely half that age. There is no picture gallery: indeed, there is not a picture anywhere that the ordinary public can go to see. But yet imagination can be stirred, - must be stirred, - by the story of the sudden rise of the place, by the titanic industry with which it deals, by the hardy, strenuous life of the north, the seething vitality of enterprise with which the town began.

For ten years the iron industry was only a small scale affair. Bolckow and Vaughan opened a foundry and rolling mill for making rails. Iron ore was brought from the Whitby area by sea to Middlesbrough. From there it was taken by rail to blast furnaces on the Durham coal field where it was converted into pig iron before being brought back by rail to the foundry in Middlesbrough.

This time-consuming process changed dramatically after a large supply of workable ironstone was discovered in the nearby Cleveland Hills at Eston in 1850. The existence of local ores had been known since Roman times, but they were thought to be of poor quality. Vaughan opened a trial quarry in August 1850 and laid down a temporary tramway in September. The first load of seven tons was transported within three weeks of the discovery, and the available supply far exceeded all estimates. It was not long before 3,000 tons were being taken out every day. By 1856 the production of pig iron had increased tenfold; in 1861 it was half a million tons. By 1873 the north east ironfield was producing 5½ million tons of ore and making over two million tons of pig iron; about one third of the total British output.

These economic advances changed the appearance of the region. In 1851 Middlesbrough's first blastfurnace was blown in. Ten years later there were over forty blastfurnaces in the Cleveland and Tees-side area. By 1862 there were fifteen at Eston alone, and the daily output had increased to 5,000 tons. Other ironmasters quickly followed Bolckow and Vaughan, most of them becoming leading personalities in the community. The Bell family built furnaces at Port Clarence on the north bank of the Tees in 1853. Gilkes, Wilson, and Leatham, the first engineers in Middlesbrough, built furnaces at Cargo Fleet in 1852. In 1854 John Gjers, a Swedish designer of ironworks and mills, arrived in the area to open furnaces at Ormesby. In the same year Cochranes, a family of ironmasters from Staffordshire, built their first blastfurnace at Ormesby. Gjers oonstructed the first pipe foundry there, and later established the ironworks of Gjers, Mills Ltd. Hopkins and Snowden established the Tees-side Ironworks in 1853, and

Bernard Samuelson invested in furnaces at South Bank and set about founding another new community of his own. He later developed the Newport Ironworks further up the river.

The influence of the Pease and other Quaker families continued to be felt. Gilkes and Leatham were both Quakers. The former was an engineer with the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company; the latter was the son-in-law of Joseph Pease. Their ironworks later passed into the hands of Wilson, Pease and Company, another Quaker concern. Isaac Wilson, who had been one of the owners of the pottery, was also connected by marriage with the Pease family. During the later part of the nineteenth century there were four local businesses under the direction of members of the family; Joseph Pease and Partners (coal); J.W. Pease and Company (ironstone and limestone); J. and J.W. Pease (banking); and Henry Pease and Company (manufacturing). Their economic power became social power, locally and nationally, by elections to Parliament and the acquisition of aristocratic titles. Edward Pease, the head of the family, known as 'the father of railways,' died in 1858. He expressed his unease at the family's ever widening influence when he wrote in his diary in November, 1851, 'Now there are prospects of great advantages from the discovery of iron ore in the Cleveland range of hills, I feel a great anxiety that none of my beloved family may be caught in its enticings; they have quite enough of this worlds engagements.'[8]

There was much intermarriage among the ironmasters' families, and the children of the marriages continued to be linked in marriage. Bolckow and Vaughan were married to sisters, and Bolckow's own sister was first wife to William Hopkins. But the sheer growth of the town soon made it impossible for one family, or a group of families,

to control it. At the same time the ironmasters began to follow the pattern of other businessmen in Britain by living out in the country. Henry Bolckow had lived in Cleveland Street, five minutes walk from the old market place, and had attended the Centenary Wesleyan Chapel. He moved to Marton Hall which he built in 1853, where he began to collect books and pictures, and to attend Marton parish church. He died in 1878. John Vaughan, Bolckow's next door neighbour in Cleveland Street, moved out to Gunnergate Hall. Isaac Wilson moved from Sussex Street to Northrop Hall, and William Hopkins to a new mansion called Grey Towers near Nunthorpe. In spite of the continued interconnection of their families, neither their children nor the managers who succeeded them, when the works grew and became limited companies, had the same feelings for Middlesbrough.

From Iron to Steel

The transition from ironmaking to steelmaking was late in reaching Middlesbrough. In 1850, when ironstone was discovered at Eston, steel was not used for large scale construction such as railways or ships, but only for items like tools, springs, and weapons. The invention of Bessemers's convertor in 1856 changed all this by making it possible to produce steel in large quantities. But the iron ore had to be free from phosphorous, and Cleveland ore was phosphoric, so as late as 1872 no steel of any kind was being made on the north east coast. The transition to steel, when it came, meant greater vulnerability to foreign competition, and the cycles of good and bad years became international in character. The ironmaking which survived became more and more dependent upon foreign ores. Pig iron production in Cleveland was self-contained in 1870, by the end of

the century it was dependent on imports from overseas. So Middlesbrough developed its steelmaking in the late Victorian years with imported raw materials at a time of unfavourable economic conditions. Steel production required new large-scale plant and large amounts of outside capital. Dividends slumped, many firms went into liquidation, and old partnerships gave way to limited liability companies. Bolckow Vaughan had become a limited company as early as 1864, and they built the first Bessemer steel plant at Eston in 1876, producing 10,000 tons in its first year. 1879 was a year of heavy depression with many bankruptcies in the iron trade, but steel output at Bolckow Vaughan had risen to 85,000 tons. In that year Bolckow Vaughan also demonstrated the Gilchrist Thomas open hearth method of steelmaking at their works, by which steel could be made from phosphoric ores, but enormous plant was required. There were yet more failures to come. Henry Bolckow's nephew, Carl, was obliged to sell his uncle's collection of paintings at Christie's for almost £70,000, and to dispose of his life interest in the Marton estates, because of the failure of one of his subsidiary companies in 1891.[9]

In 1870 Arthur Dorman, who was born at Ashford in Kent, and at an early age became a partner is a small Stockton ironworks, founded a works for the manufacture of iron bars and angles for shipbuilding, in partnership with Albert de Lande Long. In 1879 they bought out Samuelson's West Marsh works, and became a limited liability company ten years later. By the turn of the century Dorman Long was employing 3,000 men. Bell Brothers, which had remained an ironmaking concern, became a limited company in 1899. In 1902 Dorman Long and Bell Brothers merged. Sir Lowthian Bell became chairman of Dorman Long, and Arthur Dorman vice-chairman.

The early years of the new century saw the entry of another big

name into the ranks of the Middlesbrough ironmasters, and the creation of a group which in many respects matched the Bolckow Vaughan interests and those of Dorman Long and Bell Brothers. The old Cargo Fleet Company works, built in 1864, had long been obsolete but occupied a valuable site on the estuary of the Tees. In 1901, following the death of one of the principal proprietors of the Cargo Fleet Company, still at that time a private company, control passed to the Weardale Steel Coke and Coal Company. The chairman of the latter was Sir Christopher Furness, later Lord Furness, a virtually self-made man and typical late Victorian and Edwardian entrepreneur who was also chairman of the South Durham Steel and Iron Company, which in turn had been created by the amalgamation of three companies only three years before. Furness, who was also a shipowner and a shipbuilder in a big way, proceeded to clear the old Cargo Fleet site and commence the building of a new fully integrated works.[10]

Cargo Fleet merged with South Durham in 1928, and Dorman Long finally amalgamated with Bolckow Vaughan in the unprecedented economic circumstances of 1929. From then until the nationalisation of the steel industry in 1967 there were, thus, two major firms; Dorman Long and South Durham. Today all iron and steelmaking in Tees-side is under the control of the Teesside Division of the British Steel Corporation.

A Wider Perspective i) The Masters

Although steel was a private industry until 1967, it had in another sense been a national industry for over a century. The vast size of its plant and the huge sums needed for capital investment increasingly made it necessary for competing firms to come to some

sort of understanding as to who produced what, and to share each others' technical knowledge. This is reflected by the formation of such bodies as the Iron and Steel Institute, the British Iron Trade Association, the Rail Makers Association, and many others. Thus, at a very early stage in its development, it is reasonable to talk of the British steel industry in contrast to the French, the German, or that of any other nation.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the iron and steel industry in the Middlesbrough district was a very large and important part of the British industry as a whole. The Cleveland ore field was the largest in the country, and Middlesbrough was the only port in Britain to import over one million tons of ore in 1902. Only two other ports exceeded half a million tons; Glasgow and Cardiff with 800,000 tons each.[11] The biggest steel producing group in Britain in 1913 was the Dorman Long group of plants with an output from three plants of over 700,000 tons of ingots.[12] Men like Lowthian Bell, who died in 1904, had long been national figures. It follows that a general account of the industry as a whole is necessary to indicate some of the wider matters which exercised the minds of the local ironmasters, and to illuminate the world in which they lived.

One is immediately struck by the fact that from the mid-1860s all was not well. Competition from abroad was increasing inexorably; especially from Germany and the United States of America; while British attitudes were notable for lack of enterprise and reluctance to change. The industry was notorious for poor standards of education, an inadequate application of science and the latest techniques, and in methods of organisation. Britain's pre-eminent place in the industrial revolution had produced a sense of complacency.

At the Paris Exhibition in 1867 there was no serious British effort to make a representative display. Some British producers, unlike their foreign rivals, felt that exhibitions were not worthwhile. Others were discouraged by the meagre space alloted to them, while some, it was reported, 'had irresponsibly intruded slovenly heaps of raw material mingled with pieces of rusty iron.'[13] The official reporters came back with the shocking news that Britain's industrialists, and especially the ironmasters, were vegetating while their competitors forged ahead.[14] A writer in the Edinburgh Review said that it was 'no longer a matter of conjecture that Britain had lost its first place and was fast retrogressing, the Exhibition afforded evidence of our decline upon the largest possible scale.'[15]

Lowthian Bell dismissed the evidence of the Exhibition as irrelevant because he believed no exhibit was beyond the capacity of existing British plant, and that Britain's iron industry was secure on the sound basis of mineral resources which were unapproached in Europe.[16] Bell felt that Britian's mineral resources compensated for dearer labour, but in fact by the end of the century more and cheaper ores had become available for competitors' steel. But many British employers were of the opinion that competition was becoming more difficult mainly through high wages, and that high wages were the result of trade unions. The industry's critics of 1867 had sensed danger in an attachment to routine and a lack of adequate training, and subsequent events were to give substance to their fears.[17] Not only was there a distaste for the effort and expense of change, but there had been unsuccessful efforts in Britain to make changes which had been made elsewhere, according to Siemens in his presidential address to the Iron and Steel Institute in 1878.[18] Despite improvements in the British industry, the gap between British and European standards of scientific training remained a wide one.

The peak of British iron and steel exports was reached in 1882 as the result of American, followed by world, railway building.[19] By the 1890s the trend of trade had changed drastically. Iron prices fell everywhere, but the impact of depression was greater in Britain than in Europe. British exports fell by almost 40 per cent in the years 1889-1892, and remained low. Germany's exports almost regained their former volume by 1891, passed it in 1893 and continued to rise fast. Home consumption was stationary or only slowly rising in Britain, Germany, and Belgium.[20] In 1894 the Economist said that, 'the British industry was increasingly dancing to the tune of foreign producers, not foreign buyers. Competition could no longer be regarded as a series of frontier skirmishes: outlying provinces were the objects of massed invasion, and there were attacks on the capital. The rapid advance of production which had been the glory of much of Victoria's reign had ceased during the last twenty years.'[21]

In 1875 Britain still accounted for 47 per cent of the world production of pig iron, and almost 40 per cent of world steel production. By 1896 the British share of world production had fallen to 29 per cent for pig iron and 22.5 per cent for steel. By that time America led the world in both pig iron and steelmaking. German steel production was also overhauling that of Britain, having continued to expand during the depression while British production was falling or stationary.[22] By 1900 exports of steel from America were rivalling those of Germany. Britain's foreign competitors were becoming more highly organised, but there was little chance of fiscal retaliation with the return of Liberal governments in 1906 and 1910. Worst of all, Britain was now the principal market for the rest of the world's export of iron and steel which had fluctuated for many years around 350,0C

tons, starting to rise in the last years of the nineteenth century, reaching 2,149,000 tons in 1913. This left Britain a net export of only some 2,600,000 tons.[23]

Many contributory factors have been cited as causes for Britain's failure to keep up with foreign competition. Lack of trained personnel was one; and though no doubt some individuals were as good as the best workers abroad, Burn regards the blastfurnace manager who could neither read not write, and the works which experimented for two years making open hearth steel 'with no difficulty' without the services of a chemist, as only mild charactures of the general position.[24] A critic of the 1890s described the normal works laboratory as a 'pretentious annex,' where underpaid and second-rate analysts supplied untrustworthy information.[25] Though steelmakers had no doubt advanced since the 1870s, when one of them remarked that chemists 'should be kept in a cage until something went wrong,'[26] it was admitted in 1905 that the technical training which in Britain was done in night schools was done in Germany and America in the day.[27] Further, innovations of the 80s and 90s were pioneered outside Britain to a greater extent than those of the 70s had been. America had become the acknowledged pioneer in blastfurnace practice,[28] overtaking Middlesbrough, and was also responsible for the big advance in mechanical equipment, mass production, and output per unit of plant.[29] In Europe, especially in Germany, there was a higher standard and a wider spread of technical education, and a greater readiness to apply scientific knowledge, than in Britain.[30] In 1902 Professor Sexton of Glasgow University accounted for the slow advance of metallurgical education by the failure of iron and steelmakers to supply the necessary funds, and by the failure of works managers to employ trained men.[31]

It was not just in the solution of technical problems that British steelmakers lagged behind. Most of the families which dominated the British industry had secured their positions in mid-century, but by 1900 new qualities and new skills were required to cope with the problems of integration, co-ordination and staff selection, marketing, and industrial diplomacy.[32] Great power was exercised in the British iron and steel industry by a group of elderly men. Lowthian Bell was already 52 at the time of the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and many young members of the industry in the early twentieth century traced its slow adoption of new practices to the power exercised by man of advanced years.[33] The founders of the great firms died at a ripe old age, many of them around the same time, such as Sir Lowthian Bell (1904), Sir Benjamin Hingley (1905), Sir David Dale, J.T. Smith, and J.D. Ellis (1906). The picture of the British industry was one of stagnation, not only in production and foreign trade, but also in structure. Works which were important in 1904 had been important in 1880, and for the most part had grown little since. The commercial organisation of the industry had remained unchanged for half a century.[34] If one British firm had made radical changes, no doubt others would have been forced to follow their example.[35] The Iron and Coal Trades Review said in January 1908 that, 'the German industry's success was frequently purchased at a price and in a manner alien to British ideas.' But in December 1909 the same review said that 'Germany was going ahead because her manufacturers and merchants were organised. Britain was standing still because her manufacturers and merchants were not organised.'[36]

A Wider Perspective ii) The Men

In the early years of the nineteenth century a Friendly Society of Ironfounders was formed which, by the middle of the century had over seventy branches and more than 7,000 members. At mid-century a plethora of trade unions began to appear in the industry in different regions of the country to cater for a variety of trades and skills. Some disappeared after a few years, others grew stronger through a series of amalgamations. The first union to have a continuous existence, the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, emerged in the north of England under the leadership of John Kane at Darlington.[37] On Kane's untimely death in 1876, Edward Trow, the assistant secretary took charge until his own death in office in 1899.[38] James Cox, the next general secretary continued at the head of the union until after it joined the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, when he became secretary of the Confederation in 1918.[39] Edward Trow and James Cox were both well known names during the years with which we are particularly concerned, 1890-1914. But there seems to have been a general want of leadership exercised by men resident in Middlesbrough.

The British Steel Smelters Association was first established in Scotland in 1886, although none of its originators had had previous trade union experience.[40] Its first general secretary was John Hodge who became a member of Parliament in 1906, and Britain's first Minister of Labour, under Lloyd George, in 1916. The Smelters Association was united with the National Amalgamated Society of Enginemen, Cranemen, Boilermen, Firemen and Electrical Workers in 1912, before entering the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation in 1917.[41]

Blastfurnacemen in Cleveland felt that their interests and those of other lower paid workers were not catered for by John Kane's

organisation, so following a series of meetings in 1878, they formed an independent Society of Blastfurnacemen.[42] The Society became a National Association in 1889,[43] a Federation 1892,[44] and finally, in 1921, the National Union of Blastfurnacemen, covering England and Wales, with its head office still in Middlesbrough.[45] Coke oven workers also belong to this union, but the NUB has remained separate from the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.

Skilled engineering workers, fitters, turners, electricians, boilermakers, platers, and plumbers, who repair and maintain iron and steel plants have also undergone a series of amalgamations and re-organisations, but they have always remained members of their own craft unions and have never joined the industrial union. Certain general workers too have remained separate from the steel industry unions, the ISTC and the NUB, in either the Transport and General Workers Union or the General and Municipal Workers Union.

Iron and Steel was one of the large industrial strongholds of trade unionism. Others were mining, engineering, textiles, building, and transport. These, with the smaller industries of printing, clothing, and woodworking, held five-sixths of all the trade unionists in the country in 1906. But with a total membership of about 2,000,000 in all unions, it meant that less than one sixth of all British wage earners were members. In the 1890s almost half the trade unionists in England and Wales were to be found in the four northern counties of Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.[46] Yet when Ben Tillett addressed the Middlesbrough Trades' Council in 1894 he estimated that only about one quarter of the town's workers were trade union members.[47] This is not surprising in view of the only recent appearance of the 'new unionism' among general workers in Britain at

this date, and the multiplicity of unions in the iron and steel trades, which would make it quite easy to belong to no union at all.

A notable feature of wages in the iron and steel industry at this period, and in coal mining up to about 1902, was the 'sliding scale' which varied wages automatically according to the selling price of the product.[48] Iron and steel workers differed from miners in that their earnings tended to go upwards, and unlike the miners, their allegiance was divided. The scale was a way of making general wage changes in an industry in which unions would not, or could not, associate effectively for wage negotitations. In spite of its economic vunerability, which we shall see when we come to consider 'distress' in Middlesbrough, the iron and steel industry paid high and rising wages, and it offered the unskilled recruit the prospect of advancement to really high earnings. Output per man was increasing, even if not at the rate of foreign competitors, and in any case wages were a small part of the total cost of production.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, iron and steel workers were without doubt among the aristocracy of manual labour. In 1892 nearly a quarter of the country's total labour force still received £1, or less, a week. 59 per cent received between £1 and 30s. 11 per cent received 30s. to 35s., leaving just over 6 per cent with higher wages. But even blastfurnacemen, who regarded themselves as the 'cinderellas' of the iron industry, averaged about 33s. a week in Cleveland. The lowest adult wage was about 22s. for unskilled labour, while the more skilled men got from 35s. to 40s., and a keeper (senior man on a blastfurnace) received up to 55s. a week. But they worked such long hours, averaging 12 hours a day, seven days a week, with a 24-hour shift every alternate Sunday in Cleveland, Lanark, and Ayr, so that their hourly earnings were probably around the

national average.[49] Thomas McKenna, who became secretary of the Cleveland Association in 1912, had this to say about the long hours,[50]

> The furnaceman only wore his 'best' suit on the occasion of a wedding or a funeral; for his working hours were eleven on days and thirteen on nights on alternate weeks throughout the year, with a 24-hour long turn each fortnight, which left little time, or inclination, to change from working clothes. The brutalising nature of the work made itself expressly felt at that heartbreaking moment when one struggled to one's feet after the meal break on the long turn to commence the second half of the shift's work.

The reduction of blastfurnacemen's hours to eight per shift in Cumberland and Lancashire in 1890 was achieved with only a 5 per cent reduction in wages, so hourly rates in these districts were appreciatively higher. By 1894 the eight hour shift was spreading to the Cleveland area, but it was not generally conceded by the Cleveland masters until 1897.[51]

In the wrought iron and steel trades the wage structure was complicated by the general practice of piecework based on the tonnage produced, by the sliding scale, and by the contracting system. But on the whole,earnings were higher than on the blastfurnaces, and skilled 'tonnage' workers in steel were still further ahead of the general run of craftsmen's wages than the ironpuddlers had been twenty years before.[52]

In spite of what some ironmasters said about high wages in Britain, it was common knowledge that wages were higher in the United States of America than in Britain, and it is doubtful whether British wages were higher than those paid by producers in the most important competing regions of Europe.[53] However, the ironmasters, like all Victorian masters, believed in the axiom which David Dale propounded in his presidential address to the Iron and Steel Institute in 1895,[54] that ' the price of labour, as of every other merchantable commodity,

must be ultimately regulated by the inexorable law of supply and demand.' But it was evident that this law did not work to everybody's advantage. In her survey of ironworkers' homes in Middlesbrough, Lady Bell[55] found that while many lacked skill in managing their income, about one seventh of the worker's households were on, or below, the poverty line entirely because of low incomes. She was also surprised to find how many workers were 'more or less ailing in different ways.' But the 'iron law' was the sine qua non of the cash nexus in the minds of all right thinking masters. Henry Lee, chairman of Bolckow Vaughan, informed the company shareholders in 1901 that wages were coming down, but only slowly. Workmen, he said, were not as prepared to see their wages reduced as they were to welcome advances. Mr Lee could see another law at work here, that when wages were up output was down, and when wages were low output was raised. This phenomenon he explained by the fact that 'when people got high wages they liked to take holidays, and a great many of the firms's colliers were disposed to go to cricket and football matches and race meetings, and in various ways to enjoy themselves. When wages were low they were not able to do so much in that way.'[56]

Industry and the Community

An exaggerated respect for the laws of economics led to a parsimonious attitude towards the local community among directors and shareholders in Middlesbrough. Reports of company meetings and the directors' minute books of the period are revealing. Bolckow Vaughan used to put £1,000 at the disposal of the directors each year for schools, churches, hospitals, and other charitable causes. It was not necessarily all spent. Their miscellaneous list might range from

£25 for a Middlesbrough High School Scholarship to one guinea for the Middlesbrough Workhouse Christmas tree.[57] In moving the resolution to set aside the usual sum at the shareholders' meeting in 1905, the speaker pointed out that the company's properties were situated in over thirty parishes in Yorkshire and County Durham, and that they employed about 15,000 workmen. This meant that about 60,000 men, women, and children were more or less dependent on the company for a living, so shareholders would understand that the claims upon the directors were many, and not infrequently urgent.[58] It seems a rather defensive speech to justify an average potential expenditure of four pence on each of 60,000 people over a period of a year.

In hard times Bolckow Vaughan, like other large firms, endeavoured to relieve distress among its employees by the distribution of food, clothes, and fuel. But during the coal strike of 1912 the company declined to give relief in areas which were party to the strike.[59] Bolckow Vaughan was the oldest of the great Middlesbrough iron and steel companies, and though £1,000 a year was little enough in comparison with the crying social needs of the area, it made Bolckow's its most generous company.

Dorman Long had a policy of refusing applications for donations to church and chapel building funds,[60] although Arthur Dorman personally gave large sums to projects in which he was directly interested. The company voted £250 for charitable purposes in 1893, and £250 to the Diamond Jubilee Fund in 1897, which was for existing medical institutions in Middlesbrough. In 1900 the firm's charitable subscriptions were recorded as £100 to the North Riding Infirmary; £100 to the Indian Famine Fund; and £10 to the Middlesbrough children's fresh air fund. It was also agreed to contribute £50 towards liquidating the debt on

the Welsh Baptist Church in Middlesbrough. In 1901 Dorman Long gave £50 to the building extension fund of the North Ormesby Hospital, and later that year increased it to £100. One hundred guineas were contributed to the central fund for the national memorial to Queen Victoria. In 1902 the firm gave £25 to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, and in September 1914, £1,000 to the Prince of Wales Fund.

Bell Brothers' policy for charitable contributions was similar to that of Bolckow Vaughan,[61] but Cargo Fleet, taken over and re-organised by Christopher Furness, took a less liberal-handed attitude to outside causes. When requested to make a donation for the memorial to Sir David Dale in 1907, the board took the view that 'the finances of the company require careful handling and do not permit of a donation being made.'[62]

Local Government

In Middlesbrough's early years its industrial and commercial entrepreneurs were inevitably responsible for the town. From 1831 to 1841 Middlesbrough was under the control of the Middlesbrough Owners who bought the Middlesbrough Estate in 1829. Joseph Pease was the leading personality, and it was the Owners who planned and developed the town. In 1841 the government of the town was taken on by twelve Improvement Commissioners. They included some of the Owners, but were joined by other men, including the ironmaster, Henry Bolckow. The Commissioners dealt with watch, paving, lighting, cleansing, and drainage. The Improvement Act gave them power to levy a rate not exceeding two shillings in the pound, or two shillings and sixpence with the consent of a majority of ratepayers, and they could borrow up to £5,000.

The town had a population of 5,000 in 1840. It had grown to 7,000 by 1850, and was to be almost 20,000 by 1861. Middlesbrough was incorporated in 1853, and the leading ironmasters and other industrialists stood for election to the council of twelve members. Bolckow received the most votes and was chosen by the new town council as its first mayor. In 1863 he became the first president of the Chamber of Commerce, and in 1868 he was returned unopposed as the first Member of Parliament for Middlesbrough. In succeeding years Isaac Wilson, John Vaughan, William Fallows, Edgar Gilkes, and William Hopkins were mayors. Power was firmly in the hands of the men who controlled the economy of the town, most of them Liberal in politics. Isaac Wilson, who succeeded Bolckow as mayor, later succeeded him as Member of Parliament.

The influence of the ironmasters and other pioneer families began to decline after the mid-Victorian period, though it did not by any means disappear. The new generation, however, were not as interested in the town council as their fathers had been, and the so called 'intermediate social classes' came into greater prominence. Local government was passing from the paternalistic to the representative stage. Local shopkeepers gradually acquired the social and political authority which they already possessed in other Victorian towns and cities. After 1875 the leadership was in their hands in Middlesbrough. Of eighteen mayors between 1893 and 1912 only two were large manufacturers. In 1872 there were ten ironmasters and seven shopkeepers on the town council. In 1912 there were fifteen shopkeepers and only one ironmaster. Development and improvement had depended for so long on the paternalism of the owners and the ironmasters that the withdrawal of their influence left a vacuum. Very little was heard

of civic reform until the early years of the twentieth century, and there were few visible signs until the century was well advanced. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, and up to the first world war, the chief issues at local elections were keeping the rates down, and defending temperance and nonconformity. There was a distinct lack of imaginative leadership at local level.

Middlesbrough's jubilee in 1881 came at a time of much local 'distress', a word which was to occur with painful regularity in newpapers in the decades to come. At the jubilee the decline in the iron rails industry was referred to as 'the death of a staple industry.' The Corporation refused to be associated with the celebrations at a time of such serious industrial recession. On this occasion Henry Bolckow's statue was unveiled.

In 1889 Middlesbrough became a county borough, and that same year the Corporation was responsible for the arrangements for opening the new town hall by the Prince of Wales. Round the council chamber were hung full length portraits of Joseph Pease, William Fallows, Henry Bolckow, John Vaughan, and Lowthian Bell. The mayor that year was Major Raylton Dixon, Middlesbrough's largest shipbuilder. He was a Conservative, but his family was related by marriage to the Bells and the Bolckows, and was later to be connected with the Dormans. He lived in Gunnergate Hall, John Vaughan's old home. In his reply to the Prince at the opening ceremony, Major Dixon modestly admitted that Middlesbrough had not much of a past to speak of, but looked forward to a great future. With the vociferous approval of his listeners, the Major went on,[63]

> His Royal Highness owned he had expected to see a smoky town. It is one, and if there is one thing more than another that Middlesbrough can be said to be proud of, it is the smoke (cheers and laughter). The smoke is an indication of

plenty of work (applause) -an indication of prosperous times (cheers) - an indication that all classes of workpeople are being employed, that there is little necessity for charity (cheers) and that even those in the humblest station are in a position free from want (cheers). Therefore we are proud of our smoke (cheers).

Housing and Health

The physical appearance and the condition of Middlesbrough were determined by the nature of the iron and steel industry, and the rapid growth of the town. The phenomenal increase in population was brought about by the influx of workers to serve, first the coal export trade, then the iron industry. The vast majority were navvies and unskilled labourers, not only from the agricultural districts of England, but also from Wales, Ireland, Poland, and the Baltic States.[64] The natural rate of population increase was also high. From 1881 to 1931 Middlesbrough's rate of natural increase was consistently higher in each decennial period than either for the North Riding of Yorkshire, or for the whole of England and Wales.[65] The growth can be appreciated by a glance at the population table.

1801 - 25
1829 - 40
1831 - 154
1841 - 5,433
1851 - 7,631
1861 - 19,416
1871 - 39,563
1881 - 55,934
1891 - 75,532
1901 - 91,302
1911 - 104,767
1921 - 131,170

The original small town laid out by the Middlesbrough Owners was enclosed by a bend in the river to the west and north, and by the railway to the south. Within this area was the 'old' town and the area still known as the ironmasters' district where some of the first

ironworks and mills were built. The area was further sealed off by the extension of the railway line to Redcar in 1846, and the large new railway station built at Middlesbrough in 1877 emphasised the division of the town into two halves. The northern half could not grow any more because there was no more land. The southern half could only expand south because iron works and other industries occupied land to east and west. The railway divided two layers of history, indicated by some of the street names; Stockton Street, Wellington Street, Brougham Street, and Sussex Street to the north; Wilson Street, Bolckow Street, Vaughan Street, and Gilkes Street to the south.

Lady Bell described the dramatic consequences of the discovery of ironstone in 1850.[66]

> The genesis of an ironmaking town which follows such a discovery is breathless and tumultuous, and the onslaught of industry which attends the discovery of mineral wealth, whether ironstone or coal mines, has certain characteristics unlike any other form of commercial enterprise. The unexpectedness of it, the change in the condition of the district, which suddenly becomes swamped under a great rush from all parts of the country of people often of the roughest kind, who are going to swell the ranks of unskilled labour; the need for housing these people; all this means that there springs up, and too rapidly, into existence a community of a pre-ordained inevitable kind, the members of which must live near their work. They must therefore have houses built as quickly as possible; the houses must be cheap, must be as big as the workman wants, and no bigger; and as they are built, there arise, hastily erected, instantly occupied, the rows and rows of little brown streets, of the aspect that in some place or other is familiar to all of us. A town arising in this way cannot wait to consider anything else than time and space; and none of either must be wasted on what is merely agreeable to the eye, or even on what is merely sanitary. There can be no question under these conditions of building model cottages, or of laying out a district into ideal settlements. As one owner after another starts ironworks in the growing place, there is a fresh inrush of workmen, and day by day the little houses spring hurriedly into existence, until at last we find ourselves in the middle of a town. It is, unhappily, for the most part a side issue for the workman whether he and his family are going to live under healthy conditions. The main object of his life is to be at work; that is the one absolute necessity.

The lack of sanitary equipment and the poor condition of houses built in the nineteenth century were even worse that Lady Bell's description might suggest. The site of Middlesbrough was a thoroughly bad one, according to its first Medical Officer of Health.[67] He went on to say that there were, in fact, few worse sites upon which to found a large and increasing town. Most of the working class houses were erected upon an area known as 'the marshes' which extended from the river, across the railway and into Cannon and Newport wards. These flooded periodically, and were difficult to drain because they were so low lying. Consequently, damp rot hastened the deterioration of the poorly constructed dwellings. The only sanitary conveniences when the houses were built were privy middens, while water was supplied by a tap which had to serve a large number of houses. 94 per cent of the existing houses in 1869 were served by privy middens only. The last one was not abolished until 1914. Many houses in the meantime were equipped with pan closets which had to be emptied into carts before the contents were tipped into barges and dumped in the North Sea, or sold to local farmers for manure. Even in 1912, after a considerable number of pan closets had been converted into water closets, there were still 15,000 pan closets in use when there were approximately 23,000 houses in the town.

Much of the blame for this state of affairs must be laid at the door of tardy local government. The so called 'dirty party' in the middle years of the nineteenth century had argued that as Middlesbrough was a new town there was little need for health legislation. The baths and wash houses advocated by the 'clean party' in the 1860s were not built until 1884. The rate payers got the town council they deserved. The progress of a better drainage system was held back in

the 1870s by battles over the rates, and it took an enormous effort to agree a rate of two shillings in the pound in 1874; an amendment to one shilling and sixpence was only defeated by the Mayor's casting vote in full council. Four years later some ratepayers, claiming to represent £76,500 of the ratable value of the town, petitioned for a cut in capital expenditure on items like water and drainage. They claimed that the increase in rates was not expedient at a time of such unprecedented commercial depression. The uncertainties of the iron and steel industry were always a convenient argument against spending money on improvements. It was recommended at a conference organised by the Trades Council in 1900, that the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 should be implemented locally. A Sanitary and Housing Reform Association was founded, but little more was heard of the matter.

The danger from infectious diseases was increased by privy middens, by cleaning out pan closets, and by carting 'night soil' through the street. In 1854 Edward Pease noted in his diary, 'The cholera yet continues in Middlesbrough.'[68] In 1897 and 1898 there was a serious smallpox epidemic in the town with 1,141 cases including 198 deaths. A prevalent disease was known as 'Middlesbrough pneumonia' because it resembled pneumonia, but it was also highly infectious. Enteric fever was also common.[69]

Overcrowding in poor and densely built up areas was responsible for much ill-health, and in Marsh ward the death rate was considerably higher than in the rest of the town. The Medical Officer of Health said that the ward needed rehousing in 1902, but there was no extensive slum clearance until 1934. In his annual report in 1906 the Medical Officer said that during the years 1901 to 1905 'the

high death rates occurred in blocks of houses which were situated in yards or were back-to-back... houses which did not have a free circulation of fresh air, either around them or through them. These houses are built in such proximity to each other that the population of a small area is often very great.'[70]

For the great majority of men employed in an ironworks there were long hours of hard, monotonous labour, often in dangerous conditions. In addition there was a polluted atmosphere, difficult to imagine today. The hot, smoky, dusty air in the works took its inevitable toll on health, and little was done by employers to improve working conditions. Pulmonary diseases and rheumatism were common, and as most workers lived only a short distance from the works, they continued to breathe in a polluted atmosphere when they were at home. A permanent pall of smoke hung over the northern part of Middlesbrough. It was still there after the second world war, shutting out the light and depositing soot and grime over everything and everyone.

Between 1871 and 1873 Middlesbrough's average death rate was 23.96 per 1,000 of the population. 40 per cent of these were children under the age of one year, and another 20 per cent were between the ages of one and five years.[71] In 1904 the death rate in Middlesbrough was the highest in the land. In 1905 its pneumonia death rate was 3.7 per 1,000 population, while for comparable towns in the north of England it was 1.5 per thousand.[72] It is not surprising that Middlesbrough was always high, and too often at the top, on these lists. Sited on a marsh, close packed, sub-standard, insanitary houses, polluted air, combined with dilatory, inadequate local government. The results were inevitable.

In this chapter we have sketched in the setting in which the churches had to exercise their ministry. It is now appropriate for us to see how the denominations established their own lives and their day to day activities, and to examine the role chosen by the churches in the light of their secular environment, their understanding of that environment, and their attitudes towards it.

Chapter Three

THE CHURCHES' RESPONSE: I INSTITUTIONAL

> 'The mere responsibility of keeping the witness of the Christian Church strong in the midst of so tremendous a population - that of itself is very heavy.'
>
> Archbishop Lang

Middlesbrough's Churches 1830-1890

The Middlesbrough Estate lay in the ecclesiastical parish of St. Mary, Acklam with its parish church two or three miles south of the new town. The nearest Nonconformist and Roman Catholic places of worship were at Stockton, but various religious groups were reported to be holding meetings for worship before a ministry established itself in Middlesbrough. A long room built above three cottages in West Street by William Fallows was successively used by a variety of denominations; Unitarians, Roman Catholics, Baptists, and then Unitarians again.

Wesleyan Methodists have a good claim to be the first arrivals. They are said to have held meetings at the coal staithes as far back as 1828 in a large room erected for the convenience of the coal heavers. Preachers came from the Stockton Circuit to hold regular services. Their first chapel was in West Street, in what appears to have been Graham's shoe shop in 1832. The first permanent church building in Middlesbrough was the Wesleyan Centenary Chapel in the market square; opened in 1839 it remained in use until 1949. At a cost of £1,200 it accommodated between 400 and 500 people. A further £800 was spent in 1850 on an enlargement to accommodate another 200. Chapels were also built in the 1850s in Gosford Street

and Wellington Street. The Wesley Chapel in Linthorpe Road known as 'Big Wesley,' seating 840 worshippers, was opened in 1863. John Vaughan, the ironmaster, contributed £1,200 towards the cost of £6,000. Schools were built at the back of the chapel for a further £2,000. In the next thirty years Wesleyan chapels were built at West End, in Newport Road, Waterloo Road, Lord Street, Linthorpe, North Ormesby, and South Bank.

The Primitive Methodists quickly followed the Wesleyans. They first appeared in Middlesbrough in 1833, and were holding services in Davison's Yard, off Dacre Street, in 1835. Ten years later they opened a chapel in Richmond Street. This was followed by chapels in Linthorpe, South Bank, and North Ormesby. The Primitive Methodists' largest chapel was in Gilkes Street; opened in 1878, it cost £3,400 and accommodated 850 people. In 1880 the original chapel in South Bank was replaced with a new one to seat 720 worshippers at a cost of £2,500.

Other branches of Methodism followed. The United Methodist Free Church was introduced into Middlesbrough in 1853 by four members who met in a room in West Street. In 1858 membership had grown to thirty, and a small chapel was built at the back of Linthorpe Road. When this proved too small, a new chapel and schools were erected in 1877 in Grange Road to seat 1,000 worshippers at a cost of £8,200. The congregation at Linthorpe Road had already opened a mission in a joiner's shop in Fleetham Street in 1866. This was replaced by a new chapel in Milton Street in 1868. A small mission was also opened in South Bank in 1878. The Methodist New Connexion began in 1870 when twenty people, chiefly ironworkers from Staffordshire, were gathered together by a visiting minister. A chapel, a second-hand iron structure, costing £300 to accommodate 400 worshippers, was

erected on a site in Corporation Road bought from the Middlesbrough Owners for £700 in 1871. Although membership never reached one hundred, the debt was paid off by 1875. Another chapel was erected in 1871 by the Wesleyan Reformers. This was in Brougham Street, replacing a chapel built on the same site in 1853 when the society was formed. It had originated from a visit, in 1849, of three Wesleyan ministers who had been expelled from the Wesleyan Methodist body for their refusal to conform to a certain test imposed upon its members. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists always remained a small body. They came into being in 1859 when they separated from the other Welsh congregations in Middlesbrough. They met in a small room in Lithgow Yard, Lower East Street before moving to the Oddfellows Hall in 1868. They opened a chapel in Boundary Road in 1876.

The London Home Mission opened a Congregational chapel in Middlesbrough in 1837. It occupied a room in Stockton Street with a congregation of twenty, before moving to a more permanent place in East Street in 1837. In 1857 the Queen's Terrace church was opened; it was sold to the Missions to Seamen in 1892. In 1874 the Cannon Street chapel opened. It was south of the railway, and had begun as a mission in rooms in Calthorpe Street in 1873. In 1878 it became a separate church, independent of Queen's Terrace.

Baptists began monthly meetings in West Street in 1849 under a Stockton Pastor. After three years they were able to hold services once a week. When the Rev. W. M'Phail came in 1862 a difference arose over the constitution of the church. The majority remained with Mr M'Phail and formed the nucleus of the Newport Road Baptist Church which was opened in 1874 at a cost of £5,500 to accommodate 1,000 people. The Welsh Baptists, a small body confined to Welsh people, and exclusive in doctrine, was formed in 1858 by a few

persons who had worshipped with other denominations. At first they rented a small room in Stockton Street before migrating in 1870 to the Oddfellows Hall. They increased in numbers and opened the Benthall Street chapel in 1877. It cost £1,200, of which £600 had been raised by the time of the opening. It was an iron structure to accommodate 400 people. The Grange Road Strict Baptist chapel, seating about 300, was opened in 1878. Marton Road chapel, an off-shoot of Newport Road, was opened in 1886, and Linthorpe Road chapel which began as a group of Particular Baptists, was opened in 1888. In 1890 a Baptist Mission was started in North Ormesby.

The first Presbyterian sermon was preached in Middlesbrough in 1861 in the British School Room, Stockton Street. The United presbyterian Church, Newport Road was opened in 1865 at a cost of £2,200 with seating for 650 people. It was incorporated with the Presbyterian Church in England, and disassociated from the Scottish United presbyterian Church in 1878. As a result of a mission started by the Home Mission Scheme of the Newcastle Presbytery, Trinity Presbyterian Church in Corporation Road came into being. The first service was held in the town hall in 1871. The lecture hall in Corporation Road was opened in 1873, and the church in 1875. It cost £4,500 and accommodated 550 people.

A society of Friends meeting house was built in Wilson Street in 1846 through the influence of Joseph Pease, accommodating 200. It was first enlarged then sold, and a new place of worship, in yellow brick, was erected in Dunning Street at a cost of £6,000 to accommodate 400 people. There were four class rooms, two committee rooms, and a caretaker's cottage in the grounds. It was a wealthy society, many of its members being prominent local men.

Among other denominations were the Unitarians, dating back to

1833, who opened a building in Corporation Road in 1873; a Gospel Hall Mission was erected in 1878 as the result of evangelistic services begun in 1867; and an Evangelistic Mission in Farrar Street began in 1881 in a small iron chapel erected by the Primitive Methodists. It was managed by four working men who rented the building from the owners. The Salvation Army had no building of its own up to 1890, but held meetings in the Oddfellows Hall, in Cannon Street, and in North Ormesby. Its total membership at that time was about 300. In 1874 a Jewish Synagogue was built. 50 persons subscribed to support the place in 1880 when the Jewish population of Middlesbrough was about 200.

Various houses and rooms were used for Roman Catholic Worship before the building of a small church in 1848 on the site of the present cathedral. The cathedral church was opened in 1878, but did not become a cathedral proper until the following year when Middlesbrough became the centre of a newly formed Roman Catholic diocese. Its first bishop was Father Richard Lacy who had come to the town in 1871. St. Patrick's Church, Marsh Street was established in 1873, and St. Alphonsus, North Ormesby in 1885.

A critic of 1836 complained that after six years Middlesbrough was 'still deficient of an Established Church.' [1] That year a public subscription was opened which quickly raised £600, and the Archdeacon of Cleveland held a meeting in the Middlesbrough Hotel at which he received £81. Significantly it was a dissenter's initiative which at last got the established church on the move. In 1838 Joseph Pease and the Owners gave the land for the building St. Hilda's Church. They made two stipulations; that two pews, one of ten, and one of five seats, be reserved for their use, and that the spire be not less than 120 feet high. The building was opened in 1840 at a total cost

of £2,500. The Church Building Society contributed £400; the Archbishop of York £100; Mr Thomas Hustler of Acklam Hall £100; and £1,200 was raised from a grand bazaar. Other subscriptions ensured that the whole cost was met before the church was opened. Built in stone, it was designed by John Green of Newcastle. The chancel, by W. H. Blessley, was added in 1890. The vicar of Middlesbrough continued to live at Acklam, and a series of curates in charge looked after St. Hilda's until J.K. Bealey was appointed as Middlesbrough's first resident incumbent in 1865. This degree of absenteeism during the formative years of Middlesbrough's growth is further evidence of the Church of England's casual attitude towards the rapidly expanding industrial town.

After 1865 a more determined effort began. In that year St. John's Church, south of the railway at the north end of Marton Road, was consecrated. It cost £5,500 and provided accommodation for 900. Nikolaus Pevsner[2] described St. John's as,

> One of the most impressive churches of Middlesbrough, and in a prominent position. It is big-boned and dour and not at all appealing. Red brick and blue bands and decoration. Large tower with short spire. Early English, with mostly single lancets. Transepts and a polygonal apse. Spacious, high interior, also red and blue. Round piers of moderate height, spiky arches.

St. Peter's district was separated from St. John's parish in 1873 on account of the rapidly growing population. St. Peter's Church was built about a quarter of a mile east of St. Hilda's, north of the railway. The Church of England was now in the race to build churches, but it never caught up with its new aspirations. The foundation stone of St. Paul's Church Newport Road, a large red and yellow brick building, 'raw and strong,'[3] even more 'dour' than St. John's was laid in 1870, and St Oswald's Cannon Street Mission was opened in 1876. The town continued to spread south, and the parish

of All Saints' was formed in 1871. The church, in early Decorated style, stone exterior and brick interior, was finally consecrated in 1878, and known as the 'Ironmasters Church' since much of the money was given by local industrialists. A temporary church in Linthorpe itself, between Middlesbrough and Acklam, was opened in 1875.

Expansion was not confined to the town of Middlesbrough. Small towns and villages immediately to the east and the south were affected by ironstone mining and the manufacture of iron and steel. The Anglican Deanery of Middlesbrough covered a large part of this area. Between 1841 and 1883 nine parish churches, two mission churches, and three temporary churches were built in the deanery, which in 1883 contained twenty-one parishes with forty-seven clergy. In the same year the parish churches of Skelton and Eston were in the course of erection, and altogether more than £50,000 had been spent. But still the increase in population showed no signs of slackening, and more churches were planned. Archbishop Thompson of York was pressing for five or six additional churches. A Middlesbrough Church Extension Society was formed, and an appeal was made in a circular letter, but the income could only be counted in hundreds of pounds in any one year. On one occasion it was less than £100, although larger sums were donated towards specific projects.

Church Extension 1890 to 1914

i Nonconformists

After 1890 Middlesbrough's population did not increase at the staggering pace of the preceding forty years. Yet there was still an increase from 75,000 in 1890 to over 126,000 in 1914, although 15,000 of this was the result of the Middlesbrough Extension Order

of the previous year which took in North Ormesby, Marton, and Linthorpe. These figures account for the continued emphasis on church extension. The Nonconformist churches had many more buildings than the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church combined. Anglicans had been relatively late in the field, and Middlesbrough was long reckoned a Nonconformist town. According to the Additional Curates' Aid Society, it 'was considered hardly respectable to be a member of the Church,' and chapel building was the biggest single corporate enterprise.[4] J.G. Bowran, Superintendent of the Primitive Methodist Circuit from 1900 to 1906, wrote,[5]

> Middlesbrough is a wonderful town, cosmopolitan and progressive. When I went to the town there were people who remembered it when it was only a row of cottages. Its development had been phenomenal. The Free Churches were very influential, each having lay members who were leaders in the town's affairs. They were men of whom any town or city might well have been proud. Staunch Free Churchmen they were, who applied Free Church principles in the Town Council and everywhere.

Between 1890 and 1914 half a dozen major Nonconformist buildings were opened, apart from additions and extensions to existing ones, and in 1900 the congregation of the Grange Road church subscribed 1,000 guineas to the Twentieth Century Fund of the United Free Methodist Church.[6]

The Primitive Methodists opened the Newport Mission Hall in 1891 and bought a site for a chapel in 1898. In 1892, following the sale of the Richmond Street chapel, a new chapel was erected in Linthorpe Road at a cost of almost £5,000. The Middlesbrough Primitive Methodist Circuit had six chapels in 1901, and about that time secured four new sites for new buildings and enlargements to existing ones. Each year at this period they were reporting substantial additions to their membership, and increased revenues. In

1902 the North Eastern Daily Gazette called the Primitive Methodists 'perhaps the most hopefully aggressive of the religious faiths in the north-east of England.'[7] They had spent £13,698 in the Middlesbrough Circuit on buildings and sites; most of it after 1890. The debt stood at £5,637 in 1902. In July, 1903 the foundation stone was laid for another church, a lecture hall and a Sunday school in Southfield Road.[8]

As far as church building was concerned, the Wesleyan Methodists were even more aggressive than the Primitives, and another surge of building came in the early years of the new century. In September, 1904 the foundation stone of Park Church was laid in Linthorpe Road, less than a mile south of Big Wesley. The church was opened on 11th October, 1905. Its final cost was £9,500, and at the time of opening £3,000 had been raised or promised. The seating capacity was 700.[9] Two years later, in June, 1907, another foundation stone was laid, further south again, in the Avenue, Linthorpe.[10] The total cost was £23,000, and included church, schools, vestries, guild room, ladies' parlour, cloak rooms, and a caretaker's cottage. About the same time a large new church was nearing completion in Woodlands Road, at a cost of £4,700. It accommodated 700 people, and was completed early in 1908. The Avenue church was opened in September, 1909.[11]

All these projects required an enormous commitment of time and effort on the part of Middlesbrough Wesleyans, not least in money raising efforts to pay off the formidable debts they incurred. But over the years churches were being closed as well as opened as the town spread further and further south. There were rumours as early as 1905 about the future of Big Wesley, and the Gazette expressed the hope that the Methodists intended to keep the site. The newspaper

asked why churches and chapels should have quiet side streets, and music halls and theatres the most prominent sites.[12] The Gazette's fears were fulfilled fifty years later, but not quite as envisaged. The congregation of the Centenary Chapel joined with Big Wesley in 1949. Then in 1953 the two congregations amalgamated with Park Chapel, and Big Wesley site was sold to the British Home Stores. But migration was not a new experience, it had been going on from very early days. West Street had moved to the Centenary Chapel in 1839; Woodlands Road replaced Waterloo Road in 1908; Avenue Methodist replaced Linthorpe village Methodist. The sale of old buildings and their even more commercially valuable sites helped to provide money for new buildings. It was a question of moving into larger buildings or following the church-going population southwards as the town grew. Sometimes it was both; moving south into larger premises, and into a more fashionable area.

In 1891 a deputation from the Congregational Union proposed that the Queen's Terrace church and the church in Cannon Street should be joined together under one minister with an assistant, and that an effort be made to sell the building at Queen's Terrace and a new chapel be built 'in a more central and convenient part of Middlesbrough as soon as possible.' As we saw, the Queen's Terrace building was sold to the Missions to Seamen. It realised £2,000. In 1894 St. George's Congregational Church was opened in Linthorpe Road.[13] 650 could be accommodated in the church, and 500 in a central schoolroom. The total cost was estimated at £7,500 which included the price for the site bought from the owners of the Middlesbrough Estate for £1,830. £1,810 was promised in subscriptions; £522 was raised at a bazaar in the town hall, and three

loans were made; £1,000 from the English Congregational Chapel Building Society and £300 from the Yorkshire Chapel Building Society, both free of interest; and £1,704 from the Halifax Building Society. In 1895 a debt of £3,200 was still outstanding, and at that time membership of the church was only 140. In 1897 Congregationalism in Middlesbrough was once again divided. St. George's and Cannon Street became separate churches.

The Salvation Army opened a citadel in Richmond Street in 1891 and another hall in Hartington Road in 1901. The Baptists opened a new chapel in South Bank in 1906 at a cost of just under £4,000.[14]

Pevsner's description of the collective architectural quality of these churches tells us something about the character of nonconformity in Middlesbrough.[15]

> There is not one with the self-confident churchy, steepled appearance which so often disturbed the Italianate in the late Victorian decades. Instead there is, yellow brick with a classical pediment (Friends Meeting House); arches and a pedimental gable (Gilkes Street Primitive Methodist); recessed Tuscan porch and a pediment (Newport Primitive Methodist); Italian Quattrocento forms in red brick and terracotta and a tower with a copper cap (Park Wesley); a Wrenish doorway, a Venetian window, and a pediment in red brick and terracotta (Woodlands Road Wesley).

This was the architecture of Nonconformists who subscribed to the dissidence of Dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion. These imposing classical buildings were not built by men who wished their churches to be mock copies of the churches of the Church of England.

ii <u>Roman Catholics</u>

In January, 1899 the Bishop of Middlesbrough, Dr. Lacy, held a meeting of Catholics in Middlesbrough to explain a scheme for building new churches and schools.[16] The Roman Catholic system was to build a school first, and to use the school chapel for worship until the

money was raised to open a permanent church building. Services had been held in St. Patrick's school chapel since 1873. The bishop announced that St. Patrick's Church and presbytery would be commenced as soon as £1,300 was raised. Later in the meeting the Rev. W.J.M'Naughton revealed that the fund stood at over £1,200, so that after the concert on St. Patrick's day they hoped to begin building. St. Patrick's church was opened for worship in 1901.

Dr. Lacey went on to say that a new church, presbytery and schools were to be built near the Linthorpe Road entrance to Albert Park. The schools would accommodate 500 children. A new convent was to be built at North Ormesby, and the bishop was also pleased to announce that the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul had promised to come to Middlesbrough to work among the poor. They did extraordinary work among the poor, said the bishop, and in Middlesbrough they would find plenty to do.

In June, 1903 the foundation stone of a new church, St. Peter's, South Bank, was laid.[17] The shell of the building cost over £7,000, and Father Nolan, the parish priest, hoped that everything would be completed within twenty months to accommodate 700 worshippers.

In November, 1903 the silver jubilee celebrations of Middlesbrough Cathedral, a large red brick building with no tower, coincided with its re opening, following additions and extensions which completed the original design. The additions included two trancepts, a baptistry, and a Blessed Sacrament chapel; completed at a cost of between £3,000 and £4,000.[18]

A centre for worship was established in Linthorpe Avenue in 1904, later to become the church of the Holy Name of Mary. Bishop Lacy had said in 1899 that Catholics must make progress all along the

line; he wanted the church to grow with the growth of the town.[19]

iii Church of England

In November, 1895, T.E.Lindsay, vicar of St. Paul's Middlesbrough, and later Archdeacon of Cleveland from 1907 to 1938 launched a scheme for raising £12,000 for the erection of two new churches and the creation of two new parishes in the district covered by St. Paul's parish. In a sermon preached in York Minister, 'in the heart of Yorkshire,' as he described it, he appealed for support, but the tone of his appeal, as the Gazette commented quite reasonably, was likely to provoke irritation and resentment back in Middlesbrough.[20] He spoke of his parishioners as 'seething together in ignorance and with every temptation to sin.' He represented trades unionism as hostile towards the church, and announced that before the end of the month he must raise £100 'in order to prevent the only possible site for a church from passing into the hands of the Primitive Methodists.'

However, a leading article in the Gazette three years later in 1898, commended Mr. Lindsay's efforts and those of his colleagues 'who have not only projected the erection of six new churches in the town, but have actually begun the work.'[21] On the 20th March, 1901, the first of these churches, St. Cuthbert's, Newport Road, was consecrated. Designed by Temple Moore, the church was built of brick, faced with local sandstone, and had, says Pevsner,[22]

> A singularly powerful exterior, fortress-like to the North, i.e. the ritual East. It is an odd group, low chapels, and two thin towers of which only one has been built. The Y-tracery along the sides is unusual too. Very large, serious interior.

Newport was a wholly working class area of some 30,000 people, and still increasing. St. Cuthbert's was responsible for 7,000 of them in the Newport district. The new church to accommodate 825,

the vicarage and the parish hall cost £10,000. £2,000 came from the Marriot Bequest, 'for the erection and endowment of churches and institutions in poor populous districts,' and several private individuals gave large sums, including two of £1,000 and two of £500.[23]

During these years of activity in the Newport area, work was going on in other parts of the town. The temporary church in Linthorpe, the chief residential area of the town, was replaced in 1897 by St. Barnabas, a permanent red brick building in the Early English style, and on the day the foundation stone of St. Cuthbert's was laid in 1898 it was reported that the Mission of the Holy Cross was shortly to be opened by St. Paul's parish in what had been the Prince of Wales Theatre, Cannon Street.[24] St. Aidan's, a temporary building in Linthorpe Road was started and completed in 1899. At the east end of Cannon Street, J.S.L. Burn, vicar of All Saints' was building the new church of St. Columba to replace a mission church opened in Alfred Street in 1889. When St. Columba's was opened in 1901 another parish was formed.[25] It was another Temple Moore church with an imposing interior. Pevsner comments,[26]

> Quite a memorable church. Red brick with a keep-like west tower, canted to one side to fit the site. The aisles are canted too, for the same reason, so that the total area of nave and aisles is really octagonal. But this is not noticed, as the nave dominates powerfully by means of its wide, rib-vaulted bays. The aisles are kept low and covered by transverse pointed tunnel-vaults. Triple screen behind the reredos, and behind this the Lady Chapel again unashamedly irregular. The whole is a ruthless, but by its compactness successful, composition.

Both St. Cuthbert's and St. Columba's represent the aspiration to create a kind of proletarian Anglo-Catholicism. In St. Columba's the whole congregation had a direct view of the sacrifice of the mass, and the bold, 'powerful', 'ruthless' architecture is symbolic

of its aggressive missionary character. St. Columba's and St. Cuthbert's, set down amidst the working classes, proclaimed in uncompromising terms the presence of the Church. It is significant that St. Columba's was built by Father Burn whose authoritarian personality was reflected in the militancy of his crusade to the surrounding slums. Indeed, St. Columba's robust, Romanesque style has the military appearance of a church of the Knights Templar.

Church extension was not confined to the town. The villages and small towns to the south and east of Middlesbrough became centres of ironstone mining, and soon Lady Bell's 'little brown streets' were to be found springing up in most of them. In 1901 churches were consecrated in Boosbeck and Skinningrove at a cost of over £6,000.[27] Loftus parish church was widened, reroofed and given a new chancel in 1902 at a cost of £2,700. Liverton church was to be restored for £650, and the new rector of Guisborough, A.N. Thomas, announced a scheme for renovating the parish church costing about £6,000. That year, 1902, the new tower of Saltburn was completed for over £3,000, and a peal of bells was installed. They were a gift from Arthur Dorman, the ironmaster, as a memorial to his brother.[28]

In his visitation charge in May, 1903, Archdeacon Hutchings of Cleveland reported that a new mission church and parish rooms had been built in St. John's parish, Middlesbrough, another densely populated part of the town. A site had also been found for a new mission church in St. Barnabas's parish. The Archdeaconry of Cleveland had received a total of £18,000 out of the £70,000 bequeathed in 1896 under the Marriot Bequest.[29]

In October, 1903, the laying of the foundation stone of St. Michael and All Angels' church, by Lady Constance Emmott, was reported.[30] This was also in St. John's parish which at that time had

a population of 27,000 people, and church accommodation for 900. St. Michael's cost £6,000, and was dedicated by the Archbishop of York, W.D. Maclagan, in September, 1904.[31] In May, 1905 the Archdeacon reported, among a long list of improvements and extensions to church buildings, that the debt of £5,000 outstanding on St. Michael's had been taken over by Mr. W.H.A. Wharton of Skelton Castle, to be repaid over fifteen years in easy instalments. The Archdeacon also said that church building in Middlesbrough had been checked 'for lack of men with which to carry out the work.'[32]

The most ambitious scheme for church extension was launched by Cosmo Gordon Lang on the 12th October, 1911 when, to a crowded meeting in Middlesbrough town hall, he announced a plan for Middlesbrough and district which would involve raising £30,000.[33] Shortly after his enthronement as Archbishop of York in 1909, Lang formed a committee of clergy and laymen in Middlesbrough to report to him on the needs of the Church of England in the town and neighbourhood.[34] Most of the twenty-four laymen on the new Church Extension Committee were prominent ironmasters, or closely connected with the iron trade. The committee submitted proposals for the formation of three new parishes; Grangetown, Nunthorpe, and St. James, Middlesbrough, and two new conventional districts; Grove Hill and Cambridge Road, Middlesbrough. The committee was of the opinion that certain sums of money were required urgently; £3,486 towards the payment of existing debts; £3,772 for the provision of sites; £4,550 for the erection of mission churches; £2,650 for the erection of parish halls; and £1,600 for the erection of parsonage houses: a total of £16,058. Other schemes less urgent, but in the committee's opinion necessary, would involve spending on additional £14,000 at least. It was therefore felt that the Archbishop would be justified in issuing an appeal for £30,000. The amount, the committee believed,

would probably meet the needs of the district for some time to come. At a private meeting of 'prominent churchmen' in Middlesbrough before the public launching of the appeal, Lang received promises amounting to £7,200; W.H.A.Wharton, £2,000; the Marquess of Zetland, £1,000; Messrs. Bell Bros., Dorman Long and Co., and North-Eastern Steel-works, £1,000 (in five years); F.A.E.Samuelson, £1,000; Arthur Dorman £1,000 (for Nunthorpe); Messrs. Samuelson and Co., £500; W.A. Hustler, £250 (in five years); William Hopkins, £250 (in five years); W.W. Storr, £100; Colonel Hawdon, £100. Some ironmasters were evidently prepared to give time and money, in a modest way, to an appeal from a national church leader.

In his address at the public meeting, Lang said they were there to launch a great enterprise to enable the church in which they believed, and to which they belonged, to do its part in strengthening the spiritual power of the great industrial district of Cleveland. This was impossible unless their church was set free from the many entanglements which crippled its efforts, and was put in the position for eight or ten years of being reasonably equipped for the great work which was entrusted to it. They had tried to get clearly before their minds a general church plan to guide their efforts in the years to come. A committee had been designing this work for many months, men who above all other knew Cleveland and its needs. The enterprise was not his, said Lang, he was only putting before them what a body of their own citizens had thought out with infinite care.

The Archbishop told his audience that they must try to raise the £30,000 within the next five years, so that the church could be reasonably equipped for its task. £16,000 was necessary if certain imperative needs were to be met. In addition to donations already received, further gifts or promises were then announced; J.J. Emerson,

£500; the Marquess and Marchioness of Normanby, £500; Lord Feversham, £160; the Normanby Ironworks Co., £100, Alderman C.A.Head, £50; Archdeacon Lindsay, £50. There were several smaller sums, and £470 hadbeen collected towards sites. Lang himself, though he had 'equally formidable schemes in South Yorkshire, in Sheffield, and in Hull,' said he was going to see if he could give £500 to the fund. (Loud applause).

The Archbishop appealed to shareholders of the great local concerns. Because a person invested in a limited liability company, he said, he did not exempt himself from the old responsibility which rested with the employers of doing what they could to make some kind of return for the moral, spiritual, and social welfare of the man whose labour they employed.

Each parish had been assessed as to what it might reasonably be expected to do, and each communicant should contribute at least one shilling. Those who lived in Middlesbrough had a great chance. They had created the whole fabric of their church life by their own resources. It rested with them to show the whole Church of England that where they had no ancient endowment, they were not therefore defeated. They still had resources in the generosity and self-sacrifice of their own people.[35]

A collection taken in the town hall realised £250.

In April 1913, Archdeacon Lindsay[36] announced in his visitation charge that the Middlesbrough Church Extension Committee's appeal stood at £12,000. With the present welcome period of prosperity in the iron trade, he said, there was a special urgency upon them all to support the appeal during the year, and he asked the clergy and church wardens to bring the subject before their people. It was not too much to say that the future of the church for many years to come

depended upon their activity during the coming months. The Archdeacon said that following upon the appeal for material extension of the church was the proposal to hold a general mission throughout the deanery in November 1914. This was of even greater importance than church building, as the spiritual edification of the Church of God was the object for which all their offerings, buildings, and organisations existed. At the conclusion of his charge the Archdeacon identified a trio of evils with which the church was in conflict in her duty towards the social life of the people; intemperance, impurity, and gambling. He pleaded for generous support for the organisations which existed to deal with these.

At the opening of St. John's new parish hall in January, 1914 the vicar, R. Beresford-Peirce, thanked, amongst others, 'that family which church people in Middlesbrough were repeatedly thanking, Mr. and Mrs. Dorman and family of Grey Towers (applause), and the Middlesbrough and District Church Extension Society for promised grants.'[37]

On Sunday morning, 8th February, 1914 Lang preached at St. Barnabas's Church, Linthorpe Road, in support of the Church Extension Fund, while similar services were being held in churches throughout the district. A great town needed a strong and living church, said Lang, and went on to talk of the vast extent of the work which faced the church in Middlesbrough and the mining villages of Cleveland. He was thankful to say that about half the sum of £30,000 asked for had been given, and to those wealthier men, or firms, who enabled a start to be made he expressed his heartfelt gratitude. On this occasion he made his appeal not to men of wealth, but to the ordinary people, the average man and woman, the rank and file. His appeal,

he said, was naturally and primarily to those who were his fellow churchmen, and his visitation of the parishes during the next few weeks was meant to bring home to each of them their share with him in the responsibility for making their ancient church a spiritual power in the midst of the people. He concluded, 'It is a great and an inspiring call, for it means that we are trying to make the old church in the midst of a new population able to fulfill that great purpose for which God in the beginning created the heaven and the earth.'[38]

A final reference to the Fund in the months before the first world war occurred in Archdeacon Lindsay's charge given in Saltburn parish church in April, 1914. £3,227 had come from the principal firms on Tees-side; £8,641 from personal subscriptions; and £1,280 from church collections. The Archdeacon pointed out that if every communicant gave one penny a week for five years, then the remaining half of the Fund would be raised. In view of the work that had already been done, and the large influx of clergy in the last few years 'attracted by the need and the opportunities of winning this huge population for Christ,' the Archdeacon prophesied with unconscious and macabre irony, that 1914 should be an 'annus mirabilis' in the district's history.[39]

The church was inevitably involved with this 'huge population' in providing it with the rites of passage, baptism, marriage, and burial. There are no statistics to give us a precise picture, but a high birth rate and a high death rate tell us something.

We saw that Middlesbrough's rate of natural increase between 1881 and 1931 was higher in each decennial period than that for either the North Riding or for the whole of England and Wales, and it would have been exceptional for a Middlesbrough mother not to take

her child to be 'christened.' Until recent times, neighbours in working class districts in north east England would not allow mother or child into their houses until the mother had been 'churched' and the baby baptised. Nor were the clergy backward in catering for that demand. There were three times for baptism and churching every week at All Saints' in 1900, and the clergy must have been kept busy merely baptising the town's new citizens.

Similarly for burials, the presence of a minister of religion could be assumed, unless specific instructions had been left to the contrary by the deceased; not a widespread practice, one may be sure, in nineteenth century, working class Middlesbrough. If we consider only two statistics for deaths, both noted in the previous chapter, we get some idea of the incidence of burials. Around 1871-73 there were approximately 960 burials a year in Middlesbrough. That is an average of three every day, excluding Sundays, out of a population of 40,000. Between 1904 and 1905, when the population was still under 100,000, almost 400 people died each year from pneumonia alone. On most of these occasions there would be contact between the family and an official representative of the church; but there are no surviving historical accounts to tell us anything about their depth or quality.

<u>Schools and Hospitals</u>

In any missionary area the traditional trio of institutions are churches, schools, and hospitals. In Middlesbrough, schools were provided from three sources; private individuals, the churches, and the state. The first school recorded was opened in Stockton Street in 1838 with a grant from the British and Foreign School Society, a largly Nonconformist body. A spate of church schools appeared in the

1860s and early 70s. In 1860 St. John's School was opened, and in 1865 St. Mary's Roman Catholic School in William Street. In the same year the Wesleyans opened a school behind the Big Wesley Chapel. 1868 and 1869 saw the opening of St. Paul's School in Newport and St. Hilda's School in Snowdon Road. In 1870 a new National School was opened in Boundary Road, and the old British School in Stockton Street closed. St. Patrick's School, Lawson Street was opened in 1873, and St. Mary's Schools in 1874. The Roman Catholics, who opened St. Patrick's, Marsh Street and St. Philomena's, Ayresome Street in 1906, were the only denomination to provide higher education; St. Mary's College and St. Mary's Convent.

The full list of Middlesbrough's schools (Appendix I) shows that between 1898 and 1903 the denominational schools were educating about one third of the town's children.

Middlesbrough's first hospital was founded by an Anglican sisterhood.[40] There was a disastrous explosion at Snowdon and Hopkins' rolling mills in 1858, and the nearest hospitals were at Newcastle and York. Two men died on the way to Newcastle, some of the injured were taken home, others, too badly hurt to move, were laid in the stables of the Ship Inn. John Jordison, postmaster and printer, himself an unbeliever, saddled his horse and rode out to Coatham to persuade Mary Jacques of the Christ Church Sisterhood to come and help. Miss Jacques had been trained by Pastor Fleidner at Kaiserworth. She returned to Middlesbrough with Jordison, and after attending the injured men, she visited some of the homes in the poorest part of the town where she discovered a total lack of facilities for looking after the sick. After consulting the Mother Superior of the Sisterhood, Teresa Newcommen, and the vicar of Coatham, she rented two houses in Albert Road and 46 and 48 Dundas Mews which

backed on to them, to convert into simple hospital accommodation. The cost of £181 she paid herself. While this was being done, she and her companions began nursing the sick and injured in their own homes. Patients were admitted to the hospital in 1859, and during the first nine months fifty-five were treated and 490 out-patients attended.

Sister Mary and the women who staffed the hospital became the founder members of the Community of the Holy Rood. By the end of 1859 a site for a permanent hospital was purchased at North Ormesby, and the first part opened in 1861. In 1873 Sister Mary was succeeded as Matron by Sister Elizabeth who was widely known and loved for her saintly life and tireless work among the sick. She died in 1905. The Holy Rood's connection with the hospital continued until some years after the first world war, when the sisters moved to Grove Hill and concentrated on their work for orphan and destitute children which they had begun in 1867. They took the children's home to Grove Hill with them.

In the 1850s Middlesbrough was a predominantly Nonconformist town, so the sisters were not universally welcomed. Sometimes they were derisively known as 'sisters of misery.' The mistrust and fears inspired by their presence led to the establishment of another hospital, the North Riding Infirmary. At North Ormesby, because the sisters were unpaid they were not under the control of the governing body, composed of local men. At the North Riding Infirmary all members of the staff were paid, and the hospital was controlled by a committee of ironmasters and others under the leadership of Henry Bolckow. Thus Middlesbrough, which had no hospital in 1858 had two by 1864, dividing the resources of the town between two institutions,

both trying to provide the same service. To this day there are those who regard the 'North Riding' as a Nonconformist foundation.

The Sisters of the Holy Rood were not without influence in other aspects of the church's work. After establishing their first hospital premises, they taught the children in the surrounding streets, and were among the pioneers responsible for forming the parish and building the parish church of St. John.

Church Activities

We have seen the immense efforts of the churches to erect buildings in the rapidly expanding town, and we have noted their involvement in education and the care of the sick. But the most revealing way the churches show how they see themselves in the community is by their day to day activities in parish or district. This is brought into sharper focus if we consider the activities which the churches themselves were prepared to put on record. Much of the information in this section is from the Middlesbrough Year Books for the early years of the twentieth century.

All Saints' sent a list of services; eight on Sundays, beginning with the first of three Eucharists at 7 o'clock and ending with a mission service at 8 o'clock after evensong. There were daily offices and a daily Eucharist, three opportunities for baptism and churching, and the sacrament of penance every day, three times on Fridays.[41] St. Columba's displayed a similar pattern, but only five services on Sundays. They had their mission service on a Thursday evening, and they drew attention to their Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary for young women and confirmed girls, which met on the first and third Wednesdays of the month.[42]

Anglicanism in Middlesbrough was known for being 'high church.' St. Hilda's and St. Barnabas's were the only representatives of a Church of England evangelical tradition. J.K.Bealey at St. Hilda's preached in a black gown and bands until his dying day in 1905. J.S.L.Burn, vicar of All Saints' from 1884 to 1925, and founder of St. Columba's, was the leading figure in the Anglo-Catholic movement in Middlesbrough. Consequently there was a mutual antipathy between him and the nonconformist Gazette. Burn was under discipline for twenty-five years from two Archbishops of York, Maclagan and Lang, for using incense and reserving the Sacrament. His ministry was characterised by the teaching of 'advanced' Catholic practices and by energetic efforts to relieve the poor and destitute in times of distress. Both activities he pursued with domineering single-mindedness. Thomas Brancker, priest-in-charge of St. Luke's, Saltley, wrote of Burn as a missioner in 1909,[43]

> He used to say that in dealing with very simple and ignorant people, the only plan was to tell them exactly what they were to do, and see that they did it. 'It is a method they are accustomed to in the factories, and you cannot expect them to understand anything else.' He was always comparing himself to a colonel of a regiment, and though there are very few priests who could work on these lines, it certainly answered with him.

It is a relief to hear that few priests worked 'on these lines' even in 1909, but Burn's attitude is not reassuring for the Church of England's relations with the 'very simple and ignorant people' of Middlesbrough. His uncritical view of factory life and its effect on the inmates is indistinguishable from that of an ironmaster of the times.

The Year Book entry for St. Paul's records how the Rev. T.E. Lindsay came to the parish in 1893 and bought sites of land for parish halls, a boys' club, and a vicarage. He started the Cambridge

House Club, but after a few years its large hall was leased to the Corporation for a branch public reading room. The largest item which St. Paul's had written up was the work of the Holy Cross Mission, which was opened in what had been the Prince of Wales Theatre.[44] The Prince of Wales was a drinking saloon and had at one time been a music hall. It was surrounded by pubs and there was an out-door beer house on each corner. There were thirteen such places within a hundred yards in only one direction from the mission church. Mr. Lindsay and some open-air mission workers had for several years held a lantern service on the story of the Passion in the theatre on Good Fridays. The bulk of the purchase money was given by an anonymous donor, and a local ironmaster gave £500. The theatre was purchased for £3,000, and a further £1,500 was spent on conversion. The dropping of the liquor licence meant a loss of £2,000 in the commercial value of the building. A block of six cottages adjoining the mission church were also bought as a refuge 'for friendless women and girls from unwholesome surroundings; and as a receiving home where those rescued from their former miserable life will be received until placed in some institution where they will have every opportunity to become good citizens.'

A parish magazine of St. Barnabas's for 1895 gives their week-day activities as, men's social evening on Mondays, women's guild with a working party on alternate Tuesdays, Church Lads' Brigade on Wednesdays, an address at evensong on Thursdays, and Yorkshire Penny Bank and clothing club on Saturdays at 5.30 p.m. The last item is significant since St. Barnabas's parish included one of the most salubrious residential areas of the town.

The Year Books record the Church of England Temperance Society

Joint Diocesan Association whose Middlesbrough and Cleveland Centre was at the Royal Exchange buildings.[45] The centre included the rural deaneries of Middlesbrough, Stokesley, Whitby, and Northallerton, and its president was the Archbishop of York.

In the late 1890s the Church of England founded the Middlesbrough Church Council. Representatives were elected at annual vestry meetings. At quarterly meetings of the full council, papers were read and important subjects of the day discussed concerning church matters and social and moral questions. The Council was known for the strong stand it took on the sale of drink to children, and on betting and gambling.

The Church Army Diocesan Labour and Lodging Home for Men at 22 Durham Street received its mention in the Year Book for 1904.[46] The principles of the Church Army Labour Homes were worthy ones but somewhat optimistic, and expressed rather unctuously as,

> Individual responsibility and treatment; discipline inculcating habits of cleanliness; inducements to self-help, self-respect and independence; adoption of workmen's usual hours of labour, work being the test of character. Innocent pleasures and amusements allowed; abstinence from intoxicating liquors; moral stimulus to live honourably towards God and man; teaching how to break bad habits and form better, both at work and leisure.

The Missions to Seamen's church in Queen's Terrace had an institute to accommodate 400 men open thirteen hours a day.[47] Newspapers and writing materials were available, and there were billiard tables and other games. A mission vessel on the river named The Good Hope, was fitted up as a floating church for daily services, and supplied literature. 25,000 seamen attended the institute in 1898, and around that time over £1,000 was being raised each year for buildings, boats, and maintenance. In 1899 sailors afloat bought 350 Bibles from the Tees Mission agents, in English, German, Japanese,

Spanish, Danish, Swedish, French, and Welsh. The institute advertised 'bright temperance meetings' on Friday evenings, and took 200 pledges in 1899.

In 1904 there were seven clergy attached to the Roman Catholic Cathedral in addition to the bishop.[48] There were four masses on a Sunday morning (the building accommodated 1,200 worshippers), instruction and benediction for children in the afternoon, vespers, sermon, and benediction in the evening. There were four masses and a benediction on holidays, and two masses and rosary every day. Confessions were on Friday from 6.30, and Saturday from 5 p.m. Baptisms were held on Wednesday and Friday mornings at 10 o'clock, and churchings on Saturday mornings at 9.30 following mass. Attached to the cathedral were three sets of schools with an average attendance of 2,500.

St. Mary's club was a benefit society for sick and deceased members. St. Mary's Catholic Association for young men had rooms in St. Mary's Hall in William Street for reading, recreation, and scientific and historical lectures. There were confraternities of the Holy Family and the League of the Cross for men. The latter had a membership of 1,500 and met every week in the cathedral. Its declared objects were the suppression of intemperance by total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, united prayer, and the monthly reception of the Sacrament. Confraternities of our Lady, Children of Mary, and an Altar Society had a membership of 1,800 women, and also met once a month in the cathedral. A large number of smaller societies were formed for religious work, such as the Rosary Society, Collectors' Guild, and Altar Boys' Society. There were separate

religious meetings for men, women, and children once a month.

St. Mary's Catholic Association and Labour Organisation was established in 1895 by Bishop Lacy. It owed its inspiration to Rerum Novarum, and its object was to band together Catholic men for social, literary, and religious purposes on the lines of the old Catholic Guilds of England. Rooms were open all day for members and their friends from 9.30 a.m. to 10.30 p.m., except on Sundays, furnished with a library, billiard tables, and other games. Concerts and other entertainments were provided, and during the winter at least six lectures were given on subjects of historical interest.

St. Patrick's, Newport was content to advertise times of worship, temperance and religious meetings, three masses on Sunday mornings, benediction for children at 3 o'clock, rosary, benediction and sermon at 6.30 p.m., and a 9 a.m. mass on holidays.[49] No doubt some of the worshippers belonged to some of the institutions provided by the cathedral. Catholicism in Middlesbrough was an institution set up to provide for the needs of a community within a community. Roman Catholicism was still a ghetto.

Among Nonconformists in Middlesbrough, St. George's Congregational church was known for its 'social' approach.[50] There were temperance and Christian Endeavour societies, Pleasant Sunday Afternoons and mission agencies, a literary society and reading room, thrift clubs and a penny bank, a men's social club, the 1st Middlesbrough Company, Boys' Brigade, a womens meeting, girls' clubs and gymnasium, and two magazines issued monthly in connection with the church.

The Congregational Women's Settlement started in Newport Road in 1893.[51] In 1896 a house was taken and furnished as a residence

for women who came and gave their services for longer or shorter periods. Meetings and classes were held for women and girls at the settlement and in rooms lent by Congregational Churches in the town. A club for boys was also started. Sick visiting was undertaken by residents at the settlement, while the settlement itself was a centre to which anybody in the district could come for sympathy and help. Part of the money for the settlement was raised by the Yorkshire Women's Guild of Christian Service; the rest depended on local subscriptions and donations.

The Durham Street Mission was started in 1891, and a mission room was opened in 1892 by W.T.Stead.[52] Workers, it was said, came from almost every church in the town. The main object of the mission was 'to fight against the terrible drink traffic and all its attendant sins.' In 1896 four women were engaged to visit and help those women who had expressed a desire to lead a better life at mission meetings. There was a night shelter branch with accommodation for 62 men and 30 women; a separate room cost fourpence a night. A 'Temperance Free and Easy' was held every Saturday night. There were three or four open air meetings each week; there was a Sunday School, a Band of Hope, and Christian Endeavour meetings. Lady helpers taught sewing and useful domestic duties to poor girls. Sunday religious meetings were held at four selected lodging houses, and there was a service in the mission hall every Sunday night addressed by laymen.

The Baptist Church in Newport Road boasted a Sunday School of 660 scholars in 1900, with 50 teachers.[53] There was a young men's Bible class on Sunday afternoons, a Christian Endeavour Society on Tuesday evenings, preceded by a meeting of the junior society.

There was a service every Thursday evening followed by a meeting of the Literary Society. Sunday services were at 10.30 and 6.30; Sunday School at 9.30 and 2 o'clock, and the Lord's Supper was celebrated on the evening of the first Sunday in the month.

Newport Road Presbyterian Church claimed 175 communicants and a Sunday School of 210.[54] They had a young people's guild, a Band of Hope, a district visitors' association, and a penny savings bank. Trinity Presbyterian had 264 communicants on the roll and a Sunday School of 309. An adult Bible class met on Sunday afternoons. There was a girls' sewing class, a Band of Hope, and a penny savings bank.

Middlesbrough Primitive Methodist Circuit had a membership of 818 at the turn of the century, but Sunday congregations averaged over 2,000.[55] The Circuit, of course, extended outside the town. There were six Sunday Schools with 1,700 scholars and 177 teachers, and five Christian Endeavour societies totalling 291 young people of both sexes who, 'render most valuable aid in sustaining the financial responsibilities of the circuit.' There were the usual Bands of Hope and temperance guilds with something over 400 members.

The Wesleyan Circuit with a membership of 1,100, eight chapels and two mission rooms, draws attention to, 'The Wesley Guild,' a recent movement amongst young people, being successfully worked in most of the Wesleyan centres in the town, where adult Bible classes have also been established.[56]

The number of children who attended Sunday School is difficult to judge. The Nonconformist Sunday School Union[57] claimed 8,200 pupils in 1904, but this would inlcude children in the Methodist circuits which extended beyond the town. Anglicans did not keep records, but St. Peter's said it had about 300 children, and St. Barnabas' about 250. On this basis Anglican Sunday School pupils

probably totalled no more than 2,750. Roman Catholics had no Sunday Schools but, as we shall see in the 1904 religious census, about 1550 children attended mass on Sundays. The sum, 12,500, was about 38 per cent of Middlesbrough's population under fifteen years of age at the beginning of the century. Thus, allowing for those too young to attend, Sunday School pupils and Roman Catholic children going to mass account for almost a third of the town's children; a similar proportion to those attending denominational day schools. The effects of attending Sunday School are impossible to assess, ranging from the children of devout church members to those who attended casually for short periods.

We have seen a wide variety of emphasis in the above activities. At one end there was the total concentration on the devotional life, at All Saints' and St. Columba's, at the other, the complete provision of a social life at St. George's Congregational Church. There was evidence of noble work among the poor and inadequate at the Newport Settlement and the Durham Street Mission, and throughout most of the churches' work ran the theme of temperance. We noticed how the Roman Catholics catered for a community within a community, for worship and social life. This was characteristic of all the churches in some degree. They provided an alternative society in which to live a Christian life; a society which co-existed uneasily with the evil and intemperate society outside them.

The Religious Census

However, despite the variety of the churches' social activities, they placed the highest value on securing attendance at their services. How effective were they? In May, 1904 a census of church attendance was conducted by G.H.Blackburn, secretary of the

Middlesbrough Temperance Society, and the results published ward by ward in the Gazette. The enumerators had no connection with the church they counted, and the census was staggered over Sundays 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd May, so avoiding possibly abnormal conditions on one day. Attendances at all Roman Catholic masses were counted, as nobody was likely to go to mass twice on the same morning, but in all other churches the morning service with the largest attendance was counted and added to the evening service. Special meetings and services, such as Sunday School anniversaries, were not included, but if regular afternoon services were held they were taken into account. An absence of round numbers suggests that there was no guesswork on the part of enumerators.

Men, women, and children were counted separately, but no age was given to divide children from adults. According to the statistics for 1901, 36 per cent of Middlesbrough's population was below the age of fifteen, and in the same year, in a population of 91,302, there were 2,472 more males than females. The statistician, E.G.Ravenstein, described Middlesbrough in 1885 as a town which by its rapid growth, its heterogeneous population, and the preponderance of the male sex, recalled features generally credited only to towns of the American west.[58] Both heterogenity and the high proportion of males would contribute to lower church attendances than in other towns in which these characteristics were less pronounced. Men were generally less frequent churchgoers than women, and heterogenity suggests an unstable community without strong social ties.

The census overestimated the number of 'twicers' at church, by deducting the estimated percentage of twicers from the total attendance, instead of just from one of the services. Thus the overall attendance figure is higher than the census takers allow, and the

Gazette's claim that, '70,000 never attend,' is just speculation, and may well underestimate the number of occasional attenders.[59] The Rev. E.B.Mahon, minister of St. George's Congregational Church, while accepting the findings of the census, said that 4,000 should have been added for irregular attenders.[60] Still, an attendance rate of 23.0 per cent of the total population was certainly low in comparison with most other towns, and the Gazette's question, 'Is Middlesbrough pagan?' was not without point.[61] The paganism of a society, however, is not automatically determined by a low general attendance at Sunday Worship, as its moral and religious attitudes may well be more Christian than this suggests, but the statistics are well below the national average. Middlesbrough was similar to London and Birmingham, but lower in the table than York or Liverpool which were both counted about the same time. It also had lower attendance rates than most of the industrial towns counted in the 1880s; Darlington 35.3 per cent, Barrow 33.8 per cent, Stockton-on-Tees 31.8 per cent, and Warrington 29.2 per cent. It is difficult to say if this represents failure. Obviously it was failure by the churches' own high expectations in the period. Equally obviously by modern standards, Middlesbrough's rate of church attendance was extremely high.

An internal analysis of the census figures contributes a few more details. The publication of results ward by ward gives a general indication of variations in church attendance in different parts of the town, but it is of only limited value. Roman Catholics had two churches at the time; the cathedral in Marsh Ward and St. Patrick's in Newport Ward, so these must have drawn on Catholics from the other eight wards as well, even though one might expect a majority of Catholics to live in the down town wards near the river.

Attendance by wards also misleads in the case of the Church of England which had no buildings in four wards; Linthorpe, Exchange, Newport, and Cleveland. Often there was a church building just on the wrong side of a ward boundary. The much larger number of Non-conformist buildings ensured that they were represented in every ward. No ward was without a Methodist church of some description; often there were several.

The poorest inhabitants, unskilled workers and dock labourers, lived in the most northern wards of the town. Most of the iron and steel workers were housed in Marsh, Cannon, Newport, Vulcan, and Exchange wards. Cleveland ward was an area with a better type of house. It contained some lower middle class dwellings in Grange Road. Grove Hill, Ayresome, and Linthorpe wards, surrounding Albert Park, were entirely residential and contained many large houses occ-upied by prosperous families; but even here the housing was mixed. A report on housing conditions in Middlesbrough in 1917 groups together Grove Hill, Ayresome, Linthorpe, Acklam, and Exchange wards as, 'mostly composed of workmen's houses with rentals of 5/- to 9/- per week.' These were the 'better class wards.' The remainder, the report said, contained large numbers of seriously overcrowded, delapidated, vermin infested houses. These were not, we may assume, the kind of streets where the more 'respectable' type of churchgoer lived.

If we look for a coherent pattern of attendance by wards and try to draw conclusions, nothing helpful emerges. It is not surprising that the attendance figure for Marsh ward is high, since the town began there, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral was a big draw. Grove Hill, Ayresome, and Linthorpe should be high because they were residential wards. Linthorpe had a low percentage because there were

very few churches within its boundaries, but in the remaining wards there is no reason to account for variations ranging from 14.7 per cent to 28.1 per cent, apart from the accident of wards boundaries.

The population for each ward was taken as at the 1901 census, but the total population of the county borough was from the medical officer's estimate for 1903, which was 96,684, an increase of 5,382 since 1901. Thus, we cannot exactly match ward percentages with town percentages.

In 1901 the county borough had a population of 91,302, but the parliamentary borough, which included parts of Eston, Linthorpe, Marton, Normanby, and Ormesby contained a population of 116,546, so that something like 25,000 people in the Middlesbrough area were not included in the census at all. Cargo Fleet and North Ormesby are only half a mile east of Middlesbrough Dock, and South Bank no more than a mile and a half further in the same direction. The census ignored these areas entirely. But in 1904 the former two districts were virtually joined to Middlesbrough by streets and houses. In these areas too were some of the largest works; Cargo Fleet Iron Works and Bolckow Vaughan. Bell Brothers was on the north of the river where there were only small settlements, most men crossing the Tees by ferry from Middlesbrough to get to work. The transporter bridge was not opened until 1911. Stockton lay four miles to the west on the north bank. The main denominations already had buildings in North Ormesby and South Bank by 1904, but the presence of such a large population on the fringe of the county borough would have some effect on the situation, which the statistics for the wards fail to give.

However, even when all these considerations have been allowed for, the results of the census are useful in providing a general picture of how the Middlesbrough churches were faring in attendance

at public worship. Out of a population of 96,684 the census recorded 22,183 attendances; 7,231 men, 8,354 women, and 6,598 children, amounting to 23.0 per cent of the population. By comparison with other towns, Roman Catholic attendance at 4.9 per cent of the total population was quite high. But the Year Book for 1904 gives the Catholic population of Middlesbrough as about 16,000, which means that only about 30 per cent were at mass on census Sunday. If the Year Book includes North Ormesby in the 16,000, and this is not clear, it would have made little difference, because there was only one mass on Sundays in North Ormesby and ten in Middlesbrough itself. We have seen that it was not until 1897 that the 24-hour shift on Sundays was finally abandoned in Cleveland's ironworks. Ironworkers would be more likely to be Roman Catholic than anything else, even if lapsed. The tradition of working long hours must have created a pattern of behaviour on Sundays which made church going very difficult. Even when the eight hour shift system became general, shifts were continous in an ironworks, so a quarter of the men would be at work on a Sunday morning.

The divisive and exclusive atmosphere created by pew rents was no doubt a dissuader to church going for the poorer working people. The only case of pew renting, however, in the Church of England appears to have been St. Hilda's where, as we saw, the Middlesbrough Owners reserved two pews for their own use. In 1851 the total income from pews rents was entered at £80 a year on the census returns. Other Church of England buildings were usually the recipients of building grants donated on the understanding that all seats would be free. In any case, the Anglo-Catholic tradition of mission to the poor, to be found in most Middlesbrough parishes, precluded them from taking money for seats.

On the other hand there is evidence to suggest that the practice was widespread among Nonconformist churches until after the first world war. The earliest surviving evidence is a sheet of annual accounts from Queen's Terrace Congregational Church for 1859-60 where half the annual income was from that source. It was more than enough to pay the minister's salary of £120.[62]

The practice was frequently found among Methodists. Pew rents at Wesley Centenary Methodist from 1867 to 1889 brought in an income, at its peak in 1876, of over £100.[63] Forty-five out of seventy pews on the ground floor and thirty-two out of thirty-six in the gallery had from three to seven tenants in each at a rent of one shilling to three shillings a quarter, mostly in the cheaper range. When Centenary re-opened as a mission church in 1900, the chairman at the opening, Alderman S.A.Sadler, M.P., commended the Wesleyans for trying to reach ' a section of the population who would not feel comfortable in a church sitting beside worshippers who were better dressed, for a man in fustian did not care to sit in church beside a man in a frock coat.'[64]

There are intermittent records of seat rents at Grange Road United Free Methodist Church between 1909 and 1924, producing an income of up to £48 a year.[65] Linthorpe Road Primitive Methodist Church kept a Seat Rent Book[66] which shows that between 1892, when the church was opened, and 1920 an average of forty-six seats were let at one shilling to one and sixpence a quarter. It was a continuation of the system at Richmond Street before the Linthorpe Road church was built. The Avenue Wesleyan Methodist Church drew between £40 and £60 a year from pew rents from the time of its opening in 1909 until 1921.[67]

Surviving members of the congregation at Newport Road Baptist

Church remember a system of seat rents which lasted until amalgamation with other Baptist congregations after the first world war. Park Presbyterian Church was not opened until 1924, but it drew some income from pew rents at half a crown a quarter until 1964, so as in other examples it is safe to assume that the practice dated from an earlier period.[68] Paradoxically, however, it was the pew-renting Nonconformist churches which dominated Middlesbrough religion.

The Church of England church attendance rate was very low at 5.7 per cent of the total population, but the Nonconformist was around average at 12.4 per cent. Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist attendances were lower than might have been expected, at 3.0 and 1.7 per cent, but this was partly compensated for by the large number of smaller denominations, each having a few hundred adherents. The Church of England had to find comfort in being the largest single denomination.

The worshippers were accommodated in two Roman Catholic buildings at ten masses; in sixteen Anglican buildings at thirty-three services; and in forty-five Nonconformist buildings at ninety-seven services. So the Roman Catholic churches were often crowded, while the Church of England buildings often had many vacant pews. The Nonconformists, especially the Wesleyans, had some large and prominent buildings, but the general pattern of nonconformity was of a large number of small chapels with small congregations, reflecting a multiplicity of Nonconformist groups, and possibly a pattern of lay ministry.

However, if this fissiparousness of nonconformity might be thought to have weakened its overall influence, the Nonconformists did constitute more than half the number of church goers, and do seem to have had a preponderant influence upon the moral and political content of informed public opinion in the town. Significant

of this was the Nonconformist bias of Middlesbrough's leading newspaper, the Gazette, which is one of our chief historical sources. Thus, the influence of leading Anglican churchmen was dependent in part on their winning the respectful attention of the local Nonconformists and the Nonconformist newspaper; and as we shall see, there is some evidence that they did so.

Chapter Four

THE CHURCHES' RESPONSE: II SOCIAL

> In all departments of life,
> men were in earnest.
> Bolckow, Vaughan and their
> contemporaries who made
> themselves rich and
> Middlesbrough hideous were
> very much in earnest...
> They fought and worked and
> built in earnest; their
> trousered statues and Marton
> Hall and Grey Towers witness
> to that.
>
> Built before Breakfast,
> Centenary brochure of the
> Convent of the Holy Rood,
> 1958

Personal Morality

All churches were committed to raising the standards of personal morality and of family life, and preserving them from Archdeacon Lindsay's 'trio of evils,' intemperance, impurity, and gambling. The Gazette declared against intemperance, gambling, and sabbath-breaking.[1] Exhortation was more in evidence from the churches than the insights recorded in Lady Bell's At the Works, but even she was ultimately pessimistic; the demands of ironmaking inevitably produced certain characteristic domestic circumstances. There is not, of course, a simple equation between environment and sin, but the evils in question do not seem quite so extraordinary when seen against the background of poor housing, unhealthy conditions, early marriage, constant childbearing, ill health, inadequate housekeeping skills, heavy labouring work, and the ever present risk of unemployment with its catastrophic consequences.

Middlesbrough was notorious for drunkeness from its earliest days. A Middlesbrough veteran reminisced later in the century, 'A large part of the inhabitants was given up to intemperance.'[2]

Bishop Lacy's pastoral letter for Lent, 1897 was entirely devoted to temperance, gambling, and 'unhealthy amusements.'[3]

> The drinking habits of the people, the allurements of the public house, the demands of good fellowship, and the fear of being thought niggardly, lead many weak souls astray... The working man is, from his surroundings, more exposed to this danger than others. As he returns home after a hard day's toil, or after a long and labourious night in the ironworks, how sorely he is tempted to turn into the public house on the way, and if he is weak enough to yield, too often the consequences are fatal. Should he, however, steer clear of this danger, another besets his path. Pay day comes, and the contractor or paymaster chooses to pay his men in a public house...
>
> But this is not his worst trial. Wearied and spent after his long hours' toil, he faithfully wends his way homewards. No welcome greets his return... (His wife) is in the public house hard by, engaged with her favourite companions in discussing the merits of the favourite horse in the latest race.... Domestic duties are put aside; husband and children are forgotten, while the wife and mother of the family indulges her craving for intoxicating drink and for the unhealthy excitement of betting.

The Church of England Church Council inaugurated a new movement in July, 1899, with the active support of all the churches, 'to study the temperance problem on broad, national lines; to foster and strengthen a temperance sentiment or atmosphere in the social and public life of the town and district; and to provide a concentration of effort on present practical reforms.'[4] In December, 1899 Bishop Lacy joined battle again and chaired a great Catholic temperance demonstration in the town hall. The visiting speaker, Mgr. Nugent of Liverpool, urged Catholics to lead temperate lives and to band together in the League of the Cross. The Bishop drew attention to the number of criminals, immoral persons, and insane victims of

intemperance who had to be looked after at public expense. Mgr. Nugent claimed that wages 'in all departments were satisfactory;' much depended not on what a man earned, but on what he did with his earnings.[5]

The Chief Constable's annual statistics on drunkeness are only of limited value in giving a real picture of the drink problem in Middlesbrough. They tell us that in the years 1902 to 1914, an average of 1,239 prosecutions for drunkeness were issued each year in roughly the proportions of six males to one female: hardly a picture of radical intemperance for a working class population of a hundred thousand people.

There is, however, a better gauge of the dimensions of the problem of drunkeness in Middlesbrough than these figures. In the autumn of 1904 the society which had taken the church census in the summer, stationed its enumerators outside the 106 public houses and thirty-six off-licences of the town during the six hours they were open on a Sunday. They recorded the astonishing statistic that on one Sunday 55,045 men, 21,594 women, and 13,775 children, a total of 90,414 people, entered licenced premises.[6] The population of the county borough was 96,684 at that time, but even allowing for the 116,546 in the parliamentary borough, there must have been many twicers, or even more frequent drinkers on that day. The figure is difficult to take on trust, a publican or two did raise doubts, but the exercise passed off without the comment which accompanied the church census. Whatever the inaccuracies, (and even if there was deliberate deception to embarrass the enumerators, though there was no suggestion that there was), the figures do not indicate that Middlesbrough landlords were short of customers.

Lady Bell believed that more than half the workmen drank enough to

damage their health and their circumstances. Children were half fed and a wife worn to a shadow because her husband drank half his money, and his family struggled to live on the rest. When the woman drank, as many of them did, the effects on the household were probably even worse.[7]

When Lang was primate elect he addressed a mass meeting of the Church of England Men's Society in West Hartlepool in December, 1908.[8] He called the 'drink evil' our 'national degradation.' In October, 1909, as Archbishop of York, he chaired a public meeting of the Church of England Temperance Society in Middlesbrough town hall at which he attacked public indifference to the evils wrought by drink.[9] In February, 1911 while chairing the York branch of the same society, Lang said that they were learning that the greatest agent of temperance reform on a wide scale was the provision of healthy recreation. He praised those who provided bright, wholesome entertainment in the music halls, but the existence of clubs that were nothing but drinking clubs, in working class districts, was becoming a social menace of the most serious kind. They were without the restraints and control of the much abused public house.[10]

Betting and gambling did not produce great organisations to combat them, but they were closely associated in people's minds, as in Bishop Lacy's, with the lack of self-control which went with intemperance. The churches relied on personal example, exhortation, and the reading of reports, while the Gazette published long leading articles on the subject. The Church on Betting[11] was the newspaper's commentary on the report on gambling presented to the Convocation of York in 1890. A few days later it marked the enthronement of B.F.Westcott as Bishop of Durham, rather eccentrically, by another long leader entitled, The Church and Betting.[12] In September, 1896, the Church Times, in a special article on Middlesbrough's religious needs, called gambling

'Middlesbrough's damnation,' but the Gazette felt this was going a bit too far.[13]

As in the case of drunkeness, the Chief Constable's annual reports do not give a reliable impression. In the years 1902 to 1912 there was an average of forty-three prosecutions a year for betting and bookmaking, and 148 a year for gaming, mostly pitch and toss.

Lady Bell, however, found that betting and gambling had taken enormous hold on the ironmaking community, men, women, and children. The most prevalent form was on horse racing, but it was associated with many other activities, billiards, cards, dominoes, and football. Bookmakers conducted much of their business by calling at the house door, which made it difficult for the police to identify them if they denied the allegation, and at the same time encouraged women to bet. Card playing, says Lady Bell, was constantly going on in the works 'in every spare moment.'[14] Indeed, the prevalence of gambling was a truism acknowledged by everyone.

When the York Diocesan Conference was held at Middlesbrough in October, 1910, Lang said that gambling was 'a gangrene at the heart of the soundness, honesty, and straightforwardness of our national life.[15]

Sunday was often called 'the Sabbath,' and Sabbath observance was debated, commented and preached upon. The Cleveland and South Durham Federation of Free Churches, in 1901, viewed with alarm 'the growing laxity in the observance of the Lord's Day.' The federation drew attention to the growth of other Sunday attractions, and turned its face against 'the association of the sacred cause of charity with the desecration of the Sabbath by arranging concerts, etc. on that holy day.'[16]

In February, 1903 J.K.Bealey preached on 'Sabbath Observance' in St. Hilda's.[17] Sunday was,

> God's first and greatest blessing to the world, and England's Sundays had stamped her character and her history. Religion itself depended on that Sabbath Day, and would not long exist without it. A man's way of spending a Sunday was a sure test of his religious condition, and would stamp the character of his other six days.
>
> In all classes alike, in the worldliness and vanity of the highest - the intemperance and profanity of the lowest - or the indolent self-indulgence of the middle classes, the first steps in the downward course to ruin of the multitudes of the young are found in their first broken Sabbaths.
>
> It continues imperatively a Day of Rest from worldly work, whatever exceptions are allowed for works of necessity... Surely, it is a blessed rest from worldly thoughts and cares - a blessed rest from the tread-mill of busy, worldly life, a pause in the ever-whirling wheels, when we are obliged to listen in the quiet Sabbath hours to the voice which says, 'Peace be still,' and there is a great calm. It is a necessity of Nature itself. The weary body cannot bear the continuous strain. The weary brain will refuse to do its work. Life itself is shortened. Men do not gain anything by their misuse of the Sabbath hours. Mr. Gladstone often said that his well-kept Sundays were the secret of his vigorous old age. The Sabbath is the 'savings bank' of life - laying up a reserve for demands which might otherwise overwhelm us, repaying the six days with usury, so that nothing is lost.

In 1907 the Middlesbrough Church Council protested against the hiring of boats and the selling of refreshments in Albert Park on Sundays.[18] The appeal was dismissed by the park committee, but the Gazette took up the issue and devoted a leading article to the points for and against, calling on the park committee to go into the matter more thoroughly and dispassionately.[19] The Gazette was also firmly opposed to the Sunday opening of the Cleveland Golf Club in 1912, despite the vicar of Coatham's plea for 'innocent recreation and refreshment of body.'[20]

Church and Industrial Society

We have seen how the churches set about what they saw as their primary task of providing for the spiritual needs of the people. In

this chapter, so far, we have examined their moral concern for the individual. It was a very personal approach which did not take seriously the deleterious effects of the industrial and social environment. But there was one characteristic of the iron and steel industry which no one could overlook. It produced bouts of unemployment, which in turn led to immediate and widespread distress. The cycle of slump and boom, to which the industry was prone, was made worse by its vunerability to industrial unrest in the coal mines. The threat of a strike in the Durham coalfield was the prelude to lay-offs on the Middlesbrough blastfurnaces. Strikes in the iron industry were rare; employment was uncertain enough without them, and stoppages were disastrously costly because of the damage caused to the refractory lining of the furnaces when allowed to cool, causing further unemployment. The miners were more volatile in this respect, and their trade union allegiance was not divided like that of the ironworkers. The ironmasters endeavoured to maintain some control over their coal supply by becoming mine owners too. Bolckow Vaughan, at the time they were absorbed into Dorman Long in 1929, owned the Durham collieries of Dean and Chapter, Leasingthorne, Auckland Park, Black Boy, Byers Green, Newfield, Westerton, and Merrington.[21] This partly explains the interest shown by the Middlesbrough based Gazette in news from County Durham.

We can, then, learn something of the attitudes of churchmen to industrial society if we examine their responses to events in the local industrial and social life of the period, and bear in mind the direct dependence of the iron industry on the near by coalfield.

In January, 1892 work was slack in Middlesbrough's foundries, and at several of the finished iron and steel works, although output was as large as ever, the introduction of labour saving machinery meant that fewer 'hands' were employed. One firm, it was claimed, had dispensed

with nearly four hundred men in this way.[22] A special investigator from the Gazette discovered that in all about 2,500 were unemployed. Assuming half of them to be married men, it meant that the bread winners of some 7,000 people, one tenth of the population, were unable to obtain work.[23] The public relief committee appointed to deal with distress was called together to devise a better plan for distributing relief. On the committee were the Rev. E.O. Herbert, vicar of St. John's, and the Rev. J.K.Bealey, vicar of St. Hilda's. Mr. Herbert had a keen eye for the undeserving poor. He had seen twelve hundred children receiving soup, but many were well clothed and shod, and had a healthy appearance, and none of their parents were out of work. The barefooted, ragged and unkempt among them were in that condition through improvident conduct, and were no worse off than they had been since the 1st January, 1891, or than they would be to the year's end. Neither group of children should be relieved from a public fund; teachers should issue tickets. Mr. Bealey felt much the same, but he did not want to exclude the most needy cases who did not attend school. They were feeding about 250 children at St. Hilda's school, he said, including some from other schools, but the circumstances of each child were always investigated.[24]

The Durham miners went on strike in March, 1892 in protest against the owners' proposal to reduce wages by ten per cent. The Gazette said that the effects would be ruinous to both parties if the dispute were prolonged, and when it was clear that the miners were utterly opposed to any reduction in wages, urged the owners to withdraw their demands.[25] The Times special correspondent took the same view, and the Gazette went on to emphasise the industrial priorities of the region and the social needs and distresses of the people.[26]

Three days after the strike began, sixty out of eighty-five furnaces

in blast were being damped down. Each furnace provided subsistence for 1,200 men, women, and children, so the number of people dependent on blastfurnaces already stopped was about 70,000.[27] Two firms went bankrupt during the stoppage through the depression of trade combined with the effects of the coal strike.[28]

On 30th March, only two weeks into the strike, 20,000 men were out of work as a consequence, about 7,000 in the parliamentary borough of Middlesbrough where seventy furnaces had been damped down or blown out completely. The total number of persons depending for subsistence on blastfurnaces, not now working, had risen to 85,000. In the region as a whole there were 151 blastfurnaces; of the eighty-five in blast on 1st March, there were now only thirteen. Tees-side itself had 139 of these furnaces; Seventy-seven had been in blast on the 1st March; by the end of the month there were only ten.[29]

Another relief committee was formed in Middlesbrough to deal with the exceptional distress. The Rev. P.J.Cocking suggested they should appeal to the coal owners and miners to end the strike 'which had produced such commercial paralysis and thrown so many thousands out of work and produced such distress throughout the Cleveland district.' He was applauded for saying that his entire sympathy was with the miners. If royalty owners were restricted to much smaller royalties, the men would be able to receive better pay and there would be no need for a strike.

Another clergyman on the relief committee, the Rev. J.B.Dales, vicar of St. Barnabas's, asked if the trades unions had been applied to, while J.K.Bealey wanted the fund extended to cover South Bank and Grangetown, or many would not subscribe to it. P.J.Cocking called attention to John Hill and Company's offer to resume work if the men would submit to a ten per cent reduction in wages until the coal strike

was settled. There would be work for four or five hundred men. Some felt this would be black-legging, or would provide a lever for employers in the future. J.B.Dales said that the committee was formed only to relieve those who were out of work through no fault of their own. If the men declined this offer they would not come within the scope of the committee. P.J.Cocking and E.O.Herbert were elected on a sub-committee to meet Mr. Hill and Mr. Edward Trow, the ironworkers' secretary, but, not surprisingly, their negotiations were not successful.[30] The clergy showed little understanding of working class attitudes and loyalties.

The Gazette continued to publish news of increasing distress and destitution. Thousands of tickets were being issued for soup and bread, and more money was coming in to the various relief agencies. 120,000 men were entirely without work from the Wear to the Tees. By early April the Middlesbrough committee had received £126. 16s. in donations, including £25 from the Bishop of Middlesbrough, Richard Lacy.[31]

But more than relief was required; a settlement was imperative. The strike, the worst in the history of County Durham, had begun in March. By May the coal owners were insisting on a 13½ per cent reduction in wages. On 25th May B.F.Westcott, Bishop of Durham, wrote to both sides urging them to settle their differences which were having such disastrous effects, and offered himself as a conciliator.[32] His offer was accepted, and owners and union representatives were entertained to lunch at Auckland Castle on the 1st June. Westcott addressed them persuasively, went to and fro between the parties until they agreed to settle on the original ten per cent reduction, and further, to establish a conciliation board to resolve future wages disputes.

Some owners would have liked to stick it out. H.D.Pochin, chairman

of Bolckow Vaughan, told shareholders that a general election was coming up at the time of the strike, and some men in the coal trade wanted seats in the House of Commons, for which they had been prepared to surrender their own interests. Then came 'the intervention of an unbusinesslike Bishop of the Church of England,' so, 'confronted with powers both political and ecclesiastical' they agreed on the basis first proposed, a reduction of ten per cent.[33]

There can be no doubt that Westcott's success was due, in part, to his increasing stature as a public and national figure after he became Bishop of Durham. He advocated boards of conciliation and supported the co-operative movement. He was able to arrange conferences for employers and workers at Auckland Castle, at which there were usually representatives from the iron industry in Middlesbrough, and he made a considerable impression in his addresses at gatherings of miners. To many he was the embodiment of the idea that the Christian faith had to do with the whole of life, and especially with the social order.[34] On these occasions, however, his utterances were usually of a pragmatic nature, and he had little to say that was specifically Christian.

This emphasis is reversed among the Middlesbrough clergy, who had much to say about religion, but little of any practical value. They did, however, discuss the social order, as we will see from considering their contributions to the discussion of Christianity and society from a patently religious point of view.

Among the clergy there was at least one radical. In December, 1893 the Rev. T.J.Cox, pastor of the United Methodist Free Church, Grange Road, delivered a lecture entitled, The Church and the Working Classes. It was reported in the Gazette under the headline, Christian Socialism in Middlesbrough.[35] The Christian minister, said Mr. Cox,

> Could not do much until the workmen had done something to ennoble and inspire their fellow men. Whilst men preferred the public house to the chapel, and the low tone to the high range, they were not bringing sufficient light to bear upon the case to enable them to understand the spiritual forces which worked out the evolution of their natural life. They were sympathetic, but they did not get down to the root of things, the great principles, the great pillars of democracy, the eternal springs of righteousness and power. If a democrat believed in man he should believe in God to balance that faith... As they harnessed the tendencies of the age to something higher, they simply harnessed the democratic movement to God's own chariot, and some day the world would be the church, and its pillars rest upon the common good.
>
> He believed they could trace present troubles and difficulties and depressions to limited personality, to unwise use of capital, and shirkiness of disposition... He would preach in any Middlesbrough workshop during the dinner hour on any subject, and he hoped the challenge would be accepted. The working man was not as true to the church as the church had been to him. He believed with the Bishop of Durham that before the churches of our country could do the work they were called to do the workshops of our land must be baptised by the fire of God. The workshop, the home, and the church should be welded, and so flash out the image of God.

It is impossible to be sure how much of the incoherence of the lecture is attributable to Mr. Cox's excitable nature, and how much to the inexperience of the _Gazette's_ reporter, but a combination of sympathy and criticism for the working man like this was rare in a Middlesbrough churchman.

On a visit to Middlesbrough in August, 1894 Cardinal Vaughan also addressed himself to the working man when he preached in the cathedral at Pontifical High Mass.[36] He saw before him,

> A mass of artisans and working men who had given their lives not to sloth and luxury and self-indulgence, but to labour... Power had been put in the hands of the masses, and as men became trained and educated, intelligent and disciplined, and learned to think and act as men responsible to their creator, they becane fit for a share in the government of their own concerns. There could be no doubt that the future of this country would be decided in a very large measure by the vote and by the determination of the working classes.
>
> A very large proportion of working men was separated from all religious denominations. Large masses of toilers had lost confidence and hope in the teachers of the various sects into which the country was divided... No state could live without the aid of religion, and it would be an unhappy day, if ever the day arrived, for England when the people should have thrown off allegiance to their religion. If it were true that large and

increasing masses of men outside the Catholic Church were throwing off the ordinances of religion, what must be the mission, and the influence that might be exercised upon the English people by the Catholics of this land?

If they had a clear view of the mission entrusted to them by God, they must ask themselves what they were doing for the education of their children... The greatest blessing they could give to their children, after their religious instruction, was a sound education, and therefore they should make every sacrifice to keep their children at school throughout the whole curriculum... There would be no future, no success, no permanence unless there was a spirit of self-denial in a man. What man ever rose from the ranks to a position of command or of influence unless he knew how to control himself? What example did they set their children, therefore, in self-control of every kind, and in temperance.

When representatives from the local clergy were asked to contribute some Thoughts for 1900 for the Middlesbrough Year Book, Bishop Lacy made no mention of industrial affairs, but chose to see the twentieth century as the promised century of democracy.[37] But democracy, he believed, should have a thoroughly Christian education, otherwise it would be a great danger to civil society at large as well as to the Catholic Church. There was no reason why the humble toiler should not aim at being a perfect gentleman. A Christian and a gentleman ought to be synonymous terms, for the Christian was bound by divine law to love his neighbour as himself.

J.K.Bealey,[38] in his contribution to the Thoughts took the town motto, Erimus, as his text, and wrote a panegyric on Middlesbrough, for the comparative temperance of its population, the freedom of its streets from social immorality, the absence of any criminal population, the enterprise of its municipal administration, its fine municipal buildings, hospitals, and schools, and the future promise in the efforts currently being made by the religious community of the town. In regard to industry he had this to say,

As to our commercial conditions I speak as an outside observer only, but there is no doubt that this district has never before passed through such a period of steady prosperity, and so far our industries have seemed well able to hold their own in the severe competition of our times... Of course, there always have been ill-omened rumours of foreign competition. But still we continue to

go on. Yet certainly of late years the developments of our American cousins especially have assumed for this district more and more threatening aspects, and they are now bringing into our own markets bridges, locomotives, and pig iron at rates far below what we can compete with. So that there is need to brace up all our energies if our old motto is to stand good; and not in some near future - when the supply of the world overtakes the demand - to be changed from a motto into an epitaph.
There is reason in all this for humility, for watchfulness, and especially for great mutual consideration in those conflicts of labour and capital which more than all the world's competition endanger the interests of the whole community.

There are signs here of an awareness of what was going on, but nothing to disturb the industrial and commercial establishment of the district. It was a kind of hallowing of the status quo. Bealey's article finishes in similar style to his earlier sermon on sabbath observance. The time will come when 'blastfurnaces, shipyards, chemical works' will all have passed away. 'Erimus! Erimus! Erimus! even for the ages of eternity. But the solemn question is, what shall we be?'

The Rev. T.J.Cox[39] of Grange Road United Methodist Free Church saw the town in the same light as Mr. Bealey. Its future, which was not difficult to forsee, would depend upon their moral as well as their industrial power. Middlesbrough had the restlessness of youth, said Mr. Cox, and went on to deliver the following accolade.

This town is not merely restless, but its leading commercial men are amongst the most brilliant and daring experimentalists. It is with rare joy that a man repeats such world-wide names as Bolckow Vaughan and Co., Dorman Long and Co., Sir Raylton Dixon and Co., Sir Christopher Furness, Westgarth and Co., S.A.Sadler and Co. Such names challenge the most astounding achievements in the history of modern commercial development.

This was a case of justifiable local pride carried away by its own eloquence. Whatever the purpose of Mr. Cox's peroration, and that is not easy to discern, his rosy view of industry does not coincide with our findings.

In the spring of 1906 the Yorkshire Congregational Union held its annual conference in Middlesbrough. In his address the new president,

the Rev. Archibald Craven, from Wyke, said that the want of the present day was the realisation of Christ.[40]

> Not Christ as a subject for disputation among theologians, but Christ the King of men, Christ the emancipator. In all their life, whether social, political, or commercial, let them recognise that there was one King whom they were bound to obey. Let them carry their Christianity into everyday life. The world was better now than ever before, but there was still much to hope and work for. The outlook was bright, but the sky was by no means unclouded, and the greatest need of the churches at present was the evangelistic spirit. If they were to realise success they must adapt their methods to the changes that were going on.

As is customary on such occasions, the speaker did not say how Christianity was to be carried into everyday life. But the conference was later specific over at least one matter, declaring that, 'We ought to preach the right to employment of every willing worker. No society can be called Christian which denies his right to work.' A leader writer in the Gazette, however, accused the Congregationalists of trying to settle economic questions by sentiment instead of by calm reason. The so-called right to work would be of no value, continued the Gazette, if there were no work in which a man or woman could employ his hands or head. Within the last forty years the work of the country had been quadrupled without removing unemployment.[41]

Middlesbrough and its industry were part of that national expansion. The town itself was five times larger than it had been forty years before, and there were people for whom its growth, and the expansion of its iron industry, meant an increase in wealth and fortune. But there were others, the majority, for whom it spelled neither health nor prosperity. We have seen how Middlesbrough had the highest death rate of any town in England in 1904-1905. At that time there were 3,000 paupers on the out relief list, and 670 in the work house. The Westminister Gazette, commenting on Lady Bell's book, At the Works, compared the 'submerged of Middlesbrough' with the native races of

Africa in their common need for education in the arts of living. Lady Bell's investigations, it said, denoted a degree of poverty 'beyond the average in a prosperous manufacturing town.'[42]

By the end of 1908 there were 5,000 paupers on the out relief list,[43] but there was strong feeling against giving able bodied relief without exacting any work. 'Loafers' did well out of it and it 'disturbed the labour market.' However, the Rev. Edmund Hope of St. Paul's pointed out that even if men refused to work they could not let them starve.[44]

The Salvation Army canvassed the poorest parts of Middlesbrough and reported 12,500 persons in distress, of whom only 6,500 were receiving relief from recognised authorities. In not far short of 2,500 homes the bread winner was out of work.[45] This was in June, 1909; it no longer needed a strike or severe winter weather to produce poverty. 1,500 children were being fed daily by the education authority,[46] and they continued to be fed during most of the summer holidays. The Rev. J.S.L.Burn wrote to thank a friend for a donation,[47]

> We are overwhelmed with poverty and starvation. I am spending £70 a week in feeding and fuelling about 300 families. The Tower and the Bricks have given way to potatoes and bread and soup and treacle and cinders. (Burn was trying to raise £4,000 to build a west tower at All Saints'). We have done nothing else but hear confessions and feed them for six weeks.

After the death of Westcott in 1901, there was a gap in church leadership in the north east concerning big social issues. This gap was filled, at least in the columns of the Gazette, when Cosmo Gordon Lang became Archbishop of York in 1909. Although he gave some attention to industry and commerce, he was more interested in housing conditions, improved sanitation, and town planning. He preached his first sermon in Middlesbrough, on the text, 'Behold this dreamer cometh,' on the 14th March, 1909 in St. Hilda's.[48] He remarked how the dreamer and

visionary were often resented by practical men. The period from mid-eighteenth century to the early years of the nineteenth century had been a time when, through lack of vision, the cry of the poor remained unheard, the grinding laws of competition were left to take their course, and human life was degraded almost lower than the animals.

> Here is this town of yours which has suddenly leapt into life. Under the pressure of great industrial and commercial enterprise, great masses of men have been drawn together by what Thomas Carlyle called the cash nexus, profits and wages and the exchange of trade. There are no old hallowing traditions, everything is under the stress of competition and the strain of labour, and it is natural that out of these great crowds should come the voice, 'This is the world in which we have got to make the best of what we have and where we are. Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we have to work, and the next day we have to die. Business is business, sentiment is wasted time. There is no place for any ideal which cannot be translated into pounds, shillings, and pence.'
> Now it is just here that the church has always to enter as a dreamer of dreams, and the witness of the spiritual ideal. It has got to come like its Master, preaching the Kingdom of God...
>
> The Peases, the Richardsons, the Fallowses, and the Taylors believed their dream, they worked for it, and it came true, and where their dream ended the dream ofthe Christian citizens must begin. They must dream not only of making their seaport more important than Newcastle or Sunderland, but of making it a city of God. Ah, there will be those who will say, 'Behold this dreamer cometh.' But it is God's truth and God's will.

Lang next preached in Middlesbrough in the following Advent, in St. John's, on Christian hope.[49]

> You have a very hard yet noble task committed to you in this parish. You are surrounded by much of the strain of industry and labour, by much poverty, by many things which darken and depress. The mere responsibility of keeping the light of Christian faith and the witness of the Christian Church strong in the midst of so tremendous a population - that of itself is very heavy; and just because your task in this parish is so great, you have need of the power of hope. You must make the light of hope shine with greater constancy and brilliance, because you at least know there is one thing which can never fail to do good in Middlesbrough, that will give the very poor what no amount of alms can possibly give them - a sense of their infinite worth, a sense of self-respect, a belief that life is worth living. That thing is a faith in God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

That same day the Archbishop preached at St. Paul's at evensong.[50] Both churches were reported to be full,and extra seating was provided.

At St. Paul's about two hundred people were unable to get into the building. The sermon was on the Kingdom of God. The church, said Lang, was to be a society in the world in which were centred for the good of the whole world the energy, power, and strength which came from Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit.

1910 was another 'dark and depressing' year, and the mayor opened another distress fund in January. 'Hundreds actually starving,' said the newspaper headlines. Canon O'Connell, of Middlesbrough Cathedral, told how children were coming to school having had absolutely no food. They got dinner at school, but nobody knew how they managed for the rest of the day.[51] J.S.L.Burn appealed for more support in feeding the starving, and towards the end of the year the Church Army launched a public appeal to raise a 'substantial sum of money' for the erection of a new labour and lodging home.[52]

All of Middlesbrough relied on the iron and steel industry for economic survival. When there was work there was money to spend in the shops. But shop assistants too had their 'industrial' problems. In 1911 they were campaigning for shorter working hours because the agreements they had were frequently being broken by their employers.[53] The assistants' demands were very modest; closing time to remain at 7.30 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, 7.30 on Fridays instead of 8 o'clock, and 9 p.m. on Saturdays instead of 10 o'clock. A letter appeared in the Gazette on the 11th October, 1911, supporting the shop assistants case, signed by ten Anglican and twenty Nonconformist ministers. Bishop Lacy wrote a letter expressing his entire sympathy with the shop assistants, and adding for good measure that it would be a good thing if public houses also closed earlier. What interests us is the way in which the clergy felt so at home with this issue. No doubt it was because they entered a shop

almost every day, indeed, regarded certain shops as being 'in their parish,' and so had a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the shop assistants they saw and knew. An iron and steel works would not, of course, provide the same opportunity for natural and informal relationships to grow between churchmen and managers and men. There is no evidence to suggest that anybody thought such a development either possible or desirable. T.J.Cox's challenge, in his lecture of 1893, that he was ready to preach in any Middlesbrough workshop during the dinner hour was quite a different notion, and we must be thankful that his challenge was ignored. It was not because they preached sermons in retail shops that the clergy understood the shop assistants' aspirations.

A national coal strike in 1912 produced 'acute' distress in Middlesbrough. The mayor formed a central relief committee.[54] Dorman Long and Bolckow Vaughan kept on what men they could, and to those of their regular work force who had to be laid off, Dorman Long paid ten shillings a week - to be paid back in easy instalments when work was resumed.[55] A hundred tons of coal was distributed among the needy in one week. Bolckow Vaughan opened soup kitchens in South Bank and Grangetown,[56] and other firms introduced various emergency schemes. A donation of £10 was sent to the Archbishop of York for the poor in Middlesbrough from a parish in Bethnal Green.[57]

The Archbishop preached in St. John's, Middlesbrough during the strike, on the occasion of the institution of a new vicar. There had, said Lang, been a great cloud hanging over the nation for four weeks, not least over this busy home of industry.[58]

> Are we not learning through this discipline - if you like this chastisement - through which we are passing, are we not learning a lesson which we ought never to have forgotten, that we depend upon one another, that we are part of one another?...

> The whole community must learn (this) great, deep moral lesson. If we cannot learn it, God has seen fit to teach us through adversity. Many have seen how the whole of industry and their personal comfort depend upon those mutual services that are rendered to one another, and in that way a good lesson has been taught... We can see how impossible it is for us, industrially and socially, to escape from the leadership of Jesus Christ. Ultimately the business of our country, the security of our trade, the mutual steadfastness and stability of our society rest upon Christ and his principles.

The Archdeacon of Cleveland, T.E.Lindsay, made one of his less sensitive observations at his visitation in April, 1912. The suffering and privation inflicted on the district by the coal strike, he said, had surely brought home to the workers the dangers of selfish class legislation, but it had brought out such wonderful sympathy for the workers from the employers and the community, that he trusted, by God's Providence, the good might be greater than the ill.[59]

There was then, little leadership in the Middlesbrough churches on social and economic questions. It seems to have been left chiefly to church leaders to attempt what little Christian critque there was. This lack of discerning comment is probably itself significant of the churches' failure to come to terms with social issues.

There was, however, one occasion on which church leaders might have been expected to contribute something worthwhile to the church's understanding of the society around it. In October, 1912 the Church of England Church Congress came to Middlesbrough and was chaired by Lang. As a substantial section of its agenda was given to the subject of 'industrial unrest,' it is appropriate that we examine what the Congress had to contribute to this question.

The 1912 Church Congress

On the opening morning of the Congress, four services were held in different parish churches. A.F.Winnington-Ingram, Bishop of London,

preached at St. John's Church. He has been described as 'a prime example of a new, soft-centred conception of episcopacy,' and the same critic thinks that 'future historians may yet find his long tenure of the see of London of signal importance in deciding the Anglican Church's response to the twentieth century.'[60]

In his sermon the Bishop said that industrial unrest seemed to be a special feature of the present day. He acknowledged the complexity of the industrial situation, but felt that no help could come from state socialism apart from Christianity on the one hand, nor from the doctrine of laissez-faire on the other. The burden of Winnington-Ingram's message was typical of a church leader's desire to please both sides, which ends by helping neither side, remains at the level of generalities, and appeals for good-will all round. Employers and employed, said the Bishop, must obey the first Christian maxim, 'Look not every man to his own things, but every man also on the things of others.' He believed this would make a difference to the 'atmosphere' of an industrial struggle. Employers must recognise that the cost of living had risen twice as fast as wages. Workmen should see that wages could not be raised above a certain level; that capital, brain, and initiative were all essential, and earned their reward as fairly as manual labour. Only Christianity could bring men into the atmosphere of trust and co-operation out of the atmosphere of cold suspicion.[61]

The Archbishop of York in his inaugural address employed the same maxim as the Bishop of London, 'Look not every man on his own things...' This, he said, was the first part of the witness which the church had to give to the problem of unrest. It must say to both workmen and employers, in your disputes pay heed to the needs and interests of the whole community. Secondly, Lang saw all wealth and

power as a trust. Capital was responsible for the condition of the labour which it employed. Capital was not a thing; bound to follow mechanical laws of supply and demand: it was a power in the hands of people. When power was in the hands of labour, it was equally a trust. Thirdly, the church was bound to witness to the supreme value of individual human life.

Lang believed that there had been a transformation of the public conscience since the 1840s, but the squalor and misery which still darkened our towns and cities ought to be rendered impossible. The way out was not just by individual effort. A man in a quagmire could not get out until he had got some foothold. The nation must provide every man, woman, and child with this foothold of sufficient chance; in health conditions, in housing, in industrial training, and, in the case of adults, in wages. When that foothold had been secured, and not until then, would it be possible for individual energy to act. Lang would go so far towards a collectivist solution, but he was careful not to withdraw the necessity for self-help.

The Evangelical revival and the Oxford Movement, he continued, had had little to say about the Christianizing of political, social, and industrial life, but neither it seems had Lang on this occasion. He declared the north of England industrial areas to be where the church's place in national life must be won or lost, but his recommendations, laudable enough in themselves, amounted to little more than those which had proved so ineffective during the previous one hundred years: more new churches, the 'ablest young clergy,' new types of church service, and the provision of an appropriate Christian literature.[62]

Charles Gore's paper was a mixture of realism and despair. Industrial unrest was a subject so familiar, that he doubted whether

anything more could be profitably said, or heard, about it. Working people experienced a deep sense of injustice. Startling contrasts of wealth and povery were constantly presented to their imagination; wealth increased, but their lot did not improve. It would only irritate and do no good if the church attempted to preach to the labour movement and point out its faults. The record of the national church was lamentably bad in this respect. If we had felt and represented the undoubted wrongs of labour, it would have been different. We had almost confined ourselves to going about relieving misery. Now the call was for justice: not for charity; and we were discredited. The church, moreover, was felt by labour to represent in its assemblies the classes it was opposed to. Many churchmen dreaded socialism, but labour had come to the end of what it could do by trade unions and voluntary organisation. Those who wanted to minimise state action should be stalwart supporters of trade unions.

It was too late for the national church to carry any moral weight in industrial problems; there was more hope in organising Christian opinion in general. Perhaps there was a special opportunity in country villages, encouraging the formation or spread of an agricultural labourers' union. Also, church clubs and classes could prepare the way for the Workers' Education Association and similar organisations, by awakening people to the supreme importance of knowledge.

At the end of his paper Gore descended into generalities, more inspiring than most people's, perhaps, but not of any practical help in forming a programme of action. He said that the chief way they could help as a church was by informing their moral judgement, so that they could help to enlighten the judgement of others. There was need for a very serious and deliberate re-assertion and re-application

of those principles of personal and social righteousness which formed one chief characteristic of Old Testament religion, and which were indeed the only basis on which the Gospel could be rightly preached.[63]

Of two contributions from laymen which followed Gore's paper, the first was read on behalf of Sir Benjamin C.Browne, head of a large shipbuilding and engineering firm in Newcastle. He was quite clear about the duty of the church in this matter. It was to teach employers and workmen to sympathise with each others' difficulties and to smooth each others' path. Sir Benjamin, like his clerical colleagues, was unable to show how this was to be done, neither did he raise any hopes that he would be prepared to follow such teaching himself if it were given. He did, however, use the occasion to give a little teaching on his own behalf for the edification of any workers who happened to hear his paper or read the report in the newspapers. The wealth of this country, he said, had increased very much in recent years, yet the working classes were worse off. The fault lay in the policy which had been pursued in their supposed interests. The gigantic strikes which had paralysed our whole social machinery were calculated to increase the cost of living permanently.[64]

Following Browne, J.N.Bell, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Labour, put the opposing argument that the cause of unrest was low wages, but was not confined to the lowest paid workers. There was a growing sense among working people that they were only tools of other men's determination to obtain wealth. So long as the workman remained quiet, the monotony and hopelessness of his life had no practical concern for the rest of the community.[65]

When the debate was thrown open to the floor of the Congress, Gore's paper received enthusiastic support from the Bishop of Sodor and Man,[66] and from the Rev. Lewis Donaldson of Leicester, who urged the

Congress to support the minimum wage agitation.[67] On the other hand, Sir Edward Clarke, K.C. said that any support for Gore's ideas about an agricultural labourers' union, and the religious work of the church would be interrupted and crippled by the antagonism which would arise. If the church or the clergy, qua church or clergy, took up any such proposal as the minimum wage, it would be fatal to their religious influence.[68]

Thus, the general consensus of opinion at the Congress was that the church's job was to hold the balance between employer and employed. The Congress was notable, however, for its failure to produce any practical proposals to reconcile the diametrically opposing positions of Sir Benjamin Browne and Mr.J.N.Bell. Mediation requires hard thinking and hard work, but the platitudes of Lang and Winnington-Ingram showed little evidence of either. The most realistic and incisive speech was Gore's, which effectively declared the church's position in the towns already hopeless, and only sought to maintain its influence in the countryside by taking up the labourer's cause. This choice of sides would clearly sacrifice the church's aspiration to a mediating role, and would also have little to say to the urban areas of England.

Not that the deliberations of the Congress seem to have meant anything to the people of Middlesbrough. In summing up the debate, Lang regreted that the town had not produced either a working man or an employer who, when the Church Congress had asked them to consider labour problems, had something to say about them.[69] Where, we may ask, was the ironmaster, Arthur Dorman, later described as 'a committed churchman?'[70] Where, for that matter, were any of the other ironmasters who had served on the Archbishop's Church Extension Committee from 1909 to 1911? What does this state of affairs say

about the Church of England's relationship with the working class movements in Middlesbrough? Were either, or both, sides of industry embarrassed to debate such matters on their home ground under the church's auspices? Did they resent the church for trying to interfere? For whatever reasons, the failure of local employers and labour to participate in the Congress meant that much of the point of holding it in Middlesbrough was lost.

The Church and the World

The local failure of the 1912 Congress may point to a rather negative conclusion about the social thinking of the local church. We have emphasised constantly the nature of the iron and steel industry as the biggest factor in determining the kind of town Middlesbrough was to be: the speed and haphazard nature of its growth, the type of houses and streets which were so hastily and thoughtlessly erected, the kind of people who came to live in the town, and the possibilities and quality of life they could expect when they got there. For most people these things were simply there, part of the unquestioned givenness of life. Merely earning a living left neither energy nor inclination for speculation. Even if it had, only the boldest optimist would have expected much alteration in the way things were. For a minority, of course, things were all right as they were, and would be for the rest if they would only live sober, god-fearing lives and accept their lot.

When we try to see industrial life 'whole,' economic, technical, moral, and religious questions are all closely interwoven one with another. Yet it is easy to settle for a 'compartmentalised' view of life, in which each separate compartment is the exclusive preserve of its own experts. We must, of course, respect what William Temple

called the other person's 'autonomy of technique;'[71] every discipline has its own expertise. But it is also true, as Charles Elliott reminds us, that the technical expert does not operate in a value-free science, nor does 'confining ourselves to the practicalities' mean that we have left ideology to one side.[72] Conversely, a concern for moral and spiritual values cannot operate in a vacuum, but will affect our actions and attitudes towards the practicalities of life. There is no religious compartment of life which determines and limits the church's concern. The church is not concerned solely with its own private religious world, as if there were another world which exists in complete autonomy outside it. From the church's point of view these two worlds have to interpenetrate each other, indeed ideally there would not be two worlds, but one. A sharp distinction between the 'religious compartment' and the secular would reduce secular life to an irrelevant background, from the religious point of view, to which Christians might perform acts of charity, but take no further responsibility for the world as Christians.

We saw how, in the early nineteenth century, the laws of political economy were usually considered immutable and inexorable. Many considered them to be so at the end of the century. Others did not, but by then economics had become the esoteric pursuit of economic experts, so that any Christian judgement was precluded until after the events. This is one reason why we should not be surprised at the paucity and shallowness of the Christian comment on politics, economics, or industry coming out of Middlesbrough during the years 1890-1914, nor that much of it was confined to generalities and the blessing of the status quo.

It could be said in defence of local churchmen that the tasks which lay immediately to hand were an almost intolerable burden. The

expectation that church buildings would be erected in some kind of proportion to the rapidly multiplying population, whether that population ever entered them or not, coupled with the urgent pastoral needs associated with poor living conditions, sickness, and a high death rate, unemployment and destitution, called for superhuman efforts leaving little time for reflection. Yet, if the roots of this situation lay in the commercial and industrial activity which created the town, then can the churches' failure to look deeper even qualify them for the admonition, 'We are servants and deserve no credit; we have only done our duty.'[73]

If, however, this evaluation of the church's social attitudes is to be of any practical use to churchmen, it must go beyond the evidence with which history provides us, and take the form of an assessment of the church's historical predicament from the view-point of the Christian theologian. The concluding chapter will, therefore, judge the properly religious value of the workings of the church, in the form in which they have been already described historically.

Chapter Five

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ETHICS

> The full realization of the kingdom of Christ does not mean the substitution of a new universal society for all the separate organizations of men, but rather the participation of all these in the one universal kingdom of which Christ is the head.
> The Kingdom of Christ, F.D.Maurice

In order to pass theological judgement on the workings of the church in Middlesbrough, we need a framework of specifically religious ideas on the possible relationships of the church to the society it serves, in the whole range of their common activities. One such framework is provided by H. Richard Niebuhr in his work, Christ and Culture. Niebuhr defines 'culture' as the artificial, secondary environment which man superimposes on the natural. It is inextricably bound up with man's life in society; it is always social. Culture is human achievement, distinguished from nature by evidence of human purposivness and effort.[1]

Given these two complex realities, Christ and culture, a dialogue develops between them in the Christian conscience and in the Christian community. Niebuhr defines five typical and partial responses.[2] They have recurred so often in different eras and societies, that he believes them to be less the product of historical conditioning than of the nature of the problem itself.

In the first type of response, Christ against culture, Christ and culture are opposed. Christ confronts men with an either-or decision, to surrender to their own fallen natures in a corrupted

world, or to separate themselves from it in the perfect society of true believers. For the radical, exclusive Christian, history is the story of a rising Christian church and a dying pagan civilization.

The second type, <u>the Christ of culture</u>, recognises a fundamental agreement between Christ and culture as it is. Jesus brings to culmination the secular values to which men in society aspire. He confirms what is best in the past, and is guiding civilization to its proper goal. History to the Christian is the story of the spirit's influence on culture.

The remaining three types agree that there are great differences between Christ and culture, but undertake to hold them together in unity. They differ in the way they attempt to combine them.

In <u>Christ above culture</u>, Niebuhr's third type, Christ is the ultimate fulfilment of man's cultural aspirations, the restorer of society's institutions. He is both discontinuous and continuous with social life and its culture: discontinuous with it in that he is not simply to be identified with it, continuous with it in that he is present in it. A great leap, however, is necessary if men are to reach him. This type looks to a future synthesis of Christ and culture. History is a preparation under law, reason, gospel, and church for ultimate communion with God.

The fourth response, <u>Christ and culture in paradox</u>, indicates a polarity and tension between Christ and culture. Man is subject to two moralities, to two cultures, two kingdoms, in both of which he has to participate. Because man is both fallen and redeemed, he is a citizen of two worlds which are not only discontinuous, but largely opposed to each other. History is the time of struggle between faith and unbelief, between the giving of the promise of life and its fulfilment.

The fifth, and final, type in Niebuhr's categories, my own

preference, is Christ the transformer of culture. This type of response agrees with the first and fourth groups that human nature is fallen, and that this perversion appears in culture and is transmitted by it. It recognises the opposition between Christ and all human institutions. Yet this does not lead to separation from the world as with the first group, nor to mere endurance of the world as with the fourth, but to the idea of converting the world and its culture to Christ, who is the convertor of man in his culture and society, not apart from them.

This conversionist type of Christian ethic includes three distinctive theological convictions. First, the creative action of God is a major theme, neither overpowered by, nor overpowering, the idea of atonement. Secondly, man's good nature has become corrupted; culture is perverted good, not evil. Culture needs conversion, not replacement, separation, or withdrawal, though the conversion is so radical that it amounts to a rebirth. Thirdly, all things are possible to God in a history that is not a course of merely human events, but an interaction between God and men. History is the story of God's mighty deeds and man's responses to them.

Niebuhr admits that even after a long study of many individuals and movements, a 'type' is still something of a construct. No person, or group, ever conforms completely to a type. Each historical figure will show characteristics of some other family than the one by whose name he has been called, or traits will appear that seem wholly unique and individual. We can see this in the epistles of St. Paul, in the Johannine writings, in Augustine, Aquinus, Luther, John Wesley, F. D. Maurice, and in any of the great historical figures cited by Niebuhr. Compared with them, and the immense amount of written material they left behind, the churchmen of Middlesbrough eighty years ago are often

very shadowy figures indeed. Nevertheless, we can still ask, how did the church, in both its attitudes and its activities, meet the demands of the idea of Christ the transformer of culture?

In attempting an answer we shall examine the considered statements of six churchmen, already given, in the light of Niebuhr's categories. They are statements addressed to Middlesbrough people in which the speaker or writer takes a specifically religious point of view and tries, at the same time, to take the social order into account.

It is useful, as a rough guide, to ask first whether the person is an optimist or a pessimist. T.J.Cox, in his lecture of 1893, The Church and the Working Classes (p. 102), is an optimist, and sees the work of Christ and the church as closely concerned with the lives of working men, but the outlook of the men themselves is in need of transformation. Human nature is fallen, men prefere 'the public house to the chapel, and the low tone to the high range.' This preference prevents them understanding their own condition, 'the spiritual forces which work out the evolution of their natural life.' When they appreciate these forces they will be able to ennoble and inspire their fellow men. Democracy in itself is not enough; by itself it is but part of what Niebuhr would call, the perversion that appears in, and is transmitted by, culture. Underneath the 'great pillars of democracy' must be discovered the 'eternal springs of righteousness and power.' The democrat must be transformed by belief in God. The tendencies of the day, the democratic movement, must be harnessed to something higher, to 'God's own chariot.' The day will come, says Cox, when the world will be the church; a total transformation by which, we can assume, he means the coming Kingdom of God.

The church has a continuing task to perform in the world, bringing judgement and discernment to bear. The unconverted nature of the world manifests itself in 'limited personality, unwise use of capital, and shirkiness of disposition.' The workshops of our land need to be 'baptised with the fire of God,' then it will be possible for the workshop, the house, and the church to be 'welded and so flash out the image of Christ,' a vivid metaphor which conveys F. D. Maurice's notion of the separate organisations of men participating in Christ's one universal kingdom. Cox is most at home in Niebuhr's fifth type; Christ the transformer of culture. He is realistic in his assessment of human culture, but he sees transformation already taking place, and he has a vision of the Kingdom of God as a coming reality.

Cardinal Vaughan's sermon in Middlesbrough Cathedral (p. 103) in 1894 was that of an optimist, but an optimism tempered with warnings. If the desired results were to be realized there was need for self-denial, temperance, and thrift. The future of the country was largely in the hands of the working classes because they now had power, at least potentially. But since so many working people outside the Catholic Church had given up religion, there was an added responsibility on the Catholic working class. Vaughan wondered if they had a clear idea of the mission God had given them. No state could live without the aid of religion, so the influence which Catholics could exercise on the English people was of great importance. The crucial question was, what were they doing for the education of their children. They might be 'poor labourers' themselves with no inclination to read or study, but they should encourage their children to stay at school as long as possible, and teach them the virtues of self-denial and temperance by their own example. Without self-denial there would be no success, no permanence.

Vaughan saw a close connection between the mission of the church and the education of children. The Christianizing, or civilizing, of England would come about through the education of their children who, as a consequence, would rise in social rank. This infiltration of the governing elite by educated Catholics would be instrumental in bringing about a transformation of society. This suggests that Vaughan, like Cox, is a 'conversionist' type, but perhaps he is nearer to the 'Christ above culture' category, for which Christ is the fulfilment of cultural aspirations and the restorer of the institutions of true society.

Bishop Lacy's pastoral letter for Lent, 1897 (p. 93) introduces a note of pessimism. Few are able to use God's gifts with moderation, and the week's wages prove an irresistable temptation to many men who become slaves to intemperate drinking, often made worse by the pernicious custom of paying out wages in public houses. Intemperance is to be found in all classes, among young and old, but the working man's surroundings expose him more than other's to this danger. Even if the working man resists the dangers of the public houses, there is always the possibility that when he returns from work he will find nobody at home because his wife is in the near by public house drinking and betting with her cronies.

Pessimism usually means a 'Christ against culture' type, although there is a certain pessimism to be found in 'Christ and culture in paradox,' where man is subject to two moralities, a citizen of two worlds. One might put Lacy in this latter type because he accepts the culture and morality of the ironworks, if only by his silence, as demanding obedience. Yet his letter is closer to 'Christ against culture.' The Christian home is an outpost of the church where it is possible to live a Christian life, if one keeps apart from the corrupt,

and corrupting, culture which surrounds the Christian family.

J. K. Bealey's sermon on 'Sabbath Observance' in 1903 (p. 97) betrays a deeper pessimism than Lacy's. The contrast is not merely between the church and the evils of excessive drinking and gambling. It is between the church and the whole secular world. 'Sunday' stands for Christ or the church; culture is the working week, all right in its way, but fundamentally opposed to religious life. The other six days were given to worldly work, worldly toil, worldly thoughts and cares, worldly life, utter worldliness, but the life of the spirit is to be found in the 'quiet Sabbath hours.'

The sermon seems an obvious candidate for 'Christ against culture,' yet certain aspects do not have the radicalism demanded of this type. The labours of the working week are not condemned. There is no suggestion that the demands of the six days should not be obeyed, but the law of the Sabbath must be kept as well, in obedience to the God who sits in judgement on the rest of the week. This is 'Christ and culture in paradox,' Niebuhr's 'dualist' position. Yet Bealey moves even further from the radical response when he says that the well kept Sabbath not only pleases God, but brings such blessings as a vigorous old age and a reserve of energy to meet the demands of the other six days. This is the synthesis motif of 'Christ above culture,' 'Pay Caesar what is due to Caesar, and pay God what is due to God.'

Archibald Craven was certainly optimistic when he addressed the conference of the Yorkshire Congregational Union in Middlesbrough in 1906 (p. 106). He wanted Christianity carried out into everyday life, and that would be pointless if Christ and culture were opposed. The world, said Craven, was better now than ever before, even though there remained much to work and hope for. Christ seems to be, for Craven, the fulfilment of cultural aspirations, the restorer of the institutions

of true society. Christ, he said, was the King of men, the emancipator, the only King to be obeyed in all their life, social, political, or commercial. This short speech from the chair at the conference points to the 'Christ above culture' type.

Archbishop Lang's first sermon in Middlesbrough, in 1909, strikes a boldly optimistic note (p. 108). The dream of Middlesbrough's founders came true; a town and port were built where before there had been a tidal swamp; a great centre of industry and commerce had been created in an obscure region of North Yorkshire. The founders believed in their dream, worked for it, and it came true. One kind of transformation had already taken place. Where great masses of men had been drawn together merely by the 'cash nexus' the church must enter as a dreamer of dreams, as the witness to the spiritual ideal, preaching the Kingdom of God. Christians must work for their dream. Believing in God's will and working for it was a practical matter. Lang's Christ is the transformer of culture, the converter of man in his culture and society.

In Lang's sermon the following Advent (p. 108), the optimism is muted, but Christian hope is stressed. There is a tension between Christ and culture. The people of St. John's Church are surrounded 'by much of the strain of industry and labour, by many things which darken and depress.' Over against this is the light of the Christian faith and the witness of the Christian Church. Alms can meet one kind of human need, but only the gift of faith in God can give people a sense of their own infinite worth which lies beyond history. Here is the tension and polarity of the 'Christ and culture in paradox' category.

Preaching at evensong in St. Paul's Church on the same day (p. 109), Lang reasserted something of the 'conversionist' theme, Christ the

transformer of culture. The church was a society set in the world and armed with the capability of translating the ideals of the Kingdom of Heaven into the life of the world.

When Lang returned to preach in St. John's at the time of the national coal strike in 1912 (p. 110), he developed the 'transformer' theme. There was a precondition to transformation, that we learned the lesson that we were part of one another, regardless of class. Some it seemed would only learn through discipline or chastisement.

At the end Lang raises a new problem for us. If success in business and trade and the stability of British society rested upon Christ and his principles, what had Christianity to say to Britain's more successful commercial rivals, Germany and the United States? Lang's assertion may have contained an unconscious element of British triumphalism, the Protestant equivalent of Vaughan's Catholic triumphalism, a symptom of the 'Christ of culture,' which sees a close relationship between Christianity and Western (in this case British) civilization, between the teaching of Jesus and democratic institutions.

The only thing which the forgoing examples appear to have in common is that they all come out of Middlesbrough. The attitudes have no consistency, and fall short of our ideal of Christ as the transformer of culture. Even when they start promisingly in this category there is little sign of an imaginative strategy to go with it. Lang's first sermon in Middlesbrough sounds like the beginning of a new era, but his approach to industrial society at the 1912 Church Congress contained no new suggestions. He merely proposed to repeat the prescription which had proved inadequate in the nineteenth century.

We can, however, understand the inadequacies of these attitudes if we see them as stemming from the failure of the church in Middlesbrough to understand the nature of the iron and steel industry, and to

recognise it as a major determining factor in the life of the community. There is little evidence to suggest that the local church ever attempted seriously to solve the moral questions created by industry and commerce, or even to discover what they were. Its efforts were directed towards the irreligious effects of industrialization, while causes were often overlooked. Moreover, the church's attitudes were rooted in the restricted, rather than the transforming, social role to which it confined its ministrations. The church played a social role, but its nature was such that it did not penetrate to the heart of the problem.

Yet there was a contrast between the church's traditional methods and its role in the new industrial society. In the generally irreligious world of Middlesbrough, the church was the sphere in which one could lead a Christian life. It created a protected environment for a minority, of Sunday services, societies, day and Sunday schools, while providing the rites of passage and some missionary activities and hospital work for the rest of the population. This was a most impressive institutional achievement, especially in church extension and education. Nor were religious influences confined to the institutional churches, even though it is difficult to know the full impact of the Nonconformist attitudes purveyed by the Gazette.

Still, the role of Christianity was obviously limited by a hostile environment, and the role of the church by the suspicion of a predominantly working class community towards a middle class institution. Outside the church were two other worlds. The first was given over to drinking, gambling, sexual licence, 'sabbath breaking,' and the like, and was to be resisted as evil. The second was the world of commerce and industry, towards which the church's attitude was ambivalent. This second world was necessary as a means of livelihood.

It was a world which the church was obliged to accept at the ironmasters' valuation, the church having no experience of its own to evaluate industry's economic criteria, its 'iron laws,' rates of pay, and working conditions. The ironworkers were not consulted, merely preached at when possible, thereby exacerbating the class barrier observed by Lady Bell as so difficult to surmount,[3] and the trade unions were deemed hostile to the church. At the same time, the second, industrial world took men outside the world in which the church was at home, into unknown territory, and was responsible, at least in part, for the first, intemperate, evil world to which the church was opposed. Industrial life not only obliged men to work on Sundays, but its side effects reinforced the natural human tendencies to excessive drinking, gambling, and general indifference to organised religion.

But the failure of the church to come to terms with the new surroundings was symptomatic of a general failure of a Middlesbrough elite to provide the town with the social and moral leadership it needed. The leaders of industry gradually moved out of Middlesbrough, leaving a vacuum behind, while even the trades unions, with the exception of the blastfurnacemen, failed to produce a local leadership, but took their lead from John Kane and his successors in Darlington. The unions in the iron industry were particularly fragmented, and so were unable to overcome the social disorganisation of the town. Both church and unions were voluntary organisations, and suffered from the general lack of community in Middlesbrough which stemmed from its heterogeneous character. The withdrawal of the Middlesbrough Owners and the ironmasters also impaired the effectiveness of local government. We have seen evidence of the small-mindedness of the 'intermediate classes' who formed the elite on the town council in its second generation. They were entirely lacking in the qualities of leadership

which Middlesbrough demanded. In local government, in industry, in the church, there was no effective leadership, there were no prophetic voices. This helps to explain the impact of Westcott and Lang. In their understanding of the relationship between religion and society, at least, they owed their eminence to the flatness of the surrounding ground. When one analyses what they said, it was not prophetic.

Thus the attitude of the church towards religion and society in Middlesbrough is reflected in the compartmentalised role which religion played. Outside certain restricted areas, the church made no attempt to transform its environment, but accepted it as given, with the valuation others put upon it. Indeed, the church could never be an agent for transforming culture until it thoroughly understood the culture in which it was set, and shaped its own life and mission to engage that culture. But the church's understanding of the world of Middlesbrough was uncritical, and its mission was restricted accordingly. The lesson for the church in Middlesbrough today is that because the church did not come to grips with its secular environment in the past, a legacy remains in which the church is not expected to come to terms with it now.

APPENDIX I

MIDDLESBROUGH SCHOOLS

Small schools were started by various people in the 1830s in Stockton Street, East Street, and Commercial Street. The first school to be recorded was opened in

1838 in Stockton Street with a grant from the British and Foreign School Society, supplemented by local subscriptions. Accommodation for 120 boys and 100 girls. In 1840 an infants department was started. Night classes began in 1851.

1850 an independent school under Miss Jane Drummond in Graham Street.

1858 a finishing school for ladies opened in Queen's Square by Miss Sendall.

1858 a Grammer School opened by William Grieves, LL.D. in the 'country' at what is now the corner of Albert Road and Corporation Road. Closed at his death in 1875.

1860 St. John's School opened. £60 from National Society; £1,092 government grant; £2,759 raised locally. Accommodation: 490. Infant department opened in same year. £35 from National Society; £178 government grant; £489 raised locally. Fees: twopence a week. The building also used as a Sunday School.

1864 J. S. Calvert started a 'middle class' school in Park Street.

1865 St. Mary's Roman Catholic small mixed school opened in William St.

1865 Wesleyan School opened at cost of £2,000 behind 'Big Wesley.' Fees: sixpence a week. Many additions made to the building. 1899: accommodation 537. 1907: accommodation 727. Closed in 1907 because of increasing number of council schools. Many parents could not afford the fees.

1868 St. Paul's School opened. Accommodation: 694 mixed. Infants department opened one year later.

1869 St. Hilda's School built. £6,583 from Henry Bolckow. The land given by Hopkins, Gilkes and Co. 468 pupils by 1870. Night school started that year. Discontinued in 1873 through lack of support.

1870 a new National School opened. The cost, £6,229, paid by Joseph and Henry Pease. British School in Stockton Street closed down and handed over without charge to the new School Board in 1875. Accommodated 600 pupils at that time.

In Middlesbrough at the time of the Forster Act of 1870 there were thirty-one private schools, but only eleven, with 640 places were said to be 'efficient.' The child population was 8,080. There were 5,051 school places, but regular attendances were only 2,723.

1871 Stockton Street schools offered to School Board at a rent of £25

Appendix I

a year. Conveyed to the Board free of charge by William Fallows.

1872 School Board bought sites in East Street, Newport, and Denmark Street. Rented the Baptist schoolroom in Park Street (164 girls and 14 infants); Paradise Church schoolroom in Milton Street (180 mixed); took over a Wesleyan school which had closed in Linthorpe.

1873 Fleetham Street school opened. Lower East Street conveyed to the Board.

1873 St. Patrick's, Lawson Street opened.

1873 School Board reported the following schools and available places under their control.

Denmark Street	1,000
Fleetham Street	800
Lower East	600
Linthorpe New	600
Linthorpe Old	80
Stockton Street	250
Milton Street	180
	3,510 (deficiency 685)

1874 St. Mary's Roman Catholic schools opened.

1875 Industrial School for 60 boys opened near Linthorpe School.

1876 Bright Street opened. Foundation stone laid in 1874 by Mrs. William Hopkins. Fees raised to threepence in 1885, which meant fewer pupils.

1876 British School in Feversham Street transferred to School Board free of cost. Became Lower East Street Infants. Accommodation: 252.

1876-1885 No new schools built during these years.

1881 Denmark Street, Fleetham Street, and Southend (Boundary Road) schools extended to provide 403 extra places. St. Mary's and St. Patrick's also extended.

1884 Newport Road, land purchased. 438 boys, 438 girls, 410 infants.
1900 Capacity increased for 420 junior mixed.

1885 Evening classes started by School Board at Newport and Southend, and at Lower Street in 1888.

1888 Hugh Bell appointed chairman of School Board in place of Isaac Wilson who had retired.

1892 Grange Road schools opened. 308 senior boys, 281 senior girls, 308 junior mixed, 331 infants accommodation. Renamed Hugh Bell schools in 1898. Additions for 384 more pupils in 1900. Redesignated as a higher grade school in 1907.

1892 A school opened on Swatters Carr estate. Accommodation: 304 senior boys, 304 girls, 304 junior mixed.

1892 New Board School opened in Victoria Road.

1897 16,057 on school registers. Actual attendance was 14,865. A deficiency of 1,432 places remained.

1898 Marton Road opened for 500 senior mixed, 280 junior mixed, 260 infants.
Marton Road and Victoria Road schools caused loss to Church of England and Roman Catholic schools. 102 left St. John's to go to Marton Road.

1898 Board Schools, 10,944 on registers; average attendance of 10,310.
Denominational Schools, 5,779 on registers, 5,300 attendances.
Night schools, 360 attendances.
High School evening classes, 450 attendances.

1902 Ayresome Schools opened. Accommodation for 620 senior mixed, 300 junior mixed, 350 infants.
The last Board School to be built.

1902 Education Act came into force in Middlesbrough on 1st May, 1903.
School accommodation and attendance at the time of the take over was,

	Accommodation	Average Attendance
Board Schools	12,229	10,589
Church Schools	2,670	2,128
R.C.Schools	2,568	1,978
Wesleyan School	727	576
	18,194	15,277

1906 Marsh Road opened. Accommodation, 600

1906 St. Patrick's, Marsh Street opened. Accommodation, 420.
St. Patrick's, Lawson Street became a junior school.

1906 St. Philomena's opened. Accommodation, 520.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Middlesbrough High School

1870 A group of leading ironmasters met at Bell Brothers' offices to promote a 'middle class' school which would prepare pupils at the age of thirteen for the Cambridge Local Examinations. The school opened at 1, Grange Road with 25 pupils. In 1874 the number had risen to 93.

1874 A girl's school was opened at 37, Grange Road with a grant of £1,000 from Bernhard Samuelson, M.P. 53 girls attended, and a preparatory school was added in 1876.

1875 J. W. Pease and Partners offered a site at the south end of Albert Road for a more substantial building to house the growing numbers wanting higher grade education.

1877 Middlesbrough High School opened. 179 pupils in 1879, 267 by 1882. J. W. Pease chairman of the trustees, Hugh Bell chairman of the management committee.

1900 About 18,000 pupils attended elementary schools, but only about 400 were receiving recognised secondary school education.

1906 New west wing opened at the High School to accommodate 240 girls. Total accommodation was now 710.

1911 Kirby School opened. A secondary school for girls to accommodate 265. Opened with 133 pupils. Named after R. L. Kirby, company secretary of Bell Brothers who had organised meeting to establish the High School and a library. Later chairman of Education Committee.

St. Mary's College

Around 1900 Bishop Lacy founded a small grammar school known as St. Brendan's, for boys, at 75, Grange Road West.

1904 Marist Fathers agreed to take over the school. Moved to a large house in the Avenue, Linthorpe. School renamed St. Mary's. About 50 boys attended.

1906 St. Mary's recognised by Board of Education. After a long struggle was recognised as necessary to the town by the town council in 1908.

St. Mary's Convent

1872 Small community of sisters took charge of St. Mary's elementary school, and in the next year of St. Patrick's.

1881 Community moved to Gunnergate Terrace and opened a private school. Needed larger premises. Rented house of Sir H. G. Reid, owner of the Gazette, in West Newlands, which they bought in 1896.

1896 School became known as St. Mary's Newlands Convent. Extended in 1902.

1903 Recognised by Board of Education.

APPENDIX IIa

1904 RELIGIOUS CENSUS

Church of England

	Men	Women	Children	Total
All Saints'	129	276	232	628
St. Michael's	63	132	157	352
St. Barnabas's	188	315	226	729
St. Cuthbert's	54	112	160	326
St. Aidan's	115	129	158	402
St. James's	42	60	174	276
St. Hilda's	228	237	85	550
St. Andrew's	7	26	29	62
St. John's	196	278	225	699
St. Peter's	97	111	46	254
St. Peter's Mission	29	21	48	98
Seamen's Institute	29	13	23	65
Holy Cross	21	66	72	159
St. Columba's	55	119	99	273
St. Oswald's	27	41	48	116
St. Paul's	236	213	72	521
	1516	2140	1854	5510

Roman Catholic

	Men	Women	Children	Total
St. Mary's Cathedral	1008	1051	975	3034
St. Patrick's	508	583	572	1663
	1516	1634	1547	4697

Wesleyan Methodist

	Men	Women	Children	Total
West End	265	301	182	748
Waterloo Road	96	78	94	268
Linthorpe	46	64	44	154
Linthorpe Road	367	467	185	1019
Centenary	106	97	71	274
East End	49	44	56	149
Lord Street	76	57	81	214
Fox Head's	5	4	30	39
	1010	1112	743	2865

Primitive Methodist

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Linthorpe Road	131	171	107	409
Southfield Road	99	104	104	307

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Ayresome Street	43	27	81	151
Newport	48	30	86	164
Gilkes Street	190	250	184	624
	511	582	562	1655

Baptist

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Grange Road	16	21	9	46
Marton Road	134	207	153	494
Linthorpe Road	46	35	56	137
Welsh	21	20	8	49
Newport Road	171	181	86	438
	388	464	312	1164

Methodist Free Church

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Grange Road	194	221	186	601
Milton Street	98	139	143	380
	292	360	329	981

Congregational

	Men	Women	Children	Total
St. George's	243	317	167	727
Cannon Street	71	100	75	246
	314	417	242	973

Salvation Army

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Richmond Street	228	190	142	560
Hartington Road	53	72	51	176
Cannon Street	73	78	84	235
	354	340	277	971

Presbyterian

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Welsh	45	40	32	117
Newport Road	135	151	60	346
Corporation Road (Trinity)	100	98	30	228
	280	289	122	691

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Evangelistic Missions				
Durham Street	181	175	59	415
United Christian	72	86	73	231
	253	261	132	646
Wesley Reform				
Brougham Street	219	223	132	574
Methodist New Connexion				
Zion Love Memorial	102	92	70	264
North Ormesby Road	56	35	61	152
	158	127	131	416
Brethren				
Woodlands Road	40	37	41	118
Co-operative Hall	25	23	23	71
Milton Street	20	30	22	72
YMCA	60	40	0	100
Cleveland	16	18	17	51
	161	148	103	412
Spiritualist				
Grange Road West	65	80	36	181
Unitarian				
Christ Church	53	67	31	151
Society of Friends				
Dunning Road	62	50	20	132

	Men	Women	Children	Total
German Churches				
Marton Road	20	17	8	45
Corporation Road	10	10	17	37
	30	27	25	82
Latter Day Saints				
Harris Street	37	33	0	70
YMCA	12	0	0	12
GRAND TOTAL	7231	8354	6598	22,183

APPENDIX IIb

1904 RELIGIOUS CENSUS - CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY WARDS

1. Grove Hill (pop. 10,345)

	Buildings	Attendances	%age of ward pop.
C of E	2	980	9.5
Noncon.	7	1730	16.7
		2710	26.2

2. Ayresome (pop. 12,600)

	Buildings	Attendances	%age of ward pop.
C of E	4	1733	13.7
Noncon.	4	1790	14.2
		3523	27.9

3. Linthorpe (pop. 7,436)

	Buildings	Attendances	%age of ward pop.
Noncon.	2	422	5.7

4. Exchange (pop. 8,220)

	Buildings	Attendances	%age of ward pop.
Noncon.	8	2309	28.1

5. Marsh (pop. 10,865)

	Buildings	Attendances	%age of ward pop.
C of E	1	550	5.1
Noncon.	3	1408	13.0
R.C.	1	3034	27.9
		4992	46.0

6. Vulcan (pop. 8,276)

	Buildings	Attendances	%age of ward pop.
C of E	5	1178	14.2
Noncon.	3	716	8.7
		1894	22.9

7. <u>Cannon</u> (pop. 8,417)

C of E	3	548	6.5
Noncon.	3	691	8.2
		1239	14.7

8. <u>Acklam</u> (pop. 7,951)

C of E	1	521	6.6
Noncon.	4	765	9.6
		1286	16.2

9. <u>Newport</u> (pop. 9,828)

Noncon.	2	274	2.8
R.C.	1	1663	16.9
		1937	19.7

10. <u>Cleveland</u> (pop. 7,345)

Noncon.	9	1871	25.4

APPENDIX III

Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell, 1st Baronet (1816-1904)

Educated at Bruce's Academy, Newcastle, then spent some time in Germany and Denmark before attending Edinburgh University and the Sorbonne. He went finally to Marseilles to study a new process for the manufacture of alkali.

In 1835 he entered the office of Losh, Wilson and Bell under his father in Newcastle, and a year later he joined his father at the firm's ironworks in Newcastle which made alkali as well as iron.

Bell came to Tees-side to begin the works at Port Clarence in 1852, on the north bank of the Tees opposite Middlesbrough. Bell Brothers could not get nearer to the Cleveland iron deposits because in negotiating a royalty on ironstone from the Normanby Estate, an interested party, Ralph Ward Jackson, the creator of West Hartlepool, insisted that the leasees should build their works on the West Hartlepool Harbour and Railway Company's railway. Bell Brothers' works and mines eventually employed about 6,000 people.

For fifty years Lowthian Bell was revered as an unrivalled authority on the blast furnace and the scientific processes of its operation. He was active in establishing the Iron and Steel Institute in 1869, of which he was president from 1873-1875. He was the first recipient of the Bessemer gold medal in 1874, and helped to found the Institution of Mining Engineers in 1888, and he was its president at the time of his death in 1904. He was president of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers in 1884; of the British Iron Trade Association in 1886; and of the Society of Chemical Industries in 1889.

Sir Hugh Bell (1844-1931)

Son of Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell, born at Walker-on-Tyne and educated at Merchiston Castle, Edinburgh, the Sorbonne, and Gottingen University, he then travelled widely on the continent.

Bell became a director of Dorman Long when they merged with Bell Brothers in 1902. He was also a director of Brunner Mond, chairman of Horden Collieries, and of Pearson and Dorman Long. He became prominent in local affairs. He was Lord Lieutenant of the Yorkshire North Riding, a J.P. for the North Riding, Durham, and Middlesbrough, deputy Lieutenant for Durham and an Alderman for the North Riding County Council.

He and his colleague Arthur Dorman were early exponents of vertical rationalisation, from the mining of coal to the manufacture of steel. He declaimed the advantages to the national economy of cheap imports of semi-finished materials to be rolled into final products in British mills. At his death in 1931 he left a personal fortune of £264,909. Sir Hugh Bell has been described by W.G.Willis as 'an agnostic.'[1]

Sir Arthur Dorman (1848-1931)

The son of a sadler, born at Ashford in Kent, and educated at Christ's Hospital, followed by a year in Paris. At 18 he was apprenticed to a

distant relative, and old friend of the family, Cuthbert Johnson of the iron making firm of Richardson and Johnson of South Stockton. Here he worked on puddling furnaces and rolling mills.

In 1876 Dorman entered into partnership with Albert de Lande Long, who provided most of the capital, and founded the firm of Dorman Long. They acquired the Britannia Works and the West Marsh Works in Middlesbrough, and their first products were rolled joists and other sections made from wrought iron. Arthur Dorman became associated with almost all the developments in steel manufacture which took place in the Tees-side area. An open hearth steel plant, sheet and wiremaking departments, and a bridge building and construction department were added to the original undertaking.

Unlike his colleague, Hugh Bell, Dorman was no free trader. He predicted the growth of grass in the streets of Middlesbrough unless protection was given to iron and steel. He was knighted in 1918 for services in connection with the supply of munitions, and became a baronet five years later.

Dorman was for many years a member and an Alderman of the Yorkshire North Riding County Council. At his death he left £132,000. Many were surprised that it was such a small amount, but it was explained that all his business interests were in steel. We have noted that he has been described as a 'committed churchman,' and he was responsible for building the Anglican church in Nunthorpe village.

Christopher Furness, 1st Baron Furness of Grantley (1852-1912)

Seventh son of a provision merchant, born at West Hartlepool where he attended a local school. He joined his father's firm at the age of 16, and during the Franco-Prussian war he was agent for the firm in Norway and Sweden. He suggested that the firm began to use its own steamers in foreign trade. In 1877 the shipping business was separated from the provision business. Furness set up as a shipowner under the firm of Christopher Furness and Company. He acquired an interest in Edward Withy and Company of West Hartlepool, and amalgamated with them in 1891 as the new firm of Furness Withy and Company Limited. Many shipping and shipbuilding organisations, many coal, iron and steel undertakings became linked under Furness's guidance. He was M.P. for the Hartlepools from 1891-95, and from 1900-1910. He was knighted in 1895, and created baron in 1912.

Furness, an extremely energetic man, possessed extraordinary powers of organisation. He was not popular in his own neighbourhood or among business competitors, who criticized his business methods. But he was always considered loyal to friends and associates. The outstanding feature of his career was his ability to apply the policy of integration and combination to the characteristic industries of the north east coast.

There is little evidence of religious affiliation, but a contemporary laudatory sketch describes him as,

> Born and bred a Nonconformist, he is broad in his religious sympathies. No one has ever heard a word from Christopher Furness of bigoted prejudice against the faith of his fellows; and, indeed, he has all along been distinguished by liberality

of sentiment. Patron of the living of Cundall, in North Yorkshire, he is appreciated as a liberal landowner, while his sympathies with agriculturalists are at once sincere and practical. He is also regarded with heartfelt esteem and affection by the Catholic minority in the Hartlepools, whose zeal for religious education he has ever regarded with respectful sympathy.[2]

In 1906 Furness's chief addresses were given as, Tunstall Court, West Hartlepool, Grantley Hall, Ripon, Yorkshire, and 23 Upper Brook Street, London.

B. F. Westcott (1825-1901) Bishop of Durham

Educated at King Edward VI School, Birmingham and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow in 1849. In 1852 he became a master at Harrow School, examining chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough in 1868 and Canon of Peterborough in 1869, Regius Professor at Cambridge in 1870, and Canon of Westminister from 1883.

In 1890 he was appointed Bishop of Durham in succession to Lightfoot. He became directly interested in social and economic problems, and in the removal of class prejudices. He brought together employers, trade unionists, co-operators, and leaders of municipal life for conferences at Auckland Castle.

C. S. Lang (1864-1945) Archbishop of York

Educated at Park School, Glasgow to the age of 14, when he entered Glasgow University. Later he went to Balliol College, Oxford, then to read for the bar in the chambers of W.S.Robson. He paid his way by giving Oxford University extension lectures and by journalism. In 1887 he went to Gottingen, and then withdrew his name for a fellowship of All Souls', at the same time announcing his intention of seeking holy orders in the Church of England.

He was confirmed by Bishop King and attended Cuddesdon College, Oxford. Deacon in 1890 and ordained priest in 1891 as curate of Leeds Parish Church under E. S. Talbot. In 1893 he became a fellow of Magdalen and dean of divinity, and vicar of St. Mary's, the university church, in 1894. From 1896-1901 he was vicar of Portsea, a working class parish of 40,000 population. In 1901 he was appointed Canon of St. Paul's and Bishop of Stepney, before being translated to the archbishopric of York in 1909. Lang became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1928.

Richard Lacy (1841-1929) Roman Catholic Bishop of Middlesbrough

Born at Navan in Ireland, educated at Ushaw and the English College in Rome, where he was ordained in 1867. Curate at St. Patrick's, Bradford from 1868 to 1872. Came to Middlesbrough in 1872, and was consecrated by Manning as first Bishop of Middlesbrough in 1879, when the diocese of Beverley had been divided into Leeds and Middlesbrough.

At the time the Gazette described the new bishop as 'a profound scholar, and his affability of manner, together with his liberality of opinion, has made him beloved by his flock, and warmly respected by those who differ with him in religion.'

Some years after, a Catholic publication[3] referred to Lacy's elevation to the bishopric, and gave a hint of the social position of Catholics in Middlesbrough, by saying, 'the whole flock rejoiced in hearty congratulationsof gladness. Not only so, but the professional and trading classes of the town hailed the step with approval.'

Since his death in 1929, Bishop Lacy has been chiefly remembered for his pioneering work in Catholic education in Middlesbrough.

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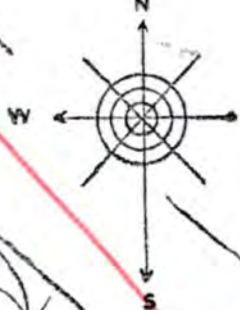

PLAN OF MIDDLESBROUGH.

SPECIALLY PREPARED BY THE PROPRIETORS

NORTH EASTERN DAILY GAZETTE

NORTHERN WEEKLY GAZETTE.

Ward percentages - see pp. 86-87

1. Grove Hill
2. Ayresome
3. Linthorpe
4. Exchange
5. Marsh
6. Vulcan
7. Cannon
8. Acklam
9. Newport
10. Cleveland

1904 RELIGIOUS CENSUS