



Open Research Online

Citation

Gordon, John Edward (2022). Moral Improvement and Education in the Working Men's Clubs of the Seaton Delaval District of Northumberland between 1902 and 1922. Student dissertation for The Open University module A826 MA History part 2.

URL

<https://oro.open.ac.uk/82831/>

License

(CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0) Creative Commons: Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Policy

This document has been downloaded from Open Research Online, The Open University's repository of research publications. This version is being made available in accordance with Open Research Online policies available from [Open Research Online \(ORO\) Policies](#)

Versions

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding

**Moral Improvement and Education in the Working Men's Clubs of the
Seaton Delaval district of Northumberland between 1902 and 1922.**

John Edward Gordon, BA (Honours) in History, The Open University.

**A dissertation submitted to The Open University for the degree of MA
in History (A826).**

January 2022

Word Count: 15035

Abstract

This study considers the development of the club movement in the Seaton Delaval district, the extent to which the club movement was successful in dealing with the criticisms of the provision of alcohol, consequent drunkenness, and claims of trading, and the extent of the clubs' success in providing education for club members.

The club movement grew with more clubs opening and the average membership per club growing. There were rules and regulations in place in the clubs. The committees managed the clubs, and its officials were voted into office by the members at the annual general meeting. There was a society created for working class men as argued by Ashplant; and this society became involved in community life with their own flower shows.

Cherrington had argued that the clubs were not drinking dens. However, the clubs struggled to convince its critics of this despite drunkenness being disallowed on club premises. The licensed victuallers considered that clubs traded as public houses and therefore competitors which was always denied by the WMCIU. However, some clubs were prosecuted for trading and drunkenness. The temperance societies disliked the WMCIU's claim they had reduced drunkenness and were part of the temperance movement and demanded more legislation for clubs.

The education provided by the club movement was not as adequate as Marlow had argued and failed to interest many members in the early years due to receiving a poor education in childhood, not requiring education for work and because the WMCIU had inadequate time to set up lectures and classes. Some

late success came with the affiliation with the WEA and a course of classes at the Seaton Terrace club in 1921.

The study concludes that whilst the club movement did increase in terms of size and respect amongst the communities there were still doubts from critics surrounding the provision of alcohol and the progress in the provision of education was slow and can only be considered a starting point for more research to be conducted in the years following 1922.

List of Contents

	Page
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Working men's clubs, their culture and development in the Seaton Delaval district	7
Chapter Two: The sale of intoxicants and the drink problem	20
Chapter Three: Chapter Three: The development of club education	34
Conclusion	46
Appendices	52
Bibliography	62

List of Tables

Table	Page
1. The subscribers of shares at the formation of Backworth Club Company Limited in October 1900	7
2. The subscribers of shares at the formation of Seaton Terrace Club Company Limited in October 1902	8
3. The comparison of the number of working men's clubs registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893 between 1902 and 1906	10
4. Working men's clubs in the Seaton Delaval district with total membership numbers in 1912 and 1920	11
5. The comparison of the number of clubs and their total membership between England and Wales, Northumberland, and the Seaton Delaval district in 1912	13
6. The comparison of the number of clubs and their total membership between England and Wales, Northumberland, and the Seaton Delaval district in 1920	13
7. The movement of the total membership of the working men's clubs at Seaton Sluice, Seaton Terrace and Backworth between 1920	15
8. The Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited flower show prize winners and their involvement with the club committee	17
9. The prosecution of registered clubs in England, 1903 to 1912	22
10. Total consumption in gallons of beer, spirits, and wine in the United Kingdom (for the years ending December 31), 1902 to 1910	26
11. Total Proceedings and then Total Convictions for Drunkenness in England and Wales between 1902 and 1909	27
12. Licensing Statistics for East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland in selected years	28

13. Licensing Statistics for East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division

of Northumberland in selected years

29

13. Bar Takings for Seaton Terrace Working Men's Club for
selected years together with the total membership, and the
average amount spent per member annually

33

Personal Statement

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work and that I have not submitted it, or any part of it, for a degree at The Open University or any other university or institution. Parts of this dissertation are built on work I submitted for assessment as part of A825.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the staff at the archive at Tyne and Wear Archives for all their patience and assistance in locating and allocating my documents during the coronavirus pandemic.

A special mention and thank you to my supervisor Dr Nick Cott for his support in advising and guiding me through my dissertation.

Durham Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union – DBWMCIU

Northern District Workers Educational Association - NDWEA

Northumberland Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union –
NBWMCIU

Ruskin College - RC

Workers Educational Association – WEA

Working Men's Club and Institute Union – WMCIU

Introduction

The working men's clubs were intended to provide working men with the amenities to improve themselves both mentally and morally rather than drinking in public houses.¹ The working men's clubs in the Seaton Delaval district have previously been neglected by historians and this study reviews the period 1902 to 1922 and asks how the club movement developed, how they dealt with the criticisms from licensed victuallers, temperance societies, and the police; and how successful they were in providing education for their members. The study draws on themes studied in A825 covering industrialisation for workers education, and poverty and welfare and religion for the introduction of working men's clubs as a form of self-help and the moral improvement of the reduction in drunkenness.

At the time of this study the district of Seaton Delaval was situated in the east Northumberland coalfield, and for this purpose includes the villages of Seaton Delaval, Seaton Terrace, Holywell , New Hartley, Seaton Sluice, Seghill, Backworth, and Earsdon. Coal mining played a major part in defining the area and the lives of the people who lived and worked there.

Primary source evidence of the clubs was impossible because records from the period have been destroyed and therefore reliance on other evidence was necessary.² The current pandemic meant local record offices were not as accessible as before. At Northumberland Archives research time was limited to one session of two and a half hours per person per week and was considered inadequate for this study. The research time at Tyne and Wear

¹ Lawrence Marlow, 'The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: A Study of the Evolution of a Working- Class Institution' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick, 1980), p.7.

² Cherrington, Ruth, A Telephone discussion regarding the working men's clubs of the early twentieth century, December, 2020.

Archives was more appropriate and the East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County Court Registers from April 7, 1915 to May 7, 1919 were searched for evidence of drunkenness in the Seaton Delaval district. However, searches of the later registers were disallowed because of the one hundred year rule, and the registers before 1915 were not held by the archives. Therefore, it was decided not to rely on the evidence from those registers which were available. The Register of Clubs between January 29, 1903 and December, 1922 was searched for evidence of clubs registering under the *Licensing Act, 1902* and club membership numbers. The minutes of the Northern District of the Workers Educational Association were searched from October 29, 1910 to December 31, 1922 for evidence of a connection between the association and the club movement and evidence of the WEA providing workers education in the Seaton Delaval district. It was decided that the *Club and Institute Journal*, and the *Highway Journal of the Workers Education Association* at the British Library would not be searched because of the pandemic. Instead copies of the *Highway Journal* found on *Internet Archives* from 1922 and 1923 provided evidence of the work of the WEA and its connection with the WMCIU. A search was made for autobiographies written by men who had been club members during the period without success. A search for temperance society records found none covering the Seaton Delaval district.

The difficulties with original records meant that more reliance was placed on using online primary sources for evidence of the growth of the club movement, providing alcohol, and the education work of the clubs. The books written by B.T. Hall, *Our Fifty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union: Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* in 1912 and *Our Sixty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Together*

With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement in 1922 gave the position of the club movement on how they had grown and their successes on the 'beer problem' and education. The rules and procedures of local clubs were confirmed in the *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited*, 1904 and the *Rules of the Backworth Club Limited*, 1908. *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph* and *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter* were invaluable for providing evidence of club annual general meetings, drunkenness, education, and the work of the WEA to compare the evidence given in the club movements' own anniversary accounts.

There was little secondary literature written about the working men's club movement. Price examined the principles, objectives, and techniques behind middle class social reformers creating a dynamic and respectable working class through the agency of previously neglected working men's clubs. He recognised that previous labour historiography had ignored the club movement apart from a passing reference in *Labour and Politics in England, 1850-1867* by F.F. Gillespie in 1927 and clubs were dismissed as 'bare and beery' in *The Common People, 1746-1946* by G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate.³ The clubs were the result of a re-think in social reforming after the failure of Mechanics Institutes to attract large numbers of working men. The objective of educating working men remained but with a shift of emphasis from formal learning to that of civilising, refining, and elevating the working men of the country.⁴ In 1972 Price questioned the methodology of past historians who had thought working-class history was labour history because of the readily available source material of labour institutions. However, this ignored the existence of many working men's clubs which represented a collective expression of the social, cultural, political, and educational

³ Richard N. Price, 'The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology', *Victorian Studies* 15 (2) (1971), p 117.

⁴ Price, p.118.

facts of working-class society. Price argues that they were crucial to him in helping to build a composite picture of working-class attitudes to imperialism during the Boer War.⁵ Marlow argued that clubs became part of the traditional working-class culture and influenced the behaviour and the outlook of working men and women. They were 'an intensely local culture,' and with assistance from the WMCIU were joined to become a social movement of national importance.⁶

The rationale of Ashplant's thesis was to explore the cultural and political wants of the working class between 1880 and 1914 by focusing on the break away from the middle class paternalists by the working men's clubs to show that the working classes were determining the type of society they wished to live in circa 1880.⁷ In regard to education Ashplant argued that the reason for the affiliation between the WMCIU and the WEA was because club education had declined and links developed because of the increase in social conflict associated with the rise of syndicalism and labour unrest in working-class communities making it necessary for workers to understand the political issues which they faced in their lives.⁸ Instead Marlow argued that the educational work in the clubs was more extensive and more enduring than previously suggested by earlier historians, and far from a negligible.⁹ Marlow also argued that club education did not stress the importance of militancy or class consciousness and were criticised for The opponents of the educational ideology of Ruskin College or the Workers Educational Association were also critical of club education. However, they were overlooking the important training in democracy and organisation through the act

⁵ Richard Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class Working-Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War 1899-1902*, (London: Routledge, 1972), p.137.

⁶ Marlow, pp. 681-682.

⁷ T.G. Ashplant, *The Working Men's Club and Institute Union and the Independent Labour Party: Working Class Organisation, Politics and Culture c. 1880-1914*. (PhD. Thesis), 1983, Abstract.

⁸ Ashplant, p.470.

⁹ Marlow, p.677.

of membership itself. Clubs trained those members who sought public office in other organisations within their communities, which made an underrated contribution to the advancement of the working-class in society; clubs shared this in common with friendly societies, co-operative societies, and trade unions.¹⁰

When the clubs commenced the provision of alcohol to it was the first breach in the ideology of paternalism which had characterised working men's clubs since the 1880s. Marlow argued that the supply of alcohol benefited clubs financially, but the drawback was the severe criticism they faced from the temperance societies and the drink trade which led to clubs being stereo typed as places of drunkenness. However, Cherrington argued that clubs were not plagued with drunkenness and that they should be thought of in more favourable terms.¹¹

There will be three chapters. Chapter one discusses how the clubs in the used rules and procedures to control their members which enabled an effective social movement to be formed, and the growth of the club movement in terms of numbers of clubs and members all of which allowed the clubs to become part of community life through the introduction of flower shows. Chapter two discusses the extent to which the club movement successful in dealing with the criticisms of the provision of alcohol, consequent drunkenness, and claims of trading made by the critics, and chapter three discusses the importance of education to the WMCIU and the extent of their success in providing lectures and classes to the membership. The study will conclude that whilst the club movement did progress in terms of club and membership numbers, the provision of alcohol played a large part of club life with little progress being made overall in the provision of education.

¹⁰ Marlow, p.679.

¹¹ Ruth Cherrington, "'We are not drinking dens!': Working men's clubs and the struggle for respectability, 1862-1920s', *Brewery History Society*, 153 (2013), p.12.

Therefore, the study is merely a starting point requiring further research after 1922

to ascertain whether the WMCIU had made more progress.

Chapter One: Working men's clubs, their culture and development in the Seaton Delaval district.

The working men's clubs were considered to be a way to control working class men into leading independent respectable lives within their localities. This chapter will show that the clubs in the Seaton Delaval district used rules and procedures to control their members and enabling them to become part of an effective social movement locally; and how clubs became part of community life by introducing their own flower shows.

In his work Metcalfe argued that from the 1890s the clubs were independent of the colliery owners and colliery officials and that they were extremely popular with workers and attracted over fifty per cent of the male population in the villages.¹² These statements must be evaluated using primary evidence from the Seaton Delaval district. The Backworth Club Company Limited was formed first in October 1900 with a share capital of £5,000 in one pound shares with nine directors.¹³

Table 1. The subscribers of shares at the formation of Backworth Club Company Limited in October 1900.¹⁴

Name of Share Subscriber	Trade (from 1911 Census)	Abode (from 1911 Census)	Age at 1901 Census
George Norman	Saddler	Backworth	44
William O. West	Miner (Hewer)	Holywell	20
John Laing	Miner (Hewer)	Backworth	49
Jepthah Pritchard	Miner (Hewer)	Backworth	39
Robert Auld	Miner (Hewer)	Backworth	39

¹² Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community. The Social Economy of Leisure in Northeast England, 1820-1914* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.26.

¹³ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 27, 1900, p.5.

¹⁴ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 27, 1900, p.5; 1911 Census.

George Grey	Miner (Hewer)	Backworth	38
Robert F. Spence	Colliery Viewer	Backworth	46

The subscribers were all mainly working-class miners. However, the club was not fully independent from the colliery owners and officials because Robert F. Spence was the colliery viewer and had a managerial role in the Backworth coal company which had claims to nominate one director.¹⁵ This was not the case when the Seaton Terrace Club Company Limited was formed in October 1902, with a share capital of £3,000 in twelve hundred ordinary shares of one pound each and three hundred and sixty preference shares of one pound each; the subscribers were all working-class miners, and the coal company appeared not to have the right to nominate a director.¹⁶

Table 2. The subscribers of shares at the formation of Seaton Terrace Club Company Limited in October 1902.¹⁷

Name of Share Subscriber	Trade (from 1911 Census)	Abode (from 1911 Census)	Age at 1901 Census (from 1911 Census)
S. Neil	Miner (Hewer)	Seaton Delaval	47
D. Long	Miner (Hewer)	Seaton Delaval	45
W. Pattison	Miner (Hewer)	Seaton Terrace	35
J.G. Stewart	Miner (Deputy Overman)	Bates Cottages	33
G. Usher	Miner (Hewer)	Seaton Delaval	33
T. Dodds	Miner (Check Weighman)	Seaton Terrace	39
B. Stephenson	Miner (Hewer)	Seaton Delaval	33

¹⁵ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 27, 1900, p.5.

¹⁶ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 1902, p.5.

¹⁷ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 1902, p.5; 1911 Census.

The tables of Subscribers are similar in that the men had responsible trades and therefore more likely able to afford cost of the shares. The companies issued the shares to raise funds for premises and equipment. However, not all workers had the funds to purchase the shares and therefore some clubs struggled to raise finance this way which and meant some working-class men were unable to have a say in how their club was managed. At Backworth club in 1909 only 2,533 shares were subscribed out of the nominal authorised share capital of £5,000 leaving the club with less funds as expected.¹⁸ The total membership of that club in 1909 was nine hundred and fifty seven, meaning that even if all the members had purchased a pound share there were 1,576 non-member shareholders of the club all of whom could out vote the members of the club at meetings.¹⁹ Marlow argued that clubs could register under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893 instead, thereby ending difficulties in raising capital and making every member a shareholder in the club.²⁰ At the Seaton Terrace club the share ownership commenced when a man was nominated for membership by paying a deposit on one two shillings and sixpence share and the balance would be paid on acceptance as a member.²¹ Therefore, every member became a shareholder in the club. This was confirmed by the WMCIU who argued that the clubs must not be formed as limited companies because of the continuous trouble and expense they caused. Instead, the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893 was a more straight forward and cheaper form of club formation.²² This is shown at the

¹⁸ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, February 27, 1909, p.5.

¹⁹ Club membership numbers in Appendix 2.

²⁰ Lawrence Marlow, 'The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: A Study of the Evolution of a Working-Class Institution' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick, 1980), p.324.

²¹ Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 1904), p.2.

²² *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 17, 1903, p.5.

Seaton Terrace club where the company shares cost one pound each whereas the society shares cost two shillings and sixpence.

Table 3. The comparison of the number of working men's clubs registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893 between 1902 and 1906.²³

The number of clubs.

Year	England and Wales	Northumberland	Seaton Delaval District ²⁴
1902	86	0	0
1903	117	2	0
1904	147	10	1
1905	164	12	1
1906	185	21	1

The club in the Seaton Delaval district was The Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited which registered as a society under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893 in 1904.²⁵

The membership of the clubs

Year	England and Wales	Northumberland	Seaton Delaval District
1902	27245	0	0
1903	34421	270	94
1904	45018	3530	1104
1905	49235	4388	1035
1906	61060	8249	1039

The tables show that both Northumberland and the Seaton Delaval district were lagging behind in terms of clubs registering under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893 and that fewer members were benefiting from share ownership in their clubs. By 1922 a further seven clubs had been and registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893 in the Seaton Delaval district and are shown in table four below the Seaton Terrace club. The Backworth club agreed at their annual general meeting in 1907 to register as a society under the act.²⁶ The club was then registered as such from December 23, 1908.²⁷

²³ Marlow, p.720.

²⁴ Club membership figures in Appendix 2.

²⁵ Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club, p.n.

²⁶ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, June 22, 1907, p.6.

²⁷ *The Rules of the Backworth Club Limited* (Newcastle on Tyne: Cooperative Printing Society), 1908, p.n.

Table 4. Working men's clubs in the Seaton Delaval district with total membership numbers in 1912 and 1920.²⁸

Name of Club	1912	1920
	Club Membership	Club Membership
Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited	880	1200
Waterford Workmen's Social Club Limited (Seaton Sluice)	124	424
Backworth Club Company Ltd	936	856
Earsdon and District Working Men's Social Club	Not in existence	1190
New Hartley and District Workmen's Victory Club and Institute Limited	Not in Existence	524
Seghill and District Workmen's Victory Club and Institute Limited	Not in Existence	620
Comrades of the Great War (Seghill Branch)	Not in Existence	242
Comrades of the Great War (New Hartley Branch)	Not in Existence	450
Total Membership	1940	5506

In his thesis Ashplant argued that the wants of the working class led groups within it to determine the type of society that they all would live in through collective initiatives aimed at establishing enduring institutions such as working men's clubs.

²⁹ Also, Marlow argued that club affiliation to the WMCIU created an important social movement in Victorian and Edwardian England, and a mark of excellence.³⁰ The club rule book stated the club was to become a member of the WMCU 'as soon as practicable after registration' in order to receive all the rights and benefits of membership.³¹ The WMCIU argued that the benefit for clubs was the free legal advice which was available to them for solving any issues that they

²⁸ Club membership numbers in Appendix 2.

²⁹ T.G. Ashplant, 'The Working Men's Club and Institute Union and the Independent Labour Party: Working Class Organisation, Politics and Culture c. 1880-1914' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Sussex, 1983), Abstract.

³⁰ Marlow, p.10.

³¹ *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club*, p.2.

faced.³² In the Seaton Delaval district all clubs were affiliated to the WMCIU with the exception of Backworth. There is no mention in the rules that the club must affiliate as soon as possible after registration even up to 1920 when amendments were made.³³ An attempt was made in 1907 for Backworth club to become affiliated but the motion was not carried.³⁴ The refusal to affiliate to the WMCIU must be connected to the club's association with the colliery and its officials who would not appreciate interference from an outside organisation. Also, the club's president R.F. Spence was a Northumberland county councillor and a Justice of the Peace and no doubt against the club movement himself and was able to persuade other committee men against affiliation.³⁵ The affiliated clubs were associated with branches of the WMCIU which were created to establish the ideology of the club movement in the localities. The Northumberland branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union was formed in September 1906 after the clubs were an entirely new movement there circa 1890.³⁶ The data in table five shows that in 1912 there were fifty-two clubs with a total membership of 24,397 in the Northumberland branch affiliated to the WMCIU. In comparison in County Durham there were one hundred and forty-three clubs with a membership totalling 64,621. When the Durham branch was formed on April 29th, 1905 there were fifty-eight clubs already in existence meaning that the club movement there was more advanced and was further emphasised by its growth by 1912. The data in table six shows that by 1920 the number of clubs in Northumberland had increased to one hundred and nine with a total membership of 58,757: an increase of fifty-two clubs

³² *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, October 17, 1903, p.5.

³³ Rules of Backworth Club Limited, p.n.

³⁴ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, June 22, 1907, p.6.

³⁵ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, February 27, 1909, p.5.

³⁶ B.T. Hall, *Our Fifty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union: Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1912), p.150.

and 34,360 members. In comparison the number of clubs in County Durham had increased to two hundred and eighty with a total membership of 161,921 and shows that the club movement was more successful in that county than in Northumberland. When the average club membership is considered, Northumberland's is greater than County Durham's in 1912 and only thirty-nine less in 1920, and therefore shows that the club movements of both counties compare favourably with each other, and both have a better average club membership than England and Wales.³⁷

Table 5. The comparison of the number of clubs and their total membership between England and Wales, Northumberland, and the Seaton Delaval district in 1912.³⁸

	Number of Clubs	Total Membership	Average Club Membership
England and Wales	1007	448168	445
Northumberland	52	24397	469
Seaton Delaval ³⁹	2	1004	502
County Durham	143	64621	452

In the Seaton Delaval district, there were only two clubs affiliated to the WMCIU because of Backworth's reluctance to do so. In 1912 the two clubs were at Seaton Terrace and Seaton Sluice and had a membership of 1,004 with an average of five hundred and two; and is higher than those for England and Wales, Northumberland, and County Durham.

Table 6. The comparison of the number of clubs and their total membership between England and Wales, Northumberland, and the Seaton Delaval district in 1920.⁴⁰

	Number of Clubs	Total Membership	Average Club Membership
--	-----------------	------------------	-------------------------

³⁷ B.T. Hall, *Our Sixty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union: Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1922), p.149.

³⁸ The branches of the WMCIU in 1912. Appendix 3.

³⁹ *Data in Table 4 minus Backworth.*

⁴⁰ The branches of the WMCIU IN 1920. Appendix 4.

England and Wales	2202	989798	449
Northumberland	109	58757	539
Seaton Delaval ⁴¹	7	4650	664
County Durham	280	161921	578

By 1920 the number of clubs in the Seaton Delaval district had risen to seven and are shown in table four. The total membership was now 4,650 with an average club membership of six hundred and sixty four, and again higher than England and Wales, Northumberland, and County Durham. This shows that the club movement was popular within the district compared to other areas with more clubs and total memberships.

Metcalf's claim that the clubs attracted over fifty per cent of the male population in the villages can be evaluated against the male population over the age of twenty years because that was the age that was acceptable for a working man to become a member.⁴² The figures in Appendix seven show that when the total membership numbers for each club are compared to fifty per cent of the male population of the respective villages in 1911 none of the three clubs met the criteria stated by Metcalfe. However, in 1921 the criteria were met at four of the clubs being at Backworth, Earsdon, Seaton Delaval, and Seghill but not at Seaton Sluice and New Hartley. The club at New Hartley was recently formed in 1919 and had not built up a strong membership by 1921. At Seaton Sluice it may have been because the village had the lowest population out of the six and therefore the club membership would have been smaller. It can be said that as four of the villages and clubs met the criteria the club movement was progressing well in the Seaton Delaval district. Another way to view the progression of the club movement in the

⁴¹ *Data in Table 4 minus Backworth.*

⁴² *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club*, p.5

district is to compare the movement in membership between 1903 and 1920 for

the three clubs in existence for the whole period as shown in table seven.

Table 7. The movement of the total membership of the working men's clubs at Seaton Sluice, Seaton Terrace and Backworth between 1920.⁴³

Club	Total Membership		
	1903	1920	Increase/(Decrease)
Seaton Sluice	94	424	330
Seaton Terrace	888	1200	312
Backworth	951	856	(95)

The data in table seven shows that the greatest movement in membership was made at Seaton Sluice with an increase of three hundred and fifty-one per cent. There was a smaller rise of thirty five per cent at Seaton Terrace. Therefore, whilst the Seaton Sluice club was not exceeding fifty per cent of the male population it was in fact substantially increasing its membership base. There was an overall decrease in membership of ten per cent at the Backworth club and is due to the fall in the male population from 991 in 1911 to 588 in 1921 which caused a fall in club membership.

In order that the clubs were run respectably and democratically committees were elected to instil the ideology that the early club movements founders and middle class paternalists had insisted upon. Marlow stated that the committee members must be elected to office at the annual general meeting after the club members were given an opportunity to give their opinions on the club's policies and progress during the year; and the committee could ask for support on matters

⁴³ Club membership numbers in Appendix 2.

such as what the club profits should be spent on.⁴⁴ At a local level the rules of the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited stated that the committee was to consist of eleven members including honorary officers whose role was to control the business of the club; and that members were to be elected to the committee by ballot at the annual general meeting.⁴⁵ This shows that in theory the club had procedures in place to be respectable societies as Marlow had argued. The local newspapers included reports of the club annual general meetings and at Seaton Terrace in 1913 it can be seen that the club were following their rules. The members gave their opinion on how the club had been managed during the year by approving the accounts and then elected officers to the committee.⁴⁶ The results of the voting to elect officers at the annual general meeting of the Seaton Terrace club in 1914 were reported in *The Newcastle Daily Journal*.⁴⁷ The report shows that the club were being transparent in allowing the details of their meeting to be known by members of the public.⁴⁸ An important task of the club committee was to consider working men for membership. The rules stated that candidates for membership must be proposed and seconded by two full members who from personal knowledge could satisfy the committee as to their respectability.⁴⁹ This method of selection allowed the club to control how men could become members thereby upholding the ideology of respectability. The membership records for the clubs and the years under review have not survived.⁵⁰ Instead names of members can be obtained from newspaper reports of the Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited's flower show prize lists for 1907 and 1914 set out in

⁴⁴ Marlow, pp.240-241.

⁴⁵ *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club*, p.5.

⁴⁶ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, February 7, 1913, p.4.

⁴⁷ *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, February 9, 1914, p. 6.

⁴⁸ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, February 23, 1907, p.3.

⁴⁹ *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club*, p. 2.:

⁵⁰ Ruth Cherrington. Telephone conversation in November 2020.

appendices five and six. When the names are compared with the reports of the annual general meetings in the local newspapers it is possible to find members who took part in the management of the club as shown in table eight. These members had gone through the process of joining the club and were then voted on to the committee by other members. The members of the committee faced re-election and whilst Thomas Dodds in table eight was elected on to the committee in 1903 he was voted off in 1914 when he failed to receive enough votes.⁵¹ Therefore, the members elected only those men that they considered would serve the club well.

Table 8. The Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited flower show prize winners and their involvement with the club committee.

Name of club flower show prize winner	Year	Role on club committee
Thomas Mulby	1906	Committee member ⁵²
William Robinson	1904	Committee member ⁵³
Wilkinson Murton	1906	President ⁵⁴
Joseph Wanless	1906	Committee member ⁵⁵
Thomas Dodds	1903	Committee member ⁵⁶
Stephen Charlton	1914	Committee member ⁵⁷
William Henry Bird	1903	Committee member ⁵⁸
Charles Boll	1914	Committee member ⁵⁹

As argued by Marlow the annual general meetings at the Seaton Terrace club allowed for the committee to obtain permission from the members to make funds available for several types of expenditure and in 1907 club members voted

⁵¹ *The Newcastle Daily Journal, February 9, 1914, p.7.*

⁵² *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph, February 7, 1911, p. 3.*

⁵³ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter, March 5, 1904, p. 5.*

⁵⁴ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph, February 6, 1906, p.4.*

⁵⁵ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph, February 6, 1906, p.4.*

⁵⁶ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter, March 7, 1903, p.2.*

⁵⁷ *The Newcastle Daily Journal, February 9, 1914, p.7.*

⁵⁸ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter, March 7, 1903, p.2.*

⁵⁹ *The Newcastle Daily Journal, February 9, 1914, p.7.*

to make funds available for the commencement of their own flower shows.⁶⁰ The

flower shows enabled the clubs to become part of community life. In the Seaton Delaval district gardening to provide food together with the growing of flowers and was institutionalised in the development of flower shows. Metcalfe argues that the development of flower shows allowed for organisational permanence to appear and by the late nineteenth century most mining villages had annual flower shows that became the focus of community spirit. An example of such a show was the Seaton Delaval and New Hartley Floral and Horticultural show which was held annually from 1876 which was supported by the colliery owners who loaned the field for the show and were active in the administrative side of the society.⁶¹ By 1912 the show was staging fine exhibits. There was also show sports with a twenty pound foot handicap over one hundred and ten yards, with the winners from the heats and the eventual winner coming from outside the district except two local from Seaton Delaval and Seaton Sluice respectively.⁶² In August 1907 the Seaton Terrace workmen's club held their first rose and variety show which was successful with one hundred and thirty seven stands being set up to exhibit the entries with first, second and third prizes being awarded.⁶³ The show allowed members to show off their gardening skills both to the judges, other club members and the local people who viewed the exhibits; and it was a respectable pastime for which club members could be rewarded for. The show continued to grow with an increasing number of exhibits and a management committee made up of officers of the club was used to stage the exhibits.⁶⁴ The Seaton Terrace club held different variations of annual flower shows with an annual spring flower show

⁶⁰ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, February 23, 1907, p.4.

⁶¹ Metcalfe, pp.47-48.

⁶² *The Shields Daily News*, September 16, 1912, p.4.

⁶³ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, August 20, 1907, p.3.

⁶⁴ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, September 4, 1909, p.2.

promoted by the members of the club which by 1908 was established as a very difficult competition to be awarded a prize and the number of competitors were increasing each year.⁶⁵ The annual spring flower show became so successful that the show secretary needed a sub-committee to assist him in staging the exhibits.⁶⁶ There were flower shows at other clubs in the district with the members of Backworth club holding a flower and vegetable show with exhibits being generally excellent in 1911; and the local community were involved because the head gardener at Backworth Hall was the judge.⁶⁷ Outside the district working men's clubs held various forms of shows. The West End Social Club at Ashington commenced their sweet pea and rose show in 1911 with a large number of entries and the quality of exhibits 'reflected great credit upon the members and augured well for the future of the show'.⁶⁸ Therefore flower shows were popular in the mining communities of the Seaton Delaval district. The club's shows were also popular amongst its members both within the district and outside it and showed that the club members were taking part in the cultural life of the communities.

In summary the rules and procedures put in place by the WMCIU allowed clubs and their members to gain respectability and appear to have been successful by showing working class men that order and discipline helped to create a social movement. The members voted for their committees and how their funds were spent such as the flower show at the Seaton Terrace club which became part of respectable community life.

⁶⁵ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, May 2, 1908, p. 2.

⁶⁶ *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, April 20, 1914, p. 5.

⁶⁷ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, August 29, 1911, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, September 19, 1911, p. 3.

Chapter Two: The sale of intoxicants and the drink problem.

The clubs argued that they sold intoxicants in order to fund their recreational and educational activities despite claims of drunkenness and trading made against them by the police, licensed victuallers, and the temperance movement. This chapter will discuss the extent to which the club movement nationally and locally was successful in dealing with the criticisms of the provision of alcohol, consequent drunkenness, and claims of trading made by the critics.

The committees of working men's clubs supplied alcohol to their members because it provided profits to purchase premises and provide rational recreational facilities for their members. When on club premises members were expected to consume alcohol respectfully and not indulge in drunkenness.⁶⁹ It was important that the WMCIU instilled their ideology of respectability into both the committees and members of affiliated clubs as a way of control; and it was important that supplying drink to members was not the main function of the club and that drunkenness was not tolerated.⁷⁰ The Licensing Act of 1902 was introduced to force clubs to pay a fee and register once a year in January was welcomed by the club movement because the drinking den or bogus club would eventually be struck off the register for trading as a public house.⁷¹ At the NBWMCIU Jubilee

⁶⁹ Lawrence Marlow, 'The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: A Study of the Evolution of a Working-Class Institution' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick, 1980), pp.470-472.

⁷⁰ Ruth Cherrington, "'We are not drinking dens!': Working men's clubs and the struggle for respectability, 1862-1920s", *Brewery History Society*, 153 (2013), 11-20, pp.15-16

⁷¹ Marlow, p.671.

celebrations in 1912 Martin Weatherburn declared that the clubs had dealt well with the criticisms of drunkenness because the club movement educated the membership in self-governance and personal conduct.⁷² The newspaper reports how successful the club movement has been but does not indicate whether the newspaper agrees or disagrees with the club movement because no opposing views are discussed. There were opposing views given by the licensed trade that the sale of intoxicants was a perceived 'menace to sobriety' and that they competed with public houses. They wished for clubs to be placed under legislative control despite little evidence being available that *Bonafede* members treated their clubs as drinking dens.⁷³ At a conference of the Licensed Victuallers' National Defence League, No. 1 District at Blyth in 1910 it was argued that clubs especially 'drinking clubs' were having a detrimental effect on public houses by causing their trade to decline and the conference wished for further restrictive legislation to be placed on clubs so as to improve the prospects for the licensed trade.⁷⁴ There was also an insinuation that clubs were trading with the public and competing with public houses which was always denied by the club movement because they did not sell alcohol. Instead, they simply allowed club members to take part of the beer which they owned as members whilst making a financial contribution towards its cost.⁷⁵ The Northumberland club movement was always quick to deny criticisms of club trading which was confirmed in 1912 when Martin Weatherburn responded to claims of club trading by stating that clubs do not trade and therefore do not compete with public houses.⁷⁶ In theory the practice of clubs trading as public houses was forbidden by the WMCIU and resulted in prosecution by the courts.

⁷² *The Morpeth Herald*, June 12, 1912, p.4.

⁷³ Marlow, p.460.

⁷⁴ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, April 12, 1910, p.2.

⁷⁵ Marlow, p.462.

⁷⁶ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, April 12, 1910, p.2.

The clubs were to be a haven away from the public house for working men where they were not encouraged to drink by landlords whose only thought was profit.⁷⁷ The police prosecuted clubs when they thought that trading was taking place meaning the club was a drinking den and drunkenness occurred.

Table 9. The prosecution of registered clubs in England, 1903 to 1912.⁷⁸

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Proceeded Against	74	82	77	51	94
Struck off	67	73	62	41	78

Year	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Proceeded Against	67	81	114	132	198
Struck off	52	64	92	115	179

The table shows that between 1903 and 1912 the number of clubs proceeded against increased by 124 and the number of clubs struck off the register increased by eleven which shows that some clubs were able to prove a good case against police prosecution in court. There are no detailed figures for the number of clubs which were struck off the register in Northumberland and the Seaton Delaval district in particular. Instead, it is possible to find examples in the local newspapers. The club movement always maintained that they did not fear excessive drinking in clubs because of the strict registration rules, club rules, affiliation to the WMCIU, and the filing of annual returns and accounts each year all of which meant that clubs were tightly controlled.⁷⁹ This was not the case at Seaton Sluice Workmen's Club and Institute in 1911 which was prosecuted for being a bogus club and struck off the club register.⁸⁰ The register of clubs confirms the report stating that on November 13th 1911 the club was struck off the register

⁷⁷ Marlow, p.160.

⁷⁸ *The True Temperance Annual, 1914* in Marlow, p.160.

⁷⁹ *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle, June 13, 1922*, p.9.

⁸⁰ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph, December 13, 1911*, p. 2.

for six months because of frequent drunkenness despite only four men being summoned for drunkenness⁸¹ It was argued by the defence counsel that previously twenty persons had the club drunk and not been summoned and therefore police evidence was insufficient to strike the club off the register. The charge was not conducting the club in good faith as a club between June 2nd and November 13th 1911, that drunkenness was permitted on the said premises between the said dates, a great deal of Sunday drinking took place and there were large numbers of visitors to the club, and therefore trading as a public house. The police obtained a warrant and visited the club on November 13th to find evidence of a drinking club. The membership of the club totalled 240 in 1911 and despite this low figure between June 5th and November 13th a total of 563 visitors frequented the club. The entries in the visitors book were frequently in the same handwriting, and in many cases no address was given.⁸² The club rules stated that members were entitled to introduce one friend as a visitor but not more than three times in one quarter, and that the visitor and the member introducing must sign their names in a book kept for that purpose.⁸³ It does appear that there were twice as many visitors attending the club than there were members which suggests that the club was trading as a public house; and on inspection of the club books the police found frequent references to trading with little reference to mutual improvement and members enjoying rational recreation. Visitors were signed into the club by the same person which was a breach of the rules.⁸⁴ The police found further evidence of trading with takings on Sunday June 25th amounting to £5 6s. 3d which were fifty per cent more than the previous six weekdays. Also, an entry in

⁸¹ Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/8/1, Register of clubs covering 29 January 1903– 31 December 1935, p. 17.

⁸² *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, December 15, 1911, p.10.

⁸³ Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 1904), p.7.

⁸⁴ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, December 13, 1911, p.2.

the club minute book stated that on Sundays the front door of the club was to be kept shut and the side door only used despite club practice that members and visitors should enter the premises through the front door.⁸⁵ It appears that the committee were aware of the heavy drinking and drunkenness taking place because in court the club secretary admitted writing a letter on October 20th to an official of the club whose name was Wandless. The letter suggests that five or six men should not be supplied with alcohol because if they are not the club will be struck off. The letter is also evidence that the club were aware of the consequences of allowing drunkenness on their premises.⁸⁶ The man Wandless was most likely Joseph Wanless the secretary of the NBWMCIU.⁸⁷ Despite his significant role within the club movement he was personally involved with allowing drunkenness in the club which was the view that Martin Weatherburn his NBWMCIU colleague was giving only a year later in 1912. On police inspection of the club twenty-one persons were present and sober with some playing either dominoes or cards. There is evidence in local newspapers that the Seaton Sluice Working Men's Club took part in the 'Working Men's Club and Institute Union-Northumberland Branch Tournament' and provided teams to play dominoes and whist.⁸⁸ Therefore, when the police visited the club the card and domino playing may have been league matches taking place or practice for future games. The playing of games in the club was not rational recreation but the members were showing self-governance and conducting themselves in a respectable manner. However, this did not stop the club from being struck-off. The case of clubs being struck off for not being conducted in good faith as clubs for allowing drunkenness

⁸⁵ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, December 13, 1911, p.2.

⁸⁶ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, December 15, 1911, p.10.

⁸⁷ B.T. Hall, *Our Sixty Years: The story of The Working Men's Club and Institute Union*, June 1922, p 151; Joseph Wanless, 'Reminiscences' (Unpublished typed notes pre. 1941) .

⁸⁸ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, November 21, 1908, p. 10 and March 13, 1909, p.7.

on club premises were not confined to the Seaton Delaval district with the circumstances being similar to those at Seaton Sluice. At Westerhope near Newcastle upon Tyne a club was struck-off the register for frequent drunkenness and with high takings for a club with a membership of two hundred and seventy four; and there was an appearance of a public house with a large stock and waiter service.⁸⁹ A club at Gosforth suffered the same fate when the visitors book contained no entries and frequent drunkenness was observed by the police leading to twenty-three members being prosecuted.⁹⁰ However, at a Newbiggin club the case that frequent drunkenness took place with large numbers of visitors was dismissed by the bench because out of thirty men seen leaving the club drunk between November 8th 1919 and January 10th 1920 only five were summoned to court and convicted of drunkenness. The police's excuse for this was that some men appeared more drunk than others and therefore it was impossible to prosecute all those involved because it would make the statistics look worse.⁹¹ Therefore it was possible for a club to escape prosecution if the police's case was not strong enough.

The WMCIU believed that working men could go to their club and converse with their friends about the issues of the day, read and at the same time enjoy one or two glasses of beer which was the club movement's ideology. Originally the clubs had been teetotal, but this had failed. In his work Beaven argues that working men enjoyed consuming alcohol which had steadily declined between 1870 and 1914 because the government had introduced licensing laws and employers had ended the previous drinking patterns of workers.⁹²

⁸⁹ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, May 16, 1908, p.4.

⁹⁰ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, November 16, 1907, p.4.

⁹¹ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, January 23, 1920, p.10.

⁹² Brad Beaven, *Leisure, citizenship, and working-class men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.63.

Table 10. Total consumption in gallons of beer, spirits, and wine in the United Kingdom (for the years ending December 31), 1902 to 1910.⁹³

Year	Gross (gallons)		
	Beer	Spirits	Wine
1902	1,268,765	41,078	15,281
1903	1,258,154	41,886	13,872
1904	1,232,089	40,732	11,935
1905	1,197,023	39,332	11,981
1906	1,221,052	39,264	12,278
1907	1,216,313	39,983	12,282
1908	1,185,821	38,079	11,293
1909	1,162,587	31,063	11,399
1910	1,181,882	29,266	12,672

In table ten the consumption of all alcohol fell between 1902 and 1910 with the largest in volume being beer and in percentage terms it was spirits and agrees to Beaven's argument of falling alcohol consumption between 1870 and 1914. However, Wilson argues that the decrease in alcohol consumption was caused by the lessened spending power of the masses during periods of poor economic performance.⁹⁴

⁹³ George B. Wilson, 'A statistical Review of the variations during the last twenty years in the consumption of intoxicants in the United Kingdom and in the convictions for offences connected with intoxication, with a discussion of the causes to which these variations may be ascribed,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 75 (2) (1912), 183-247 (p.241).

⁹⁴ Wilson, p. 192.

Table 11. Total Proceedings and then Total Convictions for Drunkenness in England and Wales between 1902 and 1909.⁹⁵

Year	Proceedings		Convictions	
	Total	per 10,000 of population	Total	per 10,000 of population
1902	209,908	63.60	189,597	57.40
1903	230,180	69.00	209,385	62.70
1904	227,403	67.40	207,730	61.50
1905	219,276	64.20	250,550	58.70
1906	211,493	61.30	192,481	55.70
1907	210,024	60.10	191,005	54.60
1908	202,081	57.10	181,869	51.40
1909	182,416	51.00	164,185	45.98

In table eleven the total number of persons summoned to court for drunkenness between 1902 and 1909 in England and Wales fell by 27,492 and the total number of persons convicted of drunkenness fell by 25,412. The reductions are uniform with the number of proceedings falling similarly to the number of convictions.

When the falls in alcohol consumption are compared to the reductions in table eleven it can be seen that whatever the reason for alcohol consumption the levels of convictions also reduced. It is possible to ascertain the levels of drunkenness in the Seaton Delaval district from records of the East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division Brewster Sessions in local newspaper reports .

⁹⁵ Wilson, pp. 245-246.

Table 12. Licensing Statistics for East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland in selected years.

Year	1907 ⁹⁶	1909 ⁹⁷	1912 ⁹⁸	1916 ⁹⁹	1919 ¹⁰⁰	1921 ¹⁰¹
Number of Licences Issued	51	51	53	53	53	54
Estimated Population of Division	34838	37971	36399	37919	37919	43373
Number of Licences per inhabitants	682	744	687	715	715	803
Number of Registered Clubs	8	9	9	9	16	19
Average Club Membership	405	384	444	500	431	526
Total Persons Proceeded Against for Drunkenness	289	330	304	133	100	93
Total Persons Convicted of Drunkenness	277	319	299	126	100	85
Number of Drunkenness Convictions	79.51	84.01	82.15	33.23	26.37	19.60

⁹⁶ *The Shields Daily News*, February 5, 1908, p.4.

⁹⁷ *The Shields Daily News*, February 1, 1911, p.3.

⁹⁸ *The Evening Chronicle*, February 12, 1913, p.8.

⁹⁹ *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, February 8, 1917, p.7.

¹⁰⁰ *Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, February 5, 1920, p.2.

¹⁰¹ *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, February 2, 1922, p. 9.

per 10000 of the Population						
-----------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--

On reviewing the drunkenness figures for the years 1907 and 1909 in table twelve the total number of persons summoned to court increased by forty-one, and the number of convictions increased by thirty-three as opposed to those for England and Wales which had shown a decline between those years. The figures for the years 1916, 1919 and 1921 show proceedings and convictions for drunkenness decreasing dramatically being due to the regulations introduced for licensed premises by the Control Board for the Liquor Control in 1915 to reduce the opening hours of all licensed premises including clubs from thirteen hours on weekdays and five and one half hours on Sundays to five and one half hours on weekdays and five hours on Sundays.¹⁰² Therefore, less alcohol was being consumed leading to less likelihood of drunkenness occurring.

Table 13. Drunkenness Convictions for East Castle Ward Division compared to England and Wales for 1907 and 1909 as a proportion of 10,000 of the population.

Convictions as a proportion of 10,000 of the population		
	East Castle Ward Division	England and Wales
1907	79.51	54.60
1909	84.01	45.98

In table thirteen the proportions of convictions for drunkenness are higher in the East Castle Ward than in England and Wales. Hands suggested that the licensed trade was angered by the introduction of a new licensing act in 1904 which allowed for the granting of more powers to local authorities to limit public house

¹⁰² *The Shields Daily News*, July 31, 1915, p.2; *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club*, p.15.

licences within their districts without affecting the number of clubs.¹⁰³ The licensing statistics of 1909 showed that in England and Wales the number of public house licences had decreased by 1,972; and by 6,724 since 1903. However, the number of registered clubs had increased by 342.¹⁰⁴ Based on the data in table twelve from 1907 to 1909 the number of public house licences remained the same at fifty-one whilst the number of registered clubs rose by one from eight to nine in East Castle Ward which shows that the decrease in public houses was not at the same level as for the rest of England and Wales and therefore had no effect on the consumption of alcohol. The WMCIU were concerned that the convictions for drunkenness in Northumberland had risen from to 127.30 per 10,000 of the population by 1911; and locally in East Castle Ward the proportion of convictions was ninety-one per 10,000 of the population, whilst for the Morpeth Division the figure was higher at two hundred and thirty per 10,000 of the population. The club movement were seeking explanations for the elevated levels of drunkenness because at that time many non-club goers blamed “those abominable institutions” known as clubs.¹⁰⁵ The efforts of the club movement had succeeded with the Durham branch being praised for causing thousands of men to change their drinking habits, and consequently between 1894 and 1910 the number of persons convicted for drunkenness had decreased by sixty per cent because the DBWMCIU introduced a standard closing time throughout the whole county; in England and Wales the decrease was only twelve per cent.¹⁰⁶ However, the WMCIU were only responsible for affiliated clubs and not public houses in all districts.

¹⁰³ Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard* (Gwerbestrasse, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), e-book (<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92964-4>)

¹⁰⁴ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, August 12, 1910, p.1.

¹⁰⁵ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, October 15, 1912, p.1.

¹⁰⁶ B.T. Hall, *Our Sixty Years*, p.212.

The WMCIU believed that they alone were responsible for the decrease in drunkenness because they had trusted the character of the working men to strive to improve themselves. They also believed that their method of not insisting on prohibition did more for temperance than the temperance movement itself.¹⁰⁷ The temperance movement dismissed the club movements' view that drinking in moderation aided temperance by arguing that it only made drinking more respectable because even the smallest amount of alcohol consumption was too much.¹⁰⁸ That movement recommended further regulations for clubs in order to counter the excessive drinking in 1912.¹⁰⁹ The club movement had previously successfully fought off threats of having further legislation placed on them in 1908. . The worst of these being the punishment of the secretary for allowing drunkenness to take place and that of police supervision similar to that of public houses.¹¹⁰ The club movements insistence of using the decrease in annual drunkenness convictions in the licensing statistics to claim their success was disagreed with by Wilson because they inadequately measured the consequences of excessive drinking. This was because much excessive drinking could escape police action as it took place in the home; and even if it took place in the public house many men may not show themselves to be drunk and liable to prosecution under the licensing acts.¹¹¹ Therefore, the decrease in drunkenness convictions that the WMCIU relied on for proof of their success may not have reflected the true level of alcohol consumption in the local communities. In 1922 the WMCIU were again forced to defend itself against the criticisms of drunkenness in clubs. A newspaper report of the club movements' diamond jubilee claimed that clubs did

¹⁰⁷ B.T. Hall, *Our Sixty Years* p.211.

¹⁰⁸ Marlow, pp. 386-387.

¹⁰⁹ *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, May 14, 1912, p.8.

¹¹⁰ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, April 18, 1908, p.7.

¹¹¹ Wilson, pp. 212-213.

not fear excessive drinking on their premises because they were affiliated to the WMCIU , were well-regulated and legally obliged to submit annual returns and accounts to the Registrar of Friendly Societies all of which was available to public inspection to show that they were not secret organisations.¹¹² It is possible that if the club movement had allowed themselves to be regulated again after 1902 the criticisms of trading as public houses and drunkenness may have vanished.

It is important to look at the amounts spent on alcohol in the clubs and figures in table fourteen show that Seaton Terrace club members were spending reasonable amounts of their earnings on alcohol despite the general trend of a decrease in alcohol consumption. The average amount spent per member was four pounds and five shillings. In 1911 the club movement claimed that the expenditure on drink in registered clubs did not exceed two pounds and twelve shillings annually.¹¹³ This differs with the amounts spent annually between 1903 and 1912 at the Seaton Terrace Club where the only year that the figures agree is 1903 and up to 1912 the figures are higher. In 1921 the club movement had increased its estimate of the amount spent in the club bar by members to a yearly average of seven pounds and ten shillings per member.¹¹⁴ In that year the Seaton Terrace Club's average spend per member of ten pounds and seven shillings is higher and suggests that alcohol expenditure in Seaton Terrace is greater than other parts of the country.

¹¹² *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, June 13, 1922, p.9.

¹¹³ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, October 15, 1912, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ B.T. Hall, *Our Sixty Years* p.211.

Table 14. Bar Takings for Seaton Terrace Working Men's Club for selected years together with the total membership, and the average amount spent per member annually.

Year	Bar Takings (£)	Total Membership ¹¹⁵	Spending per Member
1903	2328 ¹¹⁶	888	£2. 12s
1906	2895 ¹¹⁷	869	£3. 6s.
1909	4021 ¹¹⁸	884	£4. 10s.
1912	3751 ¹¹⁹	880	£ 4. 5s.
1915	2567 ¹²⁰	863	£2.19s.
1918	2221 ¹²¹	992	£2.4s.
1920	12451 ¹²²	1200	£10.7s.

In conclusion the club movement was not wholly successful in dealing with the claims of drunkenness and trading because in 1922 they were still facing accusations of being drinking dens. It is true that some clubs were found out and struck-off the register, however, many others provided alcohol for members without any problems or criticisms including the club at Seaton Terrace.

¹¹⁵ Club membership numbers in Appendix 2.

¹¹⁶ *The Morpeth Herald*, March 5, 1904, p.4.

¹¹⁷ *The Morpeth Herald*, February 23, 1907, p.7.

¹¹⁸ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, February 8, 1910, p.3.

¹¹⁹ *The Morpeth Herald*, February 7, 1913, p.6.

¹²⁰ *The Newcastle Journal*, August 15, 1916, p.3.

¹²¹ *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph*, August, 17, 1918, p.4.

¹²² *The Blyth News*, February 17, 1921.

Chapter Three: The development of club education.

The WMCIU believed that the most important role for the club movement was to educate the members. This chapter will show how successful this was and how difficulties led to gaining assistance from the WEA.

In his thesis Marlow concluded that the education offered by the clubs was more extensive and more substantial than previously thought of by earlier historians. He agreed that the formal education such as class work did not have long-term success with few members regularly attending.¹²³ However, Marlow argued that lectures, discussion classes and exhibition work were more popular with members. The earlier historians had not appreciated that education was evolving in line with club development despite surveys of the provision for adult education in Britain in the early twentieth century ignoring the work of clubs and simply listing the activities of adult schools, co-operative societies and workers educational associations.¹²⁴ The rules of those clubs affiliated to the WMCIU stated that members were to be provided with 'means of social intercourse, mutual helpfulness, mental and moral improvement, rational recreation' and that education was to be provided 'by the establishment of lectures, classes, examinations, and scholarships', together with the provision of 'circulating and reference libraries and reading rooms with the best works in all departments of literature, science, and art' for the use of the members'.¹²⁵ At the time of their fiftieth anniversary in 1912 the WMCIU admitted that their education offered in the form of essays and examinations within the clubs had little success because the

¹²³ Lawrence Marlow, 'The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: A Study of the Evolution of a Working-Class Institution' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick, 1980), p.471.

¹²⁴ Marlow, pp. 677-678.

¹²⁵ *Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited* (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 1904), p.13.

majority of members did not need education for their work and were not interested in learning for pleasure; and the need for propaganda work to promote the club movement gave less time to provide education as it required special training and organisation to be useful to members.¹²⁶ This differs from Ashplant who had argued that the unwillingness on the part of workers to take up education occurred because of the labour unrest in local communities and not an unwillingness to learn.¹²⁷ It is possible that the WMCIU by giving their reasons were, as a non-political organisation, attempting to disassociate themselves from a political situation created by the impact of strikes at that time. The Northumberland branch officials gave their views on club education in 1909 when Martin Weatherburn suggested that the majority of members ignored club education because as children they had received an inadequate schooling either due to lack of provision in their local area or because their parents refused to send them to school and therefore many workers had no wish to begin to consider learning in later life.¹²⁸ This disagreed with Vowles' argument that it was the Education Act of 1870 and the WEA which took away the need for clubs to educate members and not apathy on the part of club members because they had already received enough education.¹²⁹ Later Weatherburn argued that because it was not always possible for all men to look upon a question in the same way and interpret it alike it was the job of the WMCIU to educate the membership in the art of self-governance and personal conduct by encouraging members to engage with each other so that they could work in unison to improve themselves as citizens; and in the social clubs

¹²⁶ B.T. Hall, *Our Fifty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1922), pp.96-97.

¹²⁷ A.G. Ashplant, 'The Working Men's Club and Institute Union and the Independent Labour Party: Working Class Organisation, Politics and Culture c. 1880-1914' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Sussex, 1983), p.470.

¹²⁸ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, March 27, 1909, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Michael Harry Vowles, 'Aspects of the English Working Class Viewed from the Working Men's Club' (Unpublished MPhil Thesis, The Open University, 1982), p.57.

and institutes there were facilities available for members to acquire knowledge and to help one another.¹³⁰ This suggests that at that time local officials considered that this form of education was necessary first before any formal classes and lectures might be considered for those members not well educated at school, and at a national level the WMCIU did not appreciate the lack of education in localities such as the Seaton Delaval district; and that Weatherburn was attempting to assure those men with lesser educational abilities that they would be welcomed into the clubs to acquire knowledge and help from other members to improve their lives.

The WMCIU were happy to announce in 1912 that the circulating library was extremely popular with 128 boxes being issued in 1893 rising to 888 boxes issued by 1912 with a circulation of 110,000.¹³¹ It is not possible to find specific details of the education provided by clubs and figures for the circulating library for clubs in the Seaton Delaval district except in cases when clubs were held in disrepute. During an inspection of Seaton Sluice Working Men's Club premises in 1911 the police believed rational recreation was not taking place because of empty library bookshelves, and the book which members signed to take out books was missing. However, the club secretary gave evidence that the club's circulating library was 'on the road to the club' which was why the shelves were empty when the police visited. Whether this was true or not it may have been one reason for the club being struck off the register for six months.¹³² A similar event occurred at Gosforth working men's club, the reading room had no papers of any kind and no members were present when the club was inspected leading the police to

¹³⁰ *The Morpeth Herald*, Friday, June 28, 1912, p.11.

¹³¹ Hall, *Our Fifty Years*, pp. 124-125.

¹³² *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, December 15, 1911, p.10.

conclude that the club was not promoting rational recreation for its members.¹³³

These examples together with the admission by the WMCIU at national and local level in Northumberland that their education provision was inadequate prompted them to consider affiliation with the WEA because they were better equipped to provide working men with lectures, classes and scholarships. This had been argued by Marlow because the WEA and the WMCIU shared mutual concerns relating to the duties and obligations of citizenship leading to the ideals of corporate service and harmony and therefore be more beneficial to club members.¹³⁴

The WEA was founded in 1903 to promote the further education of the working classes by stimulating and co-ordinating their efforts of a specifically educational character and to develop a partnership between the working-class movement and the universities.¹³⁵ The WMCIU believed that the Workers Educational Association would improve club educational work and became associated members in 1909.¹³⁶ The WEA's annual report in 1909 stated that the WMCIU had made steps to improve educational activities by establishing a scholarship at Ruskin College and two scholarships at university summer meetings.¹³⁷ The WMCIU reported that the Hodgson Pratt and Stephen Taylor Scholarships had been commenced in 1909 and were a success. A Jubilee scholarship to mark fifty years of the successful life of the union was commenced in 1912, and the WMCIU were confident that it would be able to assist those club members who wished to study subjects at a higher educational standard.¹³⁸ Their

¹³³ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, November 16, 1907, p.4.

¹³⁴ Marlow, p. 321.

¹³⁵ Bernard Jennings, *Knowledge is Power. A short History of the Workers Educational, 1903 – 1978* (Hull: Department of Adult Education, 1979), p.1.

¹³⁶ Hall, *Our Fifty Years*, pp 124-125.

¹³⁷ *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the Workers Educational Association Year Ended 30th June 1909* (London: Workers Educational Association)

¹³⁸ Hall, *Our Fifty Years*, p. 129;pp 124-125.

success continued and by 1922 the WMCIU reported that they were continuing to send students to RC on Hodgson Pratt and Stephen Taylor thirty-two week scholarships which were awarded after examinations held at clubs and other centres. There were no students at RC from Northumberland compared to Durham with three students. There were ten two week scholarships awarded to attend RC summer schools but no attendees from either the Northumberland or Durham branches. Some branches offered independent tests and sent students to the WMCIU's summer school at RC with the Northumberland branch having one student attending.¹³⁹ The WMCIU were continuing to support those members who wished to improve their education nationally and in Northumberland together with the WEA.

The Northern District branch of the WEA was launched in the north-east of England during 1909 and 1910 with a district executive committee and a wider district council being chosen, of which the WMCIU was a member. The district secretary enlisted the support of the NBWMCIU together with the DBWMCU as associate members with the help of Thomas Burt, MP.¹⁴⁰ This is what Marlow had argued, that the WEA had sought help from clubs to promote educational work and by 1912 out of 1879 organisations affiliated to the association one hundred and fifty were working men's clubs because they provided a valuable base for the Association to connect with an important cross-section of workers for educational purposes.¹⁴¹ However, because the classes and scholarships involved so few club members it was necessary for the WEA to use propaganda in areas where the

¹³⁹ Hall, B.T., *Our Sixty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1922), pp. 270-274.

¹⁴⁰ Nigel Todd, 'A Working-Class Hero is Something to Be: The Origins of the Workers Educational Association in the North-East to 1920', in *The Right to Learn. The WEA in the North of England 1910-2010*, ed. by Jonathon Brown (London: WEA, 2010), p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Marlow, p.585.

clubs were situated in order to gain interested workers to learn. At a national council meeting of the WMCIU in 1913 the movement's educational work was discussed with the representative of the NDWEA who was pleased that the WMCIU and the NBWMCIU were supporting the WEA because it allowed the benefits of a university education to be spread across the mass of the workers within their own communities meaning they were not taken away from their own class to learn.¹⁴² The WEA had good support in Northumberland and there was optimism in the area with many working people wishing to commence educational classes.

The educational classes that gained the most support amongst the working classes were those that were formed by working class societies in their localities.¹⁴³ The NDWEA began to gain interest among the workers of the Seaton Delaval district using propaganda at meetings. This was successful in the case of the Waterford Workmen's Club at Seaton Sluice who affiliated themselves with the NDWEA with club representatives attending district meetings.¹⁴⁴ However, there are no references of tutorial classes taking place at Seaton Sluice after the affiliation. The NDWEA had more success with their propaganda in 1916 with the northern district minutes describing tutorial classes being set up at Seghill, Holywell and potentially at Seaton Delaval.¹⁴⁵ The classes had varied success with the annual reports showing that in Seghill, during the academic year 1917-18, nineteen students took twenty four classes lasting two hours in English history which had an attendance of thirty-six percent. The reason for the low attendance

¹⁴² *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, October 6, 1913, p.3.

¹⁴³ Workers Educational Association, *Oxford, and Working-Class Education. Being the Report of a Joint Committee of University and Working-Class Representatives on the Relation of the University to the Higher Education of Work People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), p.58.

¹⁴⁴ Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/1, District Council Minutes 1910- 1916, p. 127.

¹⁴⁵ Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/2, District Council Minutes, 1916-1921,p.121.

rate was not given but was possibly due to the three shift system making regular attendance at classes for some miners impossible and the fact that some workers were not interested in formal learning.¹⁴⁶ The issues with the three shift system at collieries was also being reported in local newspapers and was a consistent problem in parts of Northumberland.¹⁴⁷ A year later the class in English Literature at Seghill achieved an attendance of fifty-seven percent. During the same year classes in Industrial History at Holywell and in English Literature at Seaton Delaval achieved attendances of seventy-three and fifty-seven percent respectively and show that there was more support because the NDWEA's propaganda meetings were proving more successful after a further year of work.¹⁴⁸ The higher attendance percentage for history may have been because the WEA considered that history was the best subject for the working-class to study because they were learning about the lives and problems of their ancestors.¹⁴⁹ The NDWEA were more successful at Seaton Delaval and a sub-branch of the Northern District was established there in 1917 with the Blyth News reporting that the object would be to provide all adults with educational opportunities which they had missed as children.¹⁵⁰ The annual report of the local district describes that the NDWEA created a nucleus locally with public lectures to create interest in order to allow the branch to grow later which it did.¹⁵¹ This shows that the WEA had a good position in the local community separate from their links to the WMCIU and NBWMCIU with which it had initiated assistance.

¹⁴⁶ Tyne and Wear Archives, The Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA1/7/1, Eighth Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1917-18, p.12.

¹⁴⁷ *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, June 2, 1913, p.7

¹⁴⁸ Tyne and Wear Archives, The Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA1/7/2, Ninth Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1918-19, p.8.

¹⁴⁹ *The Shields Daily News*, December 10, 1913, p.4.

¹⁵⁰ *The Blyth News*, November 26, 1917, p.4.

¹⁵¹ Tyne and Wear Archives, The Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA1/7/1, Eighth Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1917-18, p.7.

The annual report of the Workers Educational Association for the year ended 31st May 1922 reported that the classes and courses of lectures in the WMCIU's branches of the clubs now stood at eighty-seven classes, two hundred and fifty nine single lectures and courses of lectures. The WEA together with the DBWMCIU had been successful in their educational work with eighteen club sessions held of which four were tutorial classes and the majority of the remaining one-year classes completed second year advanced work. However, efforts to establish a similar scheme of tutorial classes with the NBWMCIU had not been successful to date.¹⁵² This was despite a joint committee for educational purposes being set up between the NDWEA and the NBWMCIU on December 18th 1920.¹⁵³ Eventually this scheme of joint work with the NBWMCIU had established two successful classes with the attendance at the Seaton Terrace class reaching ninety-three per cent by 1922.¹⁵⁴ This figure had increased from sixty-two percent in 1921 when a class of twenty-one students studied industrial history over twenty class meetings under the guidance of a university tutor. The NBWMCIU together with the Seaton Terrace Club were taking advantage of the resourcefulness and influence of the NDWEA.¹⁵⁵ However, the attendance of twenty-one club members out a total club membership of 1200 in 1921 was low and highlights that not all members were interested in learning.¹⁵⁶ The club at Seaton Terrace had become affiliated to the Northern District of the WEA on December 10th 1920 and shows that the club committee were conscious of providing educational opportunities for interested members despite the low attendance and further encouragement was

¹⁵² *The Highway. The Official Journal of the Workers Educational Association*, XIV (9) (1922), p..134.

¹⁵³ Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/2, District Council Minutes,1916-1921, p.nd.

¹⁵⁴ *The Highway. The Official Journal of the Workers' Educational Association.*, XV (9) (1923), p.132.

¹⁵⁵ B.T.Hall, *Our Sixty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1922), p. 274.

¹⁵⁶ Tyne and Wear Archives, MG/WB/8/1, Register of Clubs in the East Division of Castle Ward in the County of Northumberland which intoxicating liquor is supplied to members or their guests, 1902-1922.

needed to build support from members.¹⁵⁷ The classes run by the Northumberland branch were not as successful as those of the DBWMCIU with the WMCIU believing that this was due to the unwillingness of many members to involve themselves in classes and lectures, and that the NBWMCIU was not formed until 1906 being too late to properly deal with the unwillingness of some members to learn in the early years.¹⁵⁸ At a meeting in 1921, Hall representing the WEA argued that because the WMCIU at both national and local level had always advanced their self-improvement programme it was certain that the Northumberland clubs would eventually have the same success as those in Durham and they must persevere until that was achieved. Mr. A. Temple the assistant secretary of the WMCIU stated that the club union executive had been convinced that educational provision should be administered by each club through an education committee which would offer tuition to members at their club instead of going to a university which enabled club education to be kept local with working-class men learning within their communities.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, the WMCIU and the WEA agreed that the success at the Seaton Terrace Club would lead to more clubs holding classes for their members at their local clubs

The WEA and the WMCIU always gave the names of the tutors for the classes and subjects which were studied, with an example being Mr. Jamieson D. Dobie a university tutor who taught the industrial history course at Seaton Terrace Working Men's Club in 1921. However, there was no mention by name of the students, their thoughts of their learning experience and their achievements afterwards. The historian Jonathon Rose argued that it was more important to

¹⁵⁷ Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/2, District Council Minutes, 1916-1921, p.nd.

¹⁵⁸ Hall, *Our Sixty Years*, p.272.

¹⁵⁹ *The Blyth News*, June 20, 1921, p.4.

ascertain more about the students such as who they were, why did they enrol, what were their intellectual goals, what occurred inside the classroom and, how, if at all, did the WEA change the lives and minds of its students.¹⁶⁰ The Professor Kenneth Vickers praised the tutorial class system because the tutor learned as much as he taught by ascertaining interests of the students, then utilising that to assist the general progress of the class. The students were also encouraged to develop their own interests within a subject through essay work because it required students to collect facts, to think them over, to argue, and to make their own conclusion in relation to the problem they were attempting to solve. The essay was more worthwhile than memory work because it allowed students to study subjects from all angles.¹⁶¹ The education offered by the WEA has been criticised by historians and Rose discusses Fieldhouse who argued in *The Ideology of English Adult Education Teaching, 1925-1950*, that some students' beliefs could be neutralised because of the WEA's emphasis on objective scholarship and open-mindedness which was welcomed by the authorities as defence against revolutionism. The WEA believed in regular courses of study, consisting of various parts leading into each other and grouped round a central idea; and with guidance on reading for their students.¹⁶² Rose uses examples of comments made by previous students of the WEA to show whether or not their education improved their minds and changed their lives. There were those who had benefited from the WEA such as A.W. Humphrey who appreciated the development and culture of character and mental capacity rather than the narrow conception of the value of education of the CLC who argued that workers could not think for themselves and insisted on the cramming of pre-digested books. The provision of the working-

¹⁶⁰ Jonathon Rose, 'The Workers in the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1950', *Albion A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 21 (4) (1989), p. 591.

¹⁶¹ *The Shields Daily News*, December 10, 1913, p.4.

¹⁶² *Workers Educational Association*, pp.59-60.

class education provided by the CLC in May 1922 was simply a series of lectures together with frequent group classes where the subject-matter was reviewed. The students also drafted essays and had personal interviews with the respective tutors. The students were encouraged to pass on their knowledge acquired at the CLC at their respective union lodge meetings, Labour and Socialist party meetings, Co-operative Societies, and other Labour Organisations. Therefore, CLC students were effectively being trained to spread the socialist cause amongst their colleagues and fellow activists, unlike the WEA curriculum which allowed students to fully learn a subject in order to educate themselves. However, critics of the WEA like Ethell Carnie suggested that the liberal education offered by the WEA was designed to chloroform the worker, after already having been left tired and weary after working for the capitalists.¹⁶³ In Northumberland the criticism of the liberal education offered by the clubs with the assistance of the WEA and RC came from those who supported the CLC and was political in nature. The CLC was seen as a preferred option to the WEA and RC by those workers who supported the labour movement and was formed in 1909 at a Plebs League meeting; and was controlled by organised labour bodies.¹⁶⁴ The reasoning was that the CLC no longer considered RC to be a labour college after the educational adviser to RC Mr. H.B. Lees Smith voted against the Labour Party's miners' pay proposals in the House of Commons in 1912.¹⁶⁵ Afterwards, the district units of the South Wales miners immediately withdrew their scholarships from RC and transferred them to the CLC.¹⁶⁶ In July 1914 a report in *Plebs* declared that the Northumberland Miners' Association attempted to transfer their students without

¹⁶³ Rose, pp.591-594.

¹⁶⁴ William W. Craik, *The Central Labour College, 1909-29. A Chapter in the History of Adult Working-class Education* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1964), pp. 80-81.

¹⁶⁵ *The Morpeth Herald and Reporter*, June 5, 1914, p.10

¹⁶⁶ Craik, p. 85

success with the vote to allow the transfer failing by forty-two votes to twenty-one; with the reason being that the Northumberland miners were not sufficiently politically developed to make a distinction between the different types of education being offered by the CLC and RC.¹⁶⁷ After a long battle the north-east division of the CLC was formed in 1917 with fifty trade union branches affiliated and with sixteen classes running, and the Northumberland miners' association had voted by thirty-five to fourteen to give financial support.¹⁶⁸ The WMCIU were also criticised for their support of RC by Ebenezer Edwards, a supporter of the CLC, who argued that the CLC provided a better education for workers and criticised the WMCIU for paying Ruskin College one hundred pounds per annum for club members to study there. The writer disagreed that club members were not allowed to vote on whether RC rather than the CLC was the more appropriate college for them to attend.¹⁶⁹ The WMCIU continued to support the WEA and RC and there is no evidence to suggest that they supported the CLC. However, it cannot be ascertained whether or not individual club members decided to support the CLC.

The club movement was not wholly successful in providing education for their members. Their initial attempts were unsuccessful due to lack of interest from members and an inability of the WMCIU to provide an adequate. The WMCIU achieved a little late success at the Seaton Terrace club eventually after they had affiliated with the WEA who were specialists in providing education for the working classes.

¹⁶⁷ *Plebs, No.6, July 1914, p.138*, cited in Robert Turnbull, *Left for the rising sun: Right for Swan Hunter. The Plebs League in the northeast of England 1908/1926* (Nottingham: Five Leaves Publications, 2014), p.20.

¹⁶⁸ Brian Simon, *Education, and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965), p.337.

¹⁶⁹ *The Morpeth Herald and reporter, August 16, 1912, p.3.*

Conclusion

Despite the lack of actual working men's club records research has still been possible into the extent that working men's clubs were successful in providing mental and moral improvement for their members in the Seaton Delaval district between 1902 and 1922.

Chapter one discussed how the club movement became an effective social movement. Metcalfe's claim that the clubs attracted over fifty per cent of the male population in the villages was assessed and showed in 1911 none of the clubs met the criteria; and by 1921 five of the seven clubs met the criteria which showed the club movement progressing well and of the remaining two, one was recently formed in 1919 and the other in Seaton Sluice where there was the smallest population. When the movement in membership between 1903 and 1920 was assessed the Seaton Sluice club showed an increase of three hundred and fifty-one per cent. Therefore, whilst the Seaton Sluice club was not exceeding fifty per cent of the male population it was in fact increasing its membership base. As argued by Marlow committees were formed to organise the members, manage the running of the clubs, and hold annual general meetings. The club rule books dictated that there were to be eleven members on the committee who were voted into office by the membership. The local newspapers confirmed that the annual general meetings took place, officials were elected, agreement of the yearly accounts, decisions on how the club funds were to be used. It was the role of the committee to consider working men for membership by ensuring that the two referees did actually know the men and could satisfy the committee as to their respectability. This method of selection allowed the club to control how men could become members thereby upholding the ideology of respectability. In order that the clubs formed a successful social movement and received free legal advice

they affiliated with the WMCIU. By 1920 the number of affiliated clubs in England and Wales had reached 2,202 with a total membership of 989,798; and in Northumberland there were one hundred and nine clubs with a total membership of 58,757. Therefore, progress was being made in creating a working class society. In the Seaton Delaval district the affiliated club movement grew from two clubs in 1912 with 1,004 members to seven clubs in 1920 with 4,650 members, with the average club membership growing from five hundred and two in 1912 to six hundred and sixty four in 1920 and was greater than the four hundred and forty-nine in England and Wales and the five hundred and thirty-nine in Northumberland. The Backworth club did not affiliate to the WMCIU despite an attempt to change this policy in 1907 and due to the club's connections with the local colliery. Therefore, progress was being made in creating a working class society.

Chapter two discussed the extent of the club movement's success in dealing with the criticisms of providing alcohol to members, claims of consequent drunkenness and of trading. Cherrington had argued that the clubs were not drinking dens which was backed up by an official of the NBWMCIU in 1912 by commenting that because they were respectable and had rules the clubs had dealt well with the criticisms of drunkenness made against them and they did not trade as public houses, or did they compete with them as suggested by licensed victuallers. Despite these arguments made by the NBWMCIU by 1912 one hundred and ninety-eight clubs had been proceeded against for allowing drunkenness and trading with one hundred and seventy-nine of those struck-off the register. In the Seaton Delaval district the Seaton Sluice club was removed from the register in 1911 for allowing drunkenness and trading as a public house. There were breaches of the rules on visitors with names not recorded in the proper

manner and between June and November there were five hundred and sixty-three visitors at a club with only two hundred and forty members, and men were seen leaving the club drunk. This event was the only case within the Seaton Delaval. There were similar cases outside the district which resulted in the club being struck-off the register, except at Gosforth where it was decided that because the police only prosecuted five of the thirty men seen leaving the club drunk because they implied that the statistics would appear worse, and the club escaped prosecution. The club movement claimed that they had reduced drunkenness. The levels of drunkenness did decline but this was due to a decrease in the consumption of alcohol in the United Kingdom caused by a reduction in spending power of the masses and the legislative controls of the Control Board for Liquor Control in 1915. In the East Castle Ward, which includes the Seaton Delaval district, the number of drunkenness convictions per ten thousand of the population declined significantly from thirty three in 1916 to 20 in 1921. The WMCIU showed concern that Northumberland's convictions for drunkenness were one hundred and twenty-seven per 10,000 of the population in 1911. They were more impressed by Durham's decrease in convictions by sixty per cent compared to England and Wales's decrease of only twelve per cent. The WMCIU believed that Durham's decrease was to the introduction of a standard closing time throughout the whole county. This was erroneous because the WMCIU were only responsible for the affiliated clubs and not the levels of drunkenness in the community as a whole, and because Wilson argued that alcohol consumption was the correct way to judge levels of drinking because some men could hide their heavy drinking whilst others could not. The increase in the amounts expended on alcohol at Seaton Terrace Club rose from four pounds and five shillings in 1911 to ten pounds and seven shillings in 1921; and were higher

than the average calculated by the WMCIU indicating that members were consuming more beer than at other clubs in England and Wales.

Chapter three dealt with the extent to which the club movement was successful in providing education for club members. The WMCIU and the NBWMCIU had realised before 1912 that their education was not substantial and popular with members because many had received a poor education as children and lacked a need for education for work purposes. The WMCIU supported those members wishing to learn by sending them to RC on thirty-two week scholarships and summer schools. There were no club members from Northumberland attending the scholarships and only one attending a summer school. The WMCIU affiliated with the WEA who were better equipped to provide working men with lectures and classes, whilst the clubs were bases for the WEA to operate in and gain support amongst the working class. A Northern district branch of the WEA was launched between 1909 and 1910 with the WMCIU being a member. The WEA gained support amongst the working classes in Northumberland with lectures and in 1917 a sub-branch was formed at Seaton Delaval which provided classes in English Literature. There were tutorial classes set up in Seghill in 1916 with classes in English History and a year later English Literature was taught with improving attendance rates. At the same time classes were arranged at Holywell where Industrial History was taught with success. The clubs began to take an interest with the Waterford Workmen's Club at Seaton Sluice before 1916 and the Seaton Terrace club in 1920 both affiliating to the NDWEA. The records show that there were no classes at the Seaton Sluice club. A joint committee for educational purposes between the NDWEA and the NBWMCIU was set up in December 1920 which had little success until 1921 at Seaton Terrace when twenty-one club members studied industrial history over twenty meetings under the guidance of a

university tutor in 1921. At that time, the membership of the club totalled 1200 and therefore the number of students was low in comparison. The WEA' tutors used essay work to encourage students to collect facts, make their own arguments and conclusions because subjects were studied from all angles. There were supporters and critics of the WEA. The supporters welcomed the development and culture of character and mental capacity through regular and thorough courses of study. The critics in the CLC suggested that the liberal education of the WEA simply chloroformed workers. The WMCIU and the WEA persevered with both the apathy against further education and that many trade unions no longer recognised RC as a labour college and moved their members away from RC to the CLC. When the Northumberland Miners' Association attempted to transfer their students, the vote failed by forty-two to twenty-one because of the Northumberland miners not being sufficiently politically developed.

In summary, this study of the Seaton Delaval district into how the club movement developed, how successfully the clubs dealt with the criticisms of allowing drunkenness and trading as public houses, and how successful they were in providing education for their members between 1902 and 1922 can simply be considered a starting point and more work must be carried out in later periods to find more progress in the mental and moral improvement of club members. Whilst the clubs increased in number and total membership, the provision of alcohol played a large part of club life. At Seaton Terrace club bar takings were higher than in any other part of the country, whilst the number of members taking a tutorial class in industrial history numbered only twenty-one. Further research on whether clubs were facing claims of drunkenness and trading or if they managed to convince the antagonists of their respectability. The role of club education must be considered further with research into whether interest in tutorial classes

continued after 1922, whether clubs apart from at Seaton Terrace became

involved,

1. The population figures for the villages within the Seaton Delaval district for 1901, 1911 and 1921.
2. The working men's clubs in the Seaton Delaval district together with their membership numbers for the years 1903 to 1920.
3. The branches of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union in 1912.
4. The branches of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union in 1920.
5. The names, ages, and places of abode of potential members of the Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited as of August 1907.
6. The names, ages, and places of abode of potential members of the Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited as of April 1914.
7. The data in the table reflects fifty percent of the male population figures for each village in the Seaton district for each village with a club compared to the total membership numbers for each club as per Appendix 2.

Appendix 1.

The Population figures for the villages within the Seaton Delaval District for 1901, 1911 and 1921.

Villages	1901			1911		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Backworth	2168	1181	987	3777	1981	1796
Earsdon	2898	1509	1389	2235	1173	1062
Seaton Delaval	4987	2691	2296	3713	1926	1787
Seaton Sluice	1716	908	808	1638	865	773
New Hartley	1451	809	642	1823	985	838
Seghill	2213	1192	1021	2049	1086	963
Holywell	3085	1631	1454	3293	1724	1569
Totals	13452	7231	6221	12516	6586	5930

	1921		
	Total	Male	Female
Backworth	2338	1176	1162
Earsdon	4159	2148	2011
Seaton Delaval	3930	2020	1910
Seaton Sluice	1750	973	777
New Hartley	2175	1151	1024
Seghill	1949	996	953
Holywell	3451	1746	1705
Totals	13255	6886	6369

References:

Census of England and Wales, 1901. County of Northumberland. Table 11. Civil parishes in the administrative county and in the city and county borough of Newcastle upon Tyne. Inhabited houses, 1901, and population 1891 and 1901. Pages 13-18, 15-16.

New Hartley, RG 13/4809/557/5/17 Pages 1 – 51. I had to calculate the total population for New Hartley from the actual enumerated census details for New Hartley.

Census of England and Wales, 1911.

Table 5. Registration Counties, districts, and subdistricts with their constituent civil parishes. Urban or rural districts in which each parish is situated; area; families or separate occupiers; and population, 1901 and 1911; and population enumerated in institutions, large establishments, and on vessels, 1911, page 321. Table 8. Urban districts, including county and other municipal boroughs. Area; families or separate occupiers 1901 and 1911; population (persons, male, female, and increase or decrease per cent in population, 1901-11, page 34.

Table 10 Administrative counties, urban districts, with their constituent civil parishes and wards, and rural districts with their constituent civil parishes; area; families or separate occupiers, and population, 1901 and 1911; and population enumerated in institutions, large establishments, vessels 1911, pages 60-427, page 247; 259.

Census of England and Wales, 1921. County of Northumberland. Page 1. Table 2. Population and Intercensal variations. Administrative county, county borough, municipal boroughs, urban districts, and rural districts.

Census of England and Wales, 1921. County of Northumberland. Pages 2-11. Pages 3-4. Table 3. Acreage, population, private families, and dwellings. Administrative county, county boroughs, municipal boroughs, urban districts, rural districts, wards, and civil parishes.

The working men's clubs in the Seaton Delaval district together with their membership numbers for the years 1903 to 1920.

Part One – 1903 to 1911

Total Membership in January each year.									
Club Name	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Seaton Sluice Workmen's Club and Institute (note 1)	94	195	179	170	200	215	189	190	240
Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited	888	909	856	869	875	882	884	880	885
Waterford Workmen's Social Club Limited	N/A								
Earsdon and District Working Men's Social Club	N/A								
New Hartley and District Workmen's Victory Club and Institute Limited	N/A								
Seghill and District Workmen's Social Club and Institute Limited	N/A								
Comrades of the Great War (Seghill Branch)	N/A								
Comrades of the Great War (New Hartley Branch)	N/A								
Backworth Club Company Limited (note 2)	951	1005	968	978	796	950	957	936	937

Total Membership in January each year.									
Club Name	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited	880	876	871	863	885	984	992	992	1200
Waterford Workmen's Social Club Limited	124	260	370	403	355	362	413	438	424
Earsdon and District Working Men's Social Club	N/A	990	1190						
New Hartley and District Workmen's Victory Club and Institute Limited	N/A	310	524						
Seghill and District Workmen's Social Club and Institute Limited	N/A	500	620						
Comrades of the Great War (Seghill Branch)	N/A	196	242						
Comrades of the Great War (New Hartley Branch)	N/A	434	450						
Backworth Club Company Limited (note 1)	936	950	956	711	777	760	770	770	856

1. Seaton Sluice Workmen's Club and Institute was struck of the Register of Clubs in December 1911 for six months and did not reopen.

The data in parts one and two was obtained from the 'Register of Clubs in the East Division of Castle Ward in the County of Northumberland in which intoxicating liquor is supplied to members or their guests. Register in form prescribed by the Secretary of State to be kept in pursuance of section 25 of the Licensing Act 1902 (2 Edward V11. C. 28)'. The register is available at Tyne and Wear Archives under the reference MG/WB/8/1.

The branches of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union in 1912.

Branch Name	No. of Clubs	Total Membership	Average Club Membership
Bradford and Halifax	63	29227	464
Bucks.	9	3139	349
Colne and Burnley	42	108197	257
Durham	143	64621	452
Huddersfield	38	16124	424
Leeds	21	6628	316
Leicestershire	25	9026	361
London	100	31692	317
Manchester	164	64621	394
Northants.	50	11035	221
North Kent	25	6324	253
North Staffs.	14	2621	187
Northumberland	52	24397	469
South Wales	49	12263	250
South Yorkshire	90	28123	312
Spenn Valley	15	2976	19821
Swindon	21	5694	271
Wakefield	71	18244	257
York City	15	3216	214
Total	1007	448168	445

The above data was obtained from Hall, B.T., *Our Fifty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union: Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1912), pp. 135-142.

Appendix 4.

The branches of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union in 1920.

Branch Name	No. of Clubs	Total Membership	Average Club Membership
Bradford and Halifax	117	102344	875
Bucks.	10	5474	547
Cleveland	22	9795	445
Colne and Burnley	68	20353	299
Derbyshire	39	12476	320
Doncaster	44	22693	516
Durham	280	161921	578
Furness	21	5614	267
Hampshire	43	10705	249
Huddersfield	54	33330	617
Kent	98	40210	410
Leeds	60	33153	553
Leics. and Notts.	64	28374	443
London	229	85953	375
Manchester	253	76437	302
Monmouthshire	33	12870	390
Northants, Beds.	76	26781	352
North Staffs and Cheshire.	61	19730	323
Northumberland	109	58757	539
South Wales	61	20172	331
South Yorkshire	146	72406	496
Spenn Valley	15	2976	198
Swindon	58	25896	446
Wakefield	79	35117	445
Warwickshire	51	22079	433
West Midlands	88	35664	405
York City and District	23	8518	370
Total	2202	989798	449

The above data was obtained from Hall, B.T., *Our Sixty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1922), pp. 146-156.

The names, ages, and places of abode of potential members of the Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited as of August 1907.

Name	Age in 1907	Residence	Occupation/Trade
E. Kennedy	21	Seaton Delaval	Coal miner (Hewer)
Foggett	46	Seaton Delaval	Deputy Overman in coal mine
William Dixon	43	Seaton Delaval	Coal miner (Hewer)
Robert Leck	52	Seghill	Deputy Overman in coal mine
Thomas Mulby	38	Seghill	Coal miner. Back Overman
William Robinson	40	Seaton Delaval	Deputy Overman in coal mine
Wilkinson Murton	44	Seghill	Coal miner (Hewer)
Thomas Beech	41	Seaton Delaval	Coal miner (Hewer)
Joseph Wanless	36	Seaton Delaval	Coal Weighman
Thomas Dodds	45	Seaton Delaval	Checkweighman above ground
Stephen Charlton	45	Seghill	Deputy Overman in coal mine
Charles Boll	48	Seaton Delaval	Coal Miner (Hewer)

The names are taken from the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited Rose and Variety Show prize winners list given on page 3 of *The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph, August 20, 1907*. The ages in 1907 are calculated from the age stated in the *1911 Census*; the residence and occupation/trade are as stated in the *1911 Census*.

The names, ages, and places of abode of potential members of the Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited as of April 1914.

Name	Age in 1914	Residence	Occupation/Trade
Thomas Richardson	43	Seaton Delaval	Coal miner (Hewer)
William Nicholson	27	Seaton Delaval	Colliery Screen Labourer
John Leslie	45	Seaton Delaval	Coal mine onsetter
William Henry Bird	45	Cramlington	Stationery Engineman at coal mine. Above ground
George Watson	65	Seaton Delaval	Coal miner (retired)
Martin Kennedy	54	Seaton Delaval	Colliery cartman. Above ground
William Wake	46	Seaton Delaval	Coal miner (Hewer)
William Brady	38	Seghill	Coal miner. Master shifter
James Armour	29	Seaton Delaval	Coal Miner (Hewer)
William Harrison	21	Seaton Delaval	Farm Labourer
Charles Boll	55	Seaton Delaval	Coal Miner (Hewer)

The names are taken from the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited Rose and Variety Show prize winners list given on page 5 of The Newcastle Daily Journal, April 20, 1914. The ages in 1914 are calculated from the age stated in the 1911 Census; the residence and occupation/trade are as stated in the 1911 Census.

Appendix 7.

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>1911</u>		<u>1921</u>	
<u>Village</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Members</u>
Backworth	991	937	588	856
Earsdon	n/a	n/a	1074	1190
Seaton Delaval	963	885	1010	1200
Seaton Sluice	433	240	486	424
New Hartley	n/a	n/a	776	524
Seghill	n/a	n/a	498	620

The data above is as follows:

Males – fifty percent of the male population figures for each village in the Seaton district.

Members – the total membership numbers for each club as per Appendix 2.

Note : 1. The club at Seaton Delaval is the Seaton Terrace Workmen's Club and Institute Limited.

2. The Comrades of the Great War (Seghill Branch) and Comrades of the Great War (New Hartley Branch) have been left out of the calculations.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscript Sources

Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/1/2, Court Register covering 7 April 1915-20 December 1916

Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/1/3, Court Register covering 27 December 1916-7 May 1919

Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/1/4, Court Register covering 21 May 1919- 2 February 1921

Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/8/1, Register of clubs covering 29 January 1903 – 31 December 1935

Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/6/3, Register of Licences to sell alcohol, indexed from 1895 – 1912, covering 11 February 1903 – 14 February 1912

Tyne and Wear Archives, East Castle Ward Petty Sessional Division of Northumberland County, MG.WB/6/4, Registers of Licences to sell alcohol, covering 12 February 1913 – 7 February 1934

Tyne and Wear Archives, International Order of Good Templars: Northumberland District Lodge, S.GT4, Minutes, Administration, and financial records 1904-2003

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District, E.WEA 1/7/1, Annual reports 1917-1918

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District, E.WEA 1/7/2, Annual reports 1918-1919

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District, E.WEA 1/14, District Secretary's Copy Out Letters 19 November 1910- 14 October 1912

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/1, District Council Minutes (Signed) 29 October 1910- 27 May 1916

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/2, District Council Minutes (Signed) 21 May 1916- 26 February 1921

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District, E.WEA 1/1/3, District Council Minutes (Signed) 9 April 1921- 31 December 1922

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District, E.WEA 1/16/2, Historical information gathered together for the publication of *So Noble an institution- A history of the Workers Educational Association Northern District 1010-1980*, Notes re Rev. John Lee, District secretary 1910-1914

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District, E.WEA 1/16/31, Historical information- Notes re JG Trevena District Secretary 1914-1920

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District,
E.WEA 1/55, Jubilee Brochure 1903-1953

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association-Northern District,
E.WEA 1/33, Publicity leaflets (National) [1903-1974], 1903-1922

Tyne and Wear Archives, Workers Educational Association- Northern District,
E.WEA1/20/1, W.E.T.U.C. N.E. Divisional Committee Minutes [25 February 1920-
3 January 1936], 25 February 1920 to 31 December 1922

Parliamentary Papers

*An Act further to amend the laws relating to the Representation of the People in
England and Wales, 1867, 30 and 31 Victoriae, Chapter 102*

Census of England and Wales, 1921, 10 and 11 George V., Chapter 41

Clubs (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1915, 5 and 6, George V., Chapter 84

*Control and Supervision of Clubs. A Bill to Amend and Extend the Licensing
(Consolidation) Act, 1910 (1911), House of Commons, Bill no. 67, London:
Stationery Office*

*Control and Supervision of Clubs. A Bill to Amend and Extend the Licensing
(Consolidation) Act, 1910 (1912), House of Commons, Bill no. 31, London:
Stationery Office*

*Control and Supervision of Clubs. A Bill to Amend and Extend the Licensing
(Consolidation) Act, 1910 (1913), House of Commons, Bill no. 68, London:
Stationery Office*

*Control and Supervision of Clubs. A Bill to Amend and Extend the Licensing
(Consolidation) Act, 1910 (1914), House of Commons, Bill no. 106, London:
Stationery Office*

Education Act, 1901, 1, Edward VII., Chapter 11

Education Act, 1902, 2 and 7, Edward VII., Chapter 42

Education Act, 1918, 8 and 9, George V., Chapter 39

Education Act, 1921, 11 and 12, George V., Chapter 51

Friendly Societies Act, 1875, 38 and 39, Victoria, Chapter 60

Friendly Societies Act, 1896, 59 and 60 Victoria, Chapter 25

Licensing Act, 1872, 35 and 36 Victoria, Chapter 94

Licensing Act, 1902, 2 and 7, Edward VII., Chapter 28

Licensing Act, 1921, 11 and 12, George V., Chapter 42

Licensing Act 1904, 4, Edward VII., Chapter 23

Licensing Act 1906, 6, Edward VII. Chapter 42

Parliament, House of Commons (1904) *Home Office. The Report of the Inspector
under the inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1900 for the year 1903 (Cd. 2285) London:
Stationery Office*

Parliament, House of Commons (1906) *Home Office. The Report of the Inspector under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1900 for the year to 1905* (Cd. 3246) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1906) *Licensing Statistics, 1905. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1905* (Cd. 2961) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1907) *Licensing Statistics, 1906. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1906* (Cd. 3419) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1909) *Licensing Statistics, 1908. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1908* (Cd. 4612) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1910) *Licensing Statistics, 1909. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1909* (Cd. 5299) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1911) *Licensing Statistics, 1910. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1910* (Cd. 5816) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1912) *Licensing Statistics, 1911. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1911* (Cd. 6337) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1913) *Licensing Statistics, 1912. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1912* (Cd.7040) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1915) *Licensing Statistics, 1914. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1914* (Cd.7987) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1916) *Licensing Statistics, 1915. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1915* (Cd.8340) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1917) *Licensing Statistics, 1916. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1916* (Cd.8769) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1918) *Licensing Statistics, 1917. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1917* (Cd.9222) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1919) *Licensing Statistics, 1918. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1918* (Cd.352) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1919) *Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919. Adult Education Committee Final Report 1919* (Cd. 321) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1920) *Licensing Statistics, 1919. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1919* (Cd. 817) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1921) *Licensing Statistics, 1920. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1920* (Cd. 1386) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons (1922) *Licensing Statistics, 1921. Statistics as to the Operation and Administration of the Laws relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor for the year 1921* (Cd.1703) London: Stationery Office

Parliament, House of Commons and Lords (1846) *Report of the Commissioner Appointed under the Provisions of the Act 5 & 6 Vict., c. 99, to inquire into the operation of that Act and into the State of the Population in the Mining Districts, 1846* (Cd. 737) London: Stationery Office

Preliminary Report including Tables of the Population Enumerated in England and Wales (Administrative and Parliamentary areas) and in Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands on 19/20th June 1921

Representation of the People Act, 1867, 30 and 31, Victoria, Chapter 102

Representation of the People Act, 1884, 48 and 49, Victoria, Chapter 3

The 1901 Census for England, Wales, and Scotland

The 1911 Census for England, Wales, and Scotland

The Elementary Education Act, 1870, 33 and 34 Victoria, Chapter 75

The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, 56 and 57, Victoria, Chapter 39

Newspapers

The British Newspaper Archive (2020)

><https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>< [Accessed 1 October 2020 to 4 January 2021]

North and South Shields Gazette

Shields Gazette and Daily News

Shields Gazette and Daily Telegraph

The Blyth News and Wansbeck Telegraph

The Morpeth Herald and Reporter

The Newcastle Chronicle

The Newcastle Courant

The Newcastle Daily Journal

The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle Supplement

The Scotsman

The Shields Daily News

Online Sources

Ancestry UK (2020)

><https://ancestry.co.uk>< [Accessed 1 October 2020 to 4 January 2021]

Find My Past (2020)

><https://www.findmypast.co.uk>< [Accessed 1 October 2020 to 4 January 2021]

GENUKI (2020)

><https://www.genuki.org.uk>< [Accessed 1 October 2020 to 4 January 2021]

Hymnary (2021)

>https://hymnary.org/text/i_vow_to_thee_my_country< [Accessed 28 July 2021]

Historic Digimap Collection (2020)

><https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>< [Accessed 17 October 2020]

Histpop. Online Historical Population Reports (2004-2007)

><http://www2.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/Show?page=Home>< [accessed 16 November 2020]

Justis One

><https://app-justis-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/>< [accessed 30 November 2020]

The National Archives (2021)

><https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>< [Accessed 21 May 2021]

UK Parliament Hansard (2020)

><https://hansard.parliament.uk/>< [accessed 3 December 2020]

UK Parliamentary Papers (2020)

><https://parlipapers-proquest->

[com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/parlipapers/search/basic/hcppbasicsearch](https://parlipapers-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/parlipapers/search/basic/hcppbasicsearch)< [accessed

1 December 2020]

Printed Sources

Books

Craster, H.H.E., M.A., *A History of Northumberland. Volume IX The Parochial Chapelries of Earsdon and Horton* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid and Company Limited, 1909)

Hall, B.T., *Our Fifty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union: Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1912)

Hall, B.T., *Our Sixty Years: The Story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Together With Brief Impressions of The Men of the Movement* (London: The Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1922)

Mansbridge, Albert, *University Tutorial Classes. A Study in the Development of Higher Education among Working Men and Women* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1913)

Solly, Henry Rev., *Working Men's Clubs and Alcoholic Drinks: Is the Prohibitory Policy Necessary or Expedient?* (London: Samuel Palmer, 1872)

Solly, Henry, *Working Men: A Glance at Some of their Wants, with Reasons and Suggestions for Helping Them to Help Themselves* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1863)

Solly, Henry Rev., *Working Men's Clubs, and Institutes: An Answer to the Question, Why are they Wanted?* (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1865)

Solly, Henry, *Working Men's Social Clubs and Education Institutes* (London: Working Men's Club and Institutes, 1867)

Directories

Kelly's Directory of Northumberland, 1914 (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1914)
University of Leicester Special Collections Online (2020)

><http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4>< [accessed 1 October 2020 to 4 January 2021]

Kelly's Directory of Northumberland 1921 (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1921)

Kelly's Directory of Northumberland 1925 (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1925)

Journals and Pamphlets

Annual Report of the medical officer of health for the year 1906. With summary of reports of district medical officers of health and statistical information (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumberland County Council, 1906)

APA 7th Ed., 'Education. Workers' Education in Great Britain.' *International Labour Review*, 4 (2) (1921), 365-390

Conditions and Advantages. The condition on which Local Societies will be received into membership with the "Working Men's Club and Institute Union," and the advantages to be thereby obtained (London: Bell and Daldy, 1863)

Davies, J. Llewelyn, *The Working Men's College, 1854-1904; records of its history and its work for fifty years* (London: Macmillan, 1904)

Earsdon Urban District Council, *Reports of Taylor Dixon, M.B.B.S, Medical Officer of Health and J.R. MacMillan, Inspector of Nuisances, 1904* (North Shields: W.J. Potts, Printer and Publisher, 1905)

Forster, T.E., ed , *Memoir of the Hartley Colliery Accident and Relief Fund* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid and Company Limited, 1912)

Hodgson, Pratt, *Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Lend a Hand*, 18 (1) (1897). 30-41

Mansbridge, Albert, Hon. M.A. (Oxon.), *An Adventure in Working-Class Education. Being the Story of the Workers Educational Association, 1908-1915* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1920)

Mansbridge, Albert and Robert Halstead, *Co-operation, Trade Unionism, and University Extension* (London: The University Extension Journal, 1903)

Occasional papers of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, on the formation, progress, and results of working-men's clubs, etcetera. Numbers 1 -24 (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 1863-1975)

Peppin, T.S., B.A., *Club-Land of The Toiler. Exemplified by the Workmen's Club and Institute Union* (London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1895)

Rules of the Backworth Club Limited (Newcastle upon Tyne: Co-operative Printing Society, 1908), Mutuels Public Register:

><https://mutuals.fca.org.uk/Search/Search?searchLink=true&page=4&SocietyId=10092&SearchTerm=10092>< [accessed 15 November 2020]

Rules of the New Hartley and District Workmen's Victory Club and Institute Limited (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1919), Mutuels Public Register:

><https://mutuals.fca.org.uk/Search/Search?searchLink=true&page=5&SocietyId=10928&SearchTerm=10928>< [accessed 16 November 2020]

Rules of the Seaton Terrace Club and Institute Limited (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 1904), Mutuels Public Register:

><https://mutuals.fca.org.uk/Search/Search?searchLink=true&page=7&SocietyId=15542&SearchTerm=15542>< [accessed 15 November 2020]

Rules of the Seghill and District Workmen's Club and Institute Limited (London: Working Men's Club and Institute Union Limited, 1919), Mutuels Public Register:

><https://mutuals.fca.org.uk/Search/Search?searchLink=true&page=6&SocietyId=24641&SearchTerm=24641>< [accessed 15 November]

Rules of the Waterford Workmen's Social Club and Institute Limited (Working Men's Club and Institute Union, 1912), Mutuels Public Register:

><https://mutuals.fca.org.uk/Search/Search?searchLink=true&page=8&SocietyId=7044&SearchTerm=7044>< [accessed 16 November 2020]

Wilson, George B., 'A statistical Review of the variations during the last twenty years in the consumption of intoxicants in the United Kingdo and in the convictions

for offences connected with intoxication, with a discussion of the causes to which these variations may be ascribed,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 75 (2) (1912), 183-247

Workers Educational Association, Oxford, and Working-Class Education. Being the Report of a Joint Committee of University and Working-Class Representatives on the Relation of the University to the Higher Education of Work People (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908)

School Records

Earsdon. Holywell Council School Admission Register 1907 to 1919.

National School Admission Registers and Logbooks 1870 to 1914 (2020)

><https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-Records/national-school-admission-registers-and-log-books-1870-1914>< [accessed 10 November 2020]

Secondary Sources

Articles and Monographs

Abercrombie, Nicholas, and Stephen Hill, 'Paternalism and Patronage,' *The British Journal of Sociology*, 27 (4) (1976), 413-429

Ahearne, Jeremy, 'Cultural policy explicit and implicit: a distinction and some uses,' *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15 (2) (2009), 141-153

Aldrich, Richard, Review of Brian Simon, *The search for enlightenment. The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) in *History of Education Quarterly*, 35 (1), 146-148

Brooks, Ron, 'Rochdale, Wrexham and the University Tutorial Class Movement in North-West Wales,' *Welsh History Review*, 20 (1) (2000), 62-88

Bythell, Duncan, Review of Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community: The Social Economy of Leisure in North-East England* (London: Routledge, 2006) in *The English Historical Review*, 121 (494) (2006), 1551-1552

Cherrington, Ruth, '"We are not drinking dens!": Working men's clubs and the struggle for respectability, 1862-1920s', *Brewery History Society*, 153 (2013), 11-20

Cherrington, Ruth Louise, 'The development of working men's clubs: a case study of implicit cultural policy,' *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15 (2) (2009), 187-199

Colls, Robert, Review of Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community: The Social Economy of Leisure in North-East England* (London: Routledge, 2006) in *Social History*, 32 (1) (2007), 88-90

Duffy, Brendan, 'Late nineteenth century popular conservatism: the work of coalminers on the schoolboards of the north-east,' *History of Education*, 22 (1) (1998), 29-38

English, Jim, 'Empire Day in Britain, 1904-1958', *The Historical Journal*, 49 (1) (2006), 247-276

Goldman, Lawrence, 'Education as Politics: University Adult Education in England since 1870', *Oxford Review of Education- Political Education*, 25 (1-2) (1999), 89-101

Goldman, Lawrence, 'Intellectuals and the English working class 1870-1945: the case of adult education', *History of Education*, 29 (4) (2000), 281-300

Hopkins, Eric, 'Working Hours and Conditions during the Industrial Revolution: A Re-Appraisal,' *Economic History Review*, 35 (1) (1982), 52-66

Huggins, Mike, 'Roundtable. Exploring the Backstage of Victorian Respectability,' *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (1), 81-88

Jones, Stephens G., 'Labour, Society and the Drink Question in Britain, 1918-1938', *The Historical Journal*, 30 (1) (1987), 105-122

Klein, Hans R., Review of Brian Simon, *The search for enlightenment. The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) in *British Journal of Educational Studies* 41 (2) (1993), 185-187

Kumbhat, Pushpa, 'The experience of adult education: Workers' Educational Association tutorial class logbooks as sources,' *History of Education*, 50 (2) (2021), 257-278

McCormick, B., and J.E. Williams, 'The Miners and the Eight-Hour Day, 1863-1910', *The Economic History Review*, 12 (2) (1959), 222-238

Metcalf, Alan, 'Football in the mining communities of east Northumberland, 1882-1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5 (3) (1988), 269-291

Metcalf, A., 'Organised Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889', *Victorian Studies* .25 (4) (1982), 469-495

Metcalf, Alan, 'Sport and space: a case-study of the growth of recreational facilities in East Northumberland, 1850-1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (3) (1990), 348-364

Munro, J.E.C., 'The Probable Effects of an Eight Hour Day on the Production of Coal and the Wages of Miners,' *The Economic Journal* 1 (2) (1891), 241-266

Olsen, Gerald Wayne, 'From Parish to Palace: Working-Class Influences on Anglican Temperance Movements, 1835-1914', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (2) (1989), 239-252

Olsen, Gerald Wayne, "'Physician heal-thyself": drink, temperance and the medical question in the Victorian and Edwardian Church of England, 1830-1914', *Addiction*, 89 (1994), 1167-1176

Phillips, Ann, and Tim Putnam, 'Education for Emancipation: The Movement for Independent Working Class Education, 1908-1928', *Capital and Class* 4 (1) (1980), 18-42

Price, Richard, Review of John Taylor, *From Self-Help to Glamour: The Working Man's Club, 1860-1872* (Oxford: Ruskin College History Workshop Pamphlets, 1972,) in *Victorian Studies*, 20 (1) (1976), 69-74

Price, Richard N., 'The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology,' *Victorian Studies*, 15 (2) (1971), 117-147

Purdue, A.W., Review of Alan Metcalfe, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community. The Social Economy of Leisure in North-East England, 1820-1914* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006) in *Northern History* XLIV (2) (2007), 232-234

Quinney, Valerie, 'Workers' Education: A Confrontation at Ruskin College,' *American Journal of Education* 92 (1) (1983), 52-78

Radcliffe, Christopher, 'Mutual improvement societies and the forging of working-class political consciousness in nineteenth-century England,' *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 19 (2) (1997), 141-155

Rose, Jonathon, 'The Workers in the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1950', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 21 (4) (1989), 591-608

Shiman, Lilian Lewis, 'The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working-Class Children,' *Victorian Studies* 17 (1) (1973), 49-74

Stephens, Michael D., Review of Brian Simon, *The search for enlightenment. The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) in *British Journal of Educational* 38 (3) (1990), 293-295

Todd, Nigel, 'The Highway. Turbulent Times: 1918-1928. Before the Pitmen Painters: Chester Armstrong's Ashington. Educational and Social Campaigning Within the Workers Educational Association and affiliated organisations in the Northeast, 1918-1928

Todd, Nigel, 'Workers' Education: centenary reflections,' *Northeast History Journal of the Northeast Labour History Society* 50 (2019), 137-141

Waugh, Colin, '100 years on from the Ruskin strike... 'PLEBS': The Lost Legacy of Independent Working-Class Education', *Post-16 Educator occasional publication* (Sheffield: Post-16 Educator, 2009), pp.1-28

Woodin, Tom, Review of Jonathon Brown, *The Right to Learn. The WEA in the North of England 1910-2010* (London: WEA, 2010) in *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 44 (4) (2012), 394-396

Woodin, Tom, 'Working-class Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-century Britain,' *History of Education* 36 (4-5) (2007), 483-496

Yeomans, Henry, 'What Did the British Temperance Movement Accomplish? Attitudes to Alcohol, the Law and Moral Regulation,' *Sociology*, 45 (2011) 45 (1), 38-53

Books

Bates, Denise, *Historical Research Using British Newspapers* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Limited, 2016)

Bailey, P., *Leisure and Class in Victorian England. Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)

Beaven, Brad, *Leisure, citizenship, and working-class men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

Bourne, Joanna, *Working Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Cherrington, Ruth, *Not Just Beer and Bingo! A Social History of Working Men's Clubs* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012)

Cole, G.D.H., *A Short History of the British Working- Class Movement 1789-1947* (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1948)

Cole, G.D.H., *The British Co-operative Movement in a Socialist Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1951)

Colls, Robert, *The Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987)

Craik, William W, *The Central Labour College, 1909-29. A Chapter in the History of Adult Working-class Education* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1964)

Cunningham, H., 'Leisure and Culture' in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1759-1950*, ed. by F Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.279-340

Cunningham, Hugh, *Time, Work and Leisure. Life Changes in England since 1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014)

Cunningham, Hugh, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780-1880* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)

Dingle, A.E., *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England. The United Kingdom Alliance 1872-1895* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016)

Evans, Eric J., *The Shaping of Modern Britain. Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780- 1914* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2011; repr. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013)

Fieldhouse, Roger, 'The 1908 Report: Antidote to Class Struggle', in *Oxford and Working-Class Education*, ed. by Sylvia Harrop (Loughborough: EchoPress Ltd, 1987), pp. 30-47

Frow, Edmund and Ruth Frow, 'The Spark of Independent Working-Class Education IN Lancashire, 1908-1930', ed. by Brian Simon (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 1992), pp. 71-104

Fynes, Richard, *The Miners of Northumberland, and Durham. A History of their Social and Political Progress* (Blyth: John Robinson jun., 1873)

Hands, Thora, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard* (Gewerbestrasse, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), e-book (<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92964-4>)

Hayler, H.C. Mark, *The Vision of a Century, 1853-1953. The United Kingdom Alliance in Historical Retrospect* (London: The United Kingdom Alliance, 1953)

Hopkins, Eric, *Working-Class Self-Help in Nineteenth Century England. Responses to Industrialisation* (London: UCL Press, 1995; reprinted Routledge, 2017)

Hudson, Pat, *The Industrial Revolution* (London: Arnold, 1992;repr. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018)

Jackson, Dan, *The Northumbrians. Northeast England and Its People, A New History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2019)

Jennings, Bernard, 'The Making of the Oxford Report,' in *Oxford and Working-Class Education*, ed. by Sylvia Harrop (Loughborough: EchoPress Ltd, 1987), pp. 11-29

Jennings, Bernard, 'The WEA and the Impact of the Twentieth-Century World,' in *The Right to Learn. The WEA in the North of England 1910-2010*, ed. by Jonathon Brown (London: WEA, 2010), pp. 31-35

Jones, Gareth Stedman, *Languages of Class. Studies in English Working-Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; reprinted 1985, 1987, 1989, 1993 and 1996)

Kidd, Matthew, *The renewal of radicalism. Politics, identity, and ideology in England, 1867-1924* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020)

King, Liz, *The People's History. Seghill Rings and Legends* (Seaham: The People's History Ltd, 2002)

Lees, Lynn Hollen, *The Solidarities of Strangers. The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Metcalf, Alan, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community. The Social Economy of Leisure in Northeast England, 1820-1914* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Middlemiss, Joan, *Echoes of the Past: Holywell, Seaton Sluice, Seaton Delaval, Whitley Bay* (Whitley Bay: Middlemiss, 1992)

Mitchelson, Robert, *Backworth Remembered* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Summerhill Books, 2014)

Perkin, Harold, *The Origins of Modern English Society*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002)

Pollins, Harold, *The History of Ruskin College* (Oxford: Ruskin College Library, 1984)

Price, Richard, *Studies in Social History. An Imperial War and the British Working Class* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1972)

Roberts, Ian, 'The Northern District of the WEA from 1910-2010- an Overview', in *The Right to Learn. The WEA in the North of England 1910-2010*, ed. by Jonathon Brown (London: WEA, 2010), pp. 31-35 pp. 24-30

Royle, Edward, *Modern Britain. A Social History 1750-2011*, 3rd edn (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012; repr. 2014, 2016, 2018)

Simon, Brian, *Studies in the History of Education. Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1965)

Simon, Brian, 'The Struggle for Hegemony, 1920-1926', in *The Search for Enlightenment. The Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Brian Simon (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 1992), pp. 15-70

Singer, Peter, *Marx: A Very Short Introduction, 2nd edn* (Oxford University Press, 2018)

Smith, Ken and Jean, *The Great Northern Miners* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2008)

Smith, Ken and Jean, *Splendour of the Gala* (Hexham: Ergo Press, 2009)

Styler, W.E., 'The Report in Retrospect,' in *Oxford and Working-Class Education*, ed. by Sylvia Harrop (Loughborough: Echo Press Ltd, 1987), pp. 48-78

Tanner, Ruth, 'The WEA and the Impact of the Twentieth-Century World,' in *The Right to Learn. The WEA in the North of England 1910-2010*, ed. by Jonathon Brown (London: WEA, 2010), pp. 31-35

Thompson, E.P., *The making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Classics, 2013)

Todd, Nigel, 'A Working-Class Hero is Something to Be: The Origins of the Workers Educational Association in the North-East to 1920', in *The Right to Learn. The WEA in the North of England 1910-2010*, ed. by Jonathon Brown (London: WEA, 2010), pp. 6-23

Tremlett, George, *Clubmen. The History of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union* (London: Secker and Warburg Limited, 1987)

Turnbull, Les, *Coals from Newcastle. An Introduction to the Northumberland and Durham Coalfield* (Oxford: Chapman Research Publishing, 2009)

Turnbull, Robert, *Left for the rising sun: Right for Swan Hunter. The Plebs League in the northeast of England 1908/1926* (Nottingham: Five Leaves Publications, 2014)

Unpublishes Theses

Ashplant, A.G., 'The Working Men's Cub and Institute Union and the Independent Labour Party: Working Class Organisation, Politics and Culture c. 1880-1914' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Sussex, 1983)

Cherrington, Ruth, A Telephone discussion regarding the working men's clubs of the early twentieth century, December 16th 2020

Dunn, James Clifford, 'A force to be reckoned with? The Temperance Movements and the "Drink Question," 1895-1933' (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Central Lancashire, 1999)

Gordon, John Edward, 'Moral Improvement and Education in the Working Men's Clubs of the Seaton Delaval District between 1902 and 1922' (Dissertation Proposal, Part 1 History Masters, Open University, 2021)

Marlow, Lawrence B. Sc. (Soc.), MA, 'The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: A Study of the Evolution of a Working-Class Institution' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Warwick, 1980)

Vowles, Michael Harry B. Cc. (Soc.), 'Aspects of the English Working Class Viewed from the Working Men's Club' (Unpublished MPhil Thesis, The Open University, 1982)

Online Resources

British Association for Local History (2021)

><https://www.balh.org.uk/members/login>< [accessed 20 May 2021]

Internet Archives (2020)

><https://archive.org>< [Accessed 1 October 2020 to 4 January 2021]

ClubHistorians (2021)

>www.clubhistorians.co.uk< [Accessed 22 May 2021]

Durham Mining Museum (2021)

>www.dmm.org.uk/mindex.htm> [accessed 18 April 2021]

JSTOR (2020)

><https://www-jstor-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/>< [accessed 1 October to 4 January 2021]

Justis One

><https://app-justis-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/>< [accessed 30 November 2020]

Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle Upon Tyne (2021)

><https://www.litandphil.org.uk/>< [accessed 22 May 2021]

My Primitive Methodists: Sharing stories, photos, memories, and research (2014)

><https://www.myprimitivemethodists.org.uk>< [accessed 28 August 2020]

Northumberland Archives (2021)

<https://www.northumberlandarchives.com>< [accessed 20 May 2021]

Tyne and Wear Archives (2021)

><https://twarchives.org.uk>< [accessed 20 May 2021]

Waugh, Colin, 'Rediscovering Independent Working Class Education'

Ragged University (2014)

><https://www.raggeduniversity.co.uk/2014/05/20/rediscovering-independent-working-class-education-colin-waugh/#more-9945>< [accessed 20 May 2021]

Working Class Movement Library (2021)

><https://www.wcml.org.uk>< [accessed 18 March 2021]

