

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIAL DECLINE:  
A CASE-STUDY OF AN EAST CLEVELAND MINING COMMUNITY

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

Steven Richard Cornish, B.A. (Hons) Dunelm, M.A. Brown University

March, 1984

CONTENTS	Page
Summary . . . . .	1
Acknowledgements . . . . .	111
CHAPTER ONE: <u>Introduction</u> . . . . .	1
CHAPTER TWO: <u>The Theoretical Context</u> . . . . .	16
1) The Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Social Change . . . . .	16
ii) Power and Powerlessness: Theoretical Issues . . . . .	25
CHAPTER THREE: <u>Class, Consciousness and Ideology</u> . . . . .	37
1) A Review of Marxist Approaches . . . . .	37
ii) Contemporary Approaches and Their Application . . . . .	45
CHAPTER FOUR: <u>Work, Community and Power in an East Cleveland Mining Village: Context and Structure</u> . . . . .	57
1) Historical and Geographical Context:	
Industrialisation and Regional Development . . . . .	57
ii) Lingdale's Development: The Mine and the Community . . . . .	69
iii) The Social and Institutional Structure of the Community . . . . .	91
CHAPTER FIVE: <u>Personal Accounts of Change in the Mine and the Community</u> . . . . .	116
1) The Miners: Work and Attitudes . . . . .	117
ii) The Managers and Their Staff . . . . .	130
iii) The Petite-Bourgeoisie . . . . .	143
iv) The Labour Aristocracy . . . . .	156
v) The Commuting Worker . . . . .	163
CHAPTER SIX: <u>The Labour Process, Paternalism and Power in an East Cleveland Mining Village</u> . . . . .	169
1) Power, Paternalism and the Local Labour Market . . . . .	169
ii) The Labour Process, Unions and Industrial Relations . . . . .	182
CHAPTER SEVEN: <u>Politics, Decline and Consciousness in an East Cleveland Mining Village</u> . . . . .	209
1) The Petite-Bourgeoisie in the Community . . . . .	209
ii) Social Change: Industrial Decline and Consciousness . . . . .	235
CHAPTER EIGHT: <u>Conclusion</u> . . . . .	243
APPENDICES: A) Problems and Methods of Data Collection . . . . .	255
B) A Guide to Topics Covered in the Extended Interviews . . . . .	284
C) Documentary Sources Consulted . . . . .	287
D) Leases for the Lingdale Mine . . . . .	288
E) A Glossary of Mining Terms . . . . .	289
F) Miner's Wages and Deductions . . . . .	291
G) Dates of Closing, Reopening and Abandonment of Mines . . . . .	293
TABLES: I. Respondents Interviewed: A Summary of Basic Data . . . . .	295
II. Major Building Phases in Lingdale . . . . .	297
III. Output of Ironstone: All Cleveland Mines (1854-1964) . . . . .	298
IV. Output of Ironstone: Lingdale Mine (1877-1962) . . . . .	300
V. 1881 Census: Lingdale - Birthplace of Population . . . . .	301
VI. Estimates of Union Membership: Lingdale Lodge . . . . .	302
VII. General Election Results, Cleveland Constituency (1918-1935) . . . . .	303
VIII. Population Totals, Lingdale 1861-1981 . . . . .	304
DIAGRAMS: I. Graph showing output of Lingdale Mine compared to total output of all Cleveland Mines (1864-1964) . . . . .	305
II. Representation of Lingdale's Social and Institutional Structure . . . . .	306
III. Inventory of Lingdale's Social/Institutional Structure . . . . .	253
MAPS: A) Location of the Study Area . . . . .	307
B) East Cleveland c. 1945 . . . . .	308
C) Lingdale c. 1898 . . . . .	309
D) Lingdale 1984 . . . . .	310
PLATES: . . . . .	311
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	320

## Summary

Summary of Thesis submitted for Ph.D. degree

by Steven Richard Cornish

on

The Social Consequences of Industrial Decline: A Case Study  
of an East Cleveland Mining Community

This thesis is based on research into the factors determining the development of consciousness among the population of the East Cleveland mining community of Lingdale, which has experienced a steady decline in its dominant industry of ironstone mining from the founding of the community in 1872 to the closure of the mine in 1962.

Theoretical contributions on power, consciousness and ideology are reviewed and discussed. Aspects of these contributions are then applied to the analysis of the case-study material. An examination of contemporary work on spatial and temporal factors in sociological theory is undertaken as part of an attempt to explicate the relationship between agency and structure.

Data are derived from both documentary sources and extended interviews with elderly residents of Lingdale. Problems associated with such a methodology are discussed. These data sources are employed to describe the social and institutional development of the mining community and its mine. In examining the community the influence of the mineowners, landlords and the petite-bourgeoisie, who are depicted as agents of these elites, is analysed. The creation and maintenance of a paternalistic ideology and control of the significant features of the social and institutional life of the community produced a quiescent consciousness amongst a working class who experienced economic exploitation in the context of a declining

industry. This lack of a class-consciousness provides a contrast to studies of coal-mining communities in Britain and challenges the stereotype of militancy among mining communities.

In defining the process by which powerlessness is created the thesis emphasises the isolation of the community from other sectors of the working class, the role of the petite-bourgeoisie as agents for a paternalistic ideology and the failure of both the union and political institutions to act as a vehicle for class consciousness.



## Acknowledgements

The research on which this dissertation is based was carried out between 1981 and 1983 and I would like to thank those who assisted me in seeing it through to its completion.

Dr. Ivar Oxaal of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Hull acted as my thesis supervisor and his patient encouragement and incisive comments on the thesis are gratefully acknowledged.

Comments from those who attended staff seminars at the Universities of Hull and Durham, and Teesside Polytechnic, where aspects of this research were presented, proved invaluable in shaping my ideas on the informal economy and on power. A paper based on this research was also given at the British Sociological Association's annual conference in 1983 at Cardiff, and again I am grateful to those who commented on that paper.

Research of this kind would of course be impossible without the willing cooperation of those interviewed. It would be invidious to single out individuals; I would simply like to thank all those who gave up their time to talk to me both within Lingdale and without. The welcome was warm and their interest in their community genuine; they offered documents and photographs for my use and were not adverse to those inevitable return visits.

The archivists of both Cleveland County and the British Steel Corporation patiently dealt with my persistent requests for documentation on Lingdale, the mine, union and mining companies. Langbaugh Borough Council generously gave me access to housing documentation.

Tony Nicholson's detailed knowledge of ironstone miners has provided much stimulation for my own research and I am grateful for his suggestions and guidance with respect to data sources.

The Cleveland Education Committee and Teesside Polytechnic granted me sabbatical leave to conclude the research (1981-1982). I am grateful to them and to my colleagues in the Department of Administrative and Social Studies for their encouragement and support. Sue Greenwood, the Departmental Administrator, initiated me into the wonders of word processing and thus speeded the production of the text as well as providing me with an invaluable tool for future work; my thanks go to her.

Intellectual encouragement and practical advice has been consistently provided by Mardy Cornish whose editorial and anthropological expertise has identified the awkward passages in my writing. She also typed the thesis whilst coping with motherhood, full-time employment and domestic chores. The birth of Tom in the middle of this research was a further incentive. Michael and Tom will come to realize that the thesis is finished when my parental duties are fully resumed.

None of the above is responsible for any of the errors of fact, judgement or opinions that may be found in this thesis; these are mine and mine alone.

## Chapter One: Introduction

In seeking to understand the development of consciousness in a single community this dissertation extracts and utilises those concepts from a marxist sociology and those from an action frame of reference which have, when applied to a society, proved to be extremely powerful explanatory models. My endeavour is to apply these theoretical notions in the narrower arena of a single occupational community as an aid, initially, to the analysis of that community's ideology and consciousness. In this application my intention is that the development of a sociological theorising about consciousness, and the factors determining its form and context, will be enhanced. This can, I believe, only be achieved effectively by a synthesis of the theoretical contributions from both the marxist and action-theory perspectives with the broader contextual theoretical issues raised by contemporary theorists with respect to spatial and temporal dimensions in sociological analysis.

The empirical focus of this dissertation is a community study of an occupational community, Lingdale, in the eastern part of the County of Cleveland, which has experienced a process of decline in its dominant industry of ironstone mining.

The dissertation shares therefore a number of concerns that have stimulated the interest of sociologists since the inception of the subject.

Firstly, there is the concern with the problems of social transition as an element of the much broader enterprise of understanding the puzzle of human agency and its attendant structures (Giddens 1979, Abrams 1982). Empirically this demands close analysis of the structure of the community across time and the interrelationship of the structure, in its various transformations, with human action. To attempt to explain every change in

the community structure and how this has both been determined by, and in turn has determined, the activities of the population would be an awesome, if not impossible, task. Therefore attention has been concentrated on what is seen as the major social transition in the community, a decline in the centrality of the community's *raison d'être*, ironstone mining and its eventual demise with the attendant effects on the institutional structure of the community, and on the consciousness and ideology of the population.

One response to this social transition is singled out for particular attention, essentially because of its initial appearance of uniqueness in the context of the constructed, occupational community of the miner. That response is quiescence, powerlessness, an almost total lack of industrial, political or class action. In short, the dissertation attempts to explain the development and maintenance of a particular kind of consciousness in the population of the case-study community .

The concentration on the creation and moulding of powerlessness as the key relationship with dominant elements in the community structure and in the society beyond ensures the dissertation shares a common aim with those recent attempts to integrate the analysis of power with the more orthodox attempts to explain the interplay of agency and structure (see e.g. Giddens 1979, Abrams 1982). Giddens states his position thus:

....the notion of human action logically implies that of power, understood as transformative capacity; 'action' only exists when an agent has the capability of intervening, or refraining from intervening, in a series of events so as to be able to influence their course. The introduction of a theory of action into sociology thus entails regarding power as just as essential and integral to social interaction as conventions are. But the same considerations which apply to the theory of agency generally also apply to power; we have to relate power as a resource drawn upon by agents in the production and reproduction of interaction to the structural characteristics of society (Giddens 1979:256-7).

The analysis and explanation in the dissertation approaches the integration of power into the study of the community in the above way. It

must be recognised at this stage however that Giddens, in common with most contributors to the debate on modern sociological analysis, expresses himself exclusively in terms of societal units of analysis. The complexity of the analysis at this level renders it only possible with a not inconsiderable degree of generalisation. Such analysis may be valuable in presenting a large theoretical canvas with space for empirical 'in-filling' but it lacks, as has been long recognised in sociology, much of the material content that ties sociological research to actual individuals, their behaviour and their conceptualisation of their social world.

In endeavouring to include, in the explanation involved in this dissertation, material of this type, and to provide a result that can be integrated into general sociological theory, I have used the community case-study as a means to this end. In doing so I felt that the problems of the individual's relationship to society, consciousness and being, action and structure could be dealt with using the voices of everyday life. My attempt has also been to answer a basic query about the consciousness of this population, inspired essentially by my interest in marxist sociology. What were the reasons for the workers in this community adopting such a strikingly quiescent stance in the face of economic exploitation and decline? The explanation entailed in the dissertation is seen as a response to this query. The dissertation seeks to relate these theoretical concerns and to make them empirically intelligible through the observations and events that have been recorded by the researcher, information that has been given by those interviewed and the comments and views of others who have had contact with the community. This is not, nor can it be, a complete or total explanation in that it is largely a study of the past which, as Weber reminds us, will be constructed in terms of significance for the present.

In order to analyse social change of the kind described above it is necessary to a large extent to depend on historical data. The dissertation is therefore seen as an example of 'historical sociology', and C. Wright Mills' maxim that " All sociology worthy of the name is historical sociology" (1970:162) is taken much to heart. There is little need to prolong the "weary debate" (C.Wright Mills), "the dialogue of the deaf" (Braudel) about the relationship between sociology and history; what is of concern is a clear statement about the use and status of historical data in sociological research.

In using historical data the concern is not simply with providing the 'historical background' to the problem being researched or in illustrating that problem by means of a straightforward historical narrative. Such are largely the approaches of the historian whose perspective, as Abrams points out, involves " a rhetoric of close presentation " (1982:194) with the explanation residing in the " dense texture of the detail " (*ibid*). The sociologist is also concerned with a similarly close presentation of data selected from the mass of detail available. But the criteria for selection and the perspective involved lead towards an explanation "in terms of the elegant patterning of connections seen from a distance" (*ibid*). The key notion here is one of process; the sociologist attempts to explain a process or processes occurring in time. In general terms the major processes are the shaping of action by structure and the transforming of structure by action. Giddens refers to this interplay as "structuration" (1979:69) and elaborates a complex formal theory which constantly seeks to firmly establish this interplay as a process in time. In a similar, but less formal vein, Abrams (1982) argues for a "problematic of structuring" which he sees as a basic theme throughout the human sciences, especially history. Thus, for Abrams, the debate on the relationship of history and sociology is

misconceived, because they are the same thing. Both disciplines seek to understand human agency in terms of a process of social structuring which is a chronological process.

The problem of agency is the problem of finding a way of accounting for human experience which recognises simultaneously and in equal measure that history and society are made by constant and more or less purposeful individual action and that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society. How do we, as active subjects make a world of objects which then, as it were, become subjects making us objects ? It is the problem of individual and society, consciousness and being, action and structure; a problem to which the voices of everyday life speak as loudly as those of scholars (Abrams 1982:xiii-xiv).

All types of sociology, as Dawe (1979) has forcefully demonstrated, emphasise this duality of the social world, a world which is constructed by human social action but yet constrains that action. The constraint is brought about by humanly constructed structures of power and domination. The constraint is located in the social action of social actors, both those who have power and those who do not.

The dissertation analyses one example of the creation of social structure that constrains, and how those constrained interact with such structures, their activity changing and adapting the structure where possible but leaving essentially untouched those elements which created the constraint. To express this less abstractly, in terms of the empirical material presented in the dissertation, involves presenting a basic outline of the case material. The development of the community around the mine brought together various groups which not only built the physical, tangible structure of the community but also interacted to mould the social structure of the community. This structure has changed over time in response to the changing nature of social action in the community, just as social action has itself responded to the changed structure. It is crucial here to emphasise that although the community is the focus of the research

it is neither desirable nor possible to stay solely within the community's boundaries and provide a satisfactory explanation of social changes in structure and action. Major constraints are imposed by elements, human and non-human, external to the community. The human elements are perhaps more easily identified and assessed in terms of their tightening and loosening of constraints on the community: in terms in fact of their use of power. The discussion of the creation of the physical and social structure of the community is to be found in chapter four. Chapters six and seven are primarily concerned with social action internal to the community and the external activities that are seen to have constraining outcomes in terms of both structure and action.

The non-human elements of constraint are time and space, both of which are discussed in chapter two where a more detailed discussion of the theoretical points raised by the empirical content is provided. It is sufficient to say at this juncture that reference has already been made to processes occurring in time and the need for a greater awareness of the mutability of structure across time. In researching the ironstone mining community it is difficult to avoid the notion that social action is very largely a product of what previous experience has made possible and meaningful for the population.

The convergence of sociology and geography has provided a keener appreciation of the importance of spatial factors in explaining social action (see e.g. Urry 1981b, 1983; Cooke 1983; Carney et al. 1980; Gregory and Urry - forthcoming). Urry (1981b) in particular has pointed to the limitations of any approach that that ignores the significance of spatial factors as determinants of class action. Such factors include the local pattern of income, occupational and class mobility and the organisation of the local labour market, its sectoral, occupational and gender changes, and



the dominant forms of class struggle (Urry 1981b:463). In considering the commodification of space, attention can be profitably focussed on the ways in which historically some localities become peripheral and enmeshed in dependency relationships.

The intertwining of historical experience and spatial location with social action tends to produce quite specific structural outcomes but this should be recognised as part of the challenge presented by sociological research. The delimiting of the varying interactions between structure and action under the range of conditions found in industrial society assist the process of refutation and validation of theories produced to account for such interactions. The empirical work, suitably attuned to the problems presented by contemporary sociological theory, is undoubtedly as crucial as the theory itself. Given the specificity of empirical work of the nature of that presented in this dissertation it should be emphasised that the community analysed is not seen as being in anyway typical of either working-class occupational communities, mining communities or even East Cleveland mining communities.

The case-study provides a valuable comparative dimension to both the work on those mining communities which have displayed more militant responses (e.g. MacIntyre 1980; Dennis et al. 1956; Allen 1981) and to Gaventa (1980) who has studied powerlessness among miners in the Appalachian coalfields of America. Gaventa in particular provided a stimulus for this research not only because of the historical links between the development of the mining area of the Clear Fork Valley with its adjacent city of Middlesbro, Kentucky (named after, and in anticipation of imitating, Middlesbrough, England) but also because his approach in concentrating primarily on the work in, and structure of, the mining industry did not sufficiently analyse the fine texture and interplay of the

community structure in forming ideology and consciousness.

Lingdale, the case-study community, in common with other British mining communities, had the potential for militant industrial action but, as this study shows, the realisation of that potential was contingent on the moulding of consciousness through both the experience of work and life outside work. I would contend that in both historical and sociological studies hitherto, this latter aspect has been largely neglected. The marxist emphasis on the central importance of the work experience leads to this narrower focus. Such an emphasis is useful as a point of departure, and, as in this study, work is seen to generate a class system and social inequality but these do not develop solely within the context of work. An adequate explanation of class structure and ideology must, as O'Neill (1982) indicates, take full account of the workers' community, its structure and the way it presents or restricts opportunities for the development of consciousness through political action, social participation and leadership.

Thus, in comparing Lingdale to its neighbouring communities in East Cleveland it is evident that although there are strong bonds that unite them as a 'type' (the ironstone mining community) there are also differences with respect to the representation and strengths of the classes within these communities. For example, the union lodge was considerably more influential at North Skelton (than Lingdale) where the mine was very productive, profitable and therefore relatively rarely closed.

The value of the research does not lie therefore in the generalisability of the results to other superficially similar communities; it rests on the explanation provided of the process, over time, by which through the mutuality of action and structure bounded by the constraints of power operating both from within and from without the community, the

present structures and actions have come into being. Points of similarity with other populations living under similar constraints will be apparent but the outcomes will never be precisely the same. Such comparisons will be most constructive at the level of comparing the process by which power constrains action into defined channels, produces outcomes in terms of structure and maintains broad limits on the development of both structure and action.

The dissertation draws on recent discussion reviewing and refining the sociology of power (Lukes 1974, Newby et al. 1978, Saunders 1979, Gaventa 1980, Benton 1981, Hindess 1982). These authors have usefully categorised the types of approaches taken by the various social scientists and have catalogued the theoretical and methodological limitations of these approaches. In general these criticisms show that while conceptualisation of the nature of power has been refined and enlarged, especially in recent writing, it is still an area that generates continuous debate, or as Lukes says, is "essentially contested" (1977:9). For the purposes of this dissertation the discussion in chapter two focuses largely on the impact of power on the relatively powerless and extracts from the authorities listed above material considered of importance in developing this perspective. In chapter three the theoretical treatment of class, consciousness and ideology is considered with particular reference to marxist sociology and the literature on working-class militancy. The application of the theory considered in chapters two and three to the empirical material presented in chapter four, is undertaken in chapters six and seven.

The focus on powerlessness cannot exclude the powerful and their actions. As Newby (1977) argues, when discussing deferential farmworkers, it is vital to examine the *totality* of the structure rather than just to take the view from below. The totality also involves the individual in the

community as well as at work; the relationships developed in these contexts are, particularly in occupational communities, central to understanding the creation and maintenance of powerlessness.

My central concern with processes occurring across time steers the methodological focus of the dissertation towards the use of the retrospective in-depth interview, life-history or oral history approach. Here once more the sociologist and the historian meet face to face; although the routes to this meeting may reflect the differing perspectives already referred to, the meeting often culminates in agreement over the key problematic being that of structuring. In contrast to the large-scale survey involving door-step interviews and pre-determined questionnaires, the life-history interview seeks to avoid, or at least minimise, the imposition of the researcher's views on the respondents.

The life history method at least makes us confront the violence that can be done to other people's consciousness by imposing our own terms on it; and it also allows us a partial solution to this problem, through the juxtaposition of our informants' stories with our own interpretations, so that evidence can still be read in their way as well as ours, when the work is written up (Thompson 1981:293).

The life histories of respondents are based on their social experience and in varying degrees provide a coherent interpretation of their lives in the community. These life histories are not, of course, unproblematic and there is a range of issues to be considered in assessing the validity of the evidence gathered in this way. The life history approach and these issues, as used in this dissertation, are considered in Appendix A, and examples of this material are provided in chapter five.

Although there is an emphasis placed on the life history material this is viewed as being only one of a number of sources of information on the community and those individuals and organisations that have importance in

shaping its structure. The conclusions reached do not rest solely on oral evidence as they are supplemented by research of documentary material and personal observation. These other sources act to check on the accuracy of some parts of the oral evidence. Such checking is also carried out by a comparison of the oral testimony of all respondents in the study. In summary, this approach to the evidence is 'triangulation': using more than one source and method to gain different perspectives on the same phenomenon.

The simple rationale for using a life-history approach was that it appeared the only means of not only introducing the dimension of time into the inquiry but also of getting some grasp of the ideology and consciousness held within the community about action over the period of the respondents' lifetimes. The problem of the creation of consciousness and ideology, which has been a fundamental concern of sociologists, is rooted in the work of Marx and Durkheim. The more recent discussions of this issue (e.g. Lockwood 1966, Parkin 1971, Newby 1977, Giddens 1979) have largely concerned themselves with the problem of how the transmission of legitimating beliefs and values from dominant to subordinate groups occurs and how pervasive and effective this process is. This approach is followed in this dissertation after an examination of the theoretical issues surrounding the use of, and research into, ideology and consciousness (chapter three).

One problem to be faced in the life history material presented in the dissertation is how to interpret statements about everyday life in the community and at work in terms of consciousness and ideology. The oral evidence does not neatly conform to the sociologists' models of social stratification or class conflict. The oral evidence in this research conforms with the material gathered by Newby (1977) from farmworkers in

that seldom is there a single unified and coherent model of society articulated. Images of society, and of the individual's place in it, are contradictory and ambivalent if they are produced at all. This in itself maybe seen as related to the effect of power in that subordinate groups are seldom (perhaps only when interviewed by sociologists) requested to articulate their view of their social world, let alone attempt to rationalise any contradictions or strains in such a view. Indeed, no strains or contradictions may be recognised. This is not to argue that the dominant groups in society have had a complete victory through the efficiency of the structures that transmit dominant values; rather it is to agree with Newby's position that subordinate groups can accept their position without morally endorsing the structures or values that create such acceptance (Newby 1977). A situation of this type arises because of the fragmentary nature of value systems (Parkin 1971) and their effects even in the most peripheral and isolated communities in industrial society. Thus the individual, within certain bounds, is free to pick and choose ideas and values from which an image of the social world is constructed. In the context of rural East Anglia Newby et al. describe the effect of this choice within parameters set by the powerful actors in the locality.

....the imposition of ruling class ideas and values, even in the most encapsulated of communities and the most paternalistic of farms, is never more than patchy, but nevertheless that such ideological manipulation as does occur is *sufficient* in most cases to counter or neutralise the effects on class imagery and class consciousness of the everyday experience of material deprivation on the part of most rural worker (Newby et al. 1978:279). ,

It is perhaps easier to understand the farmworkers' acceptance of their position quite simply on the level of the tremendous difficulties in taking any collective action that might promote class consciousness. Thus it is that the remarkable finding of the research on farmworkers, the "deferential workers", is that they are not notably deferential (Newby

1977). The problem raised by the research presented here is, in one sense the converse of the isolated rural worker's lack of deference. Given the social structure, the means of collective action that have in other mining communities led to the creation and maintenance of an ideology that promoted class action, why in the case of East Cleveland did this not occur? By what process, involving which social actors, was a quiescent ideology, an ideology that retarded the growth of class consciousness, produced?

In summarising the concerns of this dissertation it is perhaps clearer to return to the empirical focus of the case material. In studying the single community of Lingdale in East Cleveland and seeking to understand the various social transformations it has undergone, it is impossible to overplay the significance of the slow decline of its dominant industry. The effects of this industrial decline are examined in terms of both social structure and social action, and the interrelationship of these together. Encompassing and permeating this social change are power relationships which have effects on the emergence of consciousness and ideology in the population. The research effort has been directed towards explaining the nature of these power relationships and their outcome in moulding both structure and action.

This research then, aims first to make a contribution to an understanding of the process of the creation of ideology and consciousness. Secondly it adds to the body of sociological and historical studies of mining communities by giving a fuller consideration to the interrelationship between work and community life. Lastly, by concentrating on the creation and maintenance of a quiescent consciousness under a dominant ideology in a single community it cautions against uncritical and unqualified reliance on global generalisations characteristic of scholars like Mann and Giddens, who have contributed to

the debate on consciousness. Their work is indispensable when considered as a contribution to an understanding of consciousness at a societal level but it is unable to explain fully the intricate processes often found when any specific community is researched. Such 'grand theory' leaves room for empirical studies of the type presented here to refine or refute its statements by providing a finer mesh for the explanatory net of sociological research.

In Giddens' terminology, this thesis intends to illuminate the process of 'structuration' by the use of empirical material. In the empirical material itself the dominant form is the life history. In using these life histories as one part of the whole structure of interpretation the individual's role is projected more centrally into the process of social change. As Thompson reminds us,

....the essential mechanisms of two of the most basic forces for change, change in society's economy and in its population are imperfectly understood. And that will surely remain the case until what is known through studies of abstract economic and demographic models, ideological and collective pressures is put together with the understanding, which can only be gained through life histories, of how such forces interact at an individual level, with immediate economic chances, the shaping of ideas through socialisation and friendship and particular media, the developments of attitudes in childhood and adult family experience, to form those myriad decisions which cumulatively, not only give shape to each life story, but also constitute the direction and scale of major social change (Thompson 1981:299.

Stated another way this use of life histories is an attempt to understand what comes to constitute personal identity as part of the same process that creates social structures. Crucially it is not enough to rest only on the individual's account of their own history but to add to their meaning the things that can be learnt about them from other sources; things they do not know, or say, about themselves.

The research embodies therefore the three co-ordinate points, biography, history, society, that C. Wright Mills (1970) considered



essential for sociological respectability. It stands also as a contribution to the growing literature which did not satisfactorily answer the questions about working class consciousness raised by the initial cursory reconnaissance into the history of Lingdale and other East Cleveland communities. It is hoped that the material that follows below is an explanation of the kind referred to by Giddens:

Explanation, most broadly conceived, can be more appropriately treated as the clearing up of puzzles or queries; seen from this point of view, explanation is the making intelligible of observations or events that cannot be readily interpreted within the context of an existing theory or frame of meaning.....Such a broad notion of explanation relates explanatory queries in science quite closely to everyday queries. (Giddens 1979:258).

## **Chapter Two: The Theoretical Context**

Three broad theoretical issues need to be identified and discussed at the outset: i) social change and the integration of both temporal and spatial factors; ii) power and powerlessness; and iii) class, consciousness and ideology. These broader points of theory will be brought into sharper focus when used in chapters six and seven, where the theory is applied to the empirical data.

For present purposes of clarity and ease of explanation these issues are treated in separate chapters (see chapter three for a discussion of class, consciousness and ideology), with some anticipation of the empirical analysis. It has to be emphasised that these issues are recognised to be indissolubly linked and form the theoretical background to the dissertation.

### **1) The Temporal and Spatial Aspects of Social Change.**

It must be stated at the outset of any discussion of these factors that the integration of these concerns into social theory is not simply a re-statement of the obvious and rather unhelpful observation that social activity tends to occur in time and space. Recent contributions to an understanding of the concepts of time and space are uniform in the way the neglect of these obvious parameters of social activity and the lack of any incorporation of them into theory is pointed out (see e.g. Giddens 1979, Abrams 1982, Urry 1983, Cooke 1983). What is of interest in any attempt to merge a concern with time-space relations with a concern with social activity are the ways in which the former impinges on the latter. This is certainly the concern here and an attempt is made to delineate the role of these factors in determining the nature of power and consciousness, through the mediation of structure.

For the purposes of explanation I will resort to an artificial division

of these two factors which in essence are to be understood as acting in unison, as time-space. In the concluding part of this section I will discuss time-space in relation to social change.

**TIME.** In assessing the relationship of structure to action there is little option but to build into the assessment a chronological dimension. It is only in conceiving of this relationship as a process in time that its intricate nature is made accessible. In this occurrence of activity in time, the 'temporality' is historical, an inevitable feature of all social forms. But this 'historical' feature of social forms cannot simply be treated as having relevance for the understanding of the past.

Doing justice to the reality of history is not a matter of noting the way in which the past provides a background to the present; it is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future out of the past, of seeing that the past is not just the womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed (Abrams 1982:8).

Within this view of history an event (such as the closing of a mine during a period of industrial decline) is to be seen as contributing to the future. Such events then act as "principle points of access to the structuring of social action in time" (Abrams 1982:191). The disentangling of the unique features of an event provide a means of discovering the changing patterns of activity that integrate individual and structure.

The explanation of patterning or process, of individual careers or events comes to ground in a distinctive conception of causality (or structuring) as *manifold*, *sequential* and *cumulative* (Abrams 1982:302).

In the context of industrial societies the passage of time, historical in nature, acquires another layer of meaning which overwhelms other meanings, that is it becomes more than anything else progressive and hence associated closely with social change, and used to actively promote social change. Industrial societies are also differentiated from other social forms in the way they seek to control time as Thompson has described (1967).

Labour-time becomes a key feature of the domination of one class by another in capitalism, and indeed the ability to control time has to be seen as a use of power that differentiates one class from another. To follow Thompson's line of argument with respect to class he states, in attacking sociological approaches to class analysis, that:

Class is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly or in isolation, but only in terms of relationship with other classes; and ultimately the definition can only be made in the medium of time - that is, action itself is not a thing, it is a happening (1965:357).

Class conceptualised in this way illustrates how time has to be integrated into the process of social structuring.

The conceptualisation of time as progressive in industrial societies can be contrasted to the way in which tradition acts to bind the past with the present in the reproduction of social structures. Thus use of tradition as a legitimising force in which historical practices are used as reference points tends to produce social structures which are bound by previously existing structures, i.e. a recursive pattern of social life. Newby (1977) and Newby et. al (1978) draw attention to this in their studies of agricultural workers and farmers, but indicate also that the use of a notion of time which is 'traditional' is not immune from social change ...as part of a dominant ideology it may prove to be adaptable as conditions change. Habermas' statement that,

Traditions can retain legitimizing force only as long as they are not torn out of interpretive systems that guarantee continuity and identity (1976: 71, quoted in Newby et al. op. cit. p. 285),

is thus disputed by Newby. Giddens (1979) indicates circumstances in which 'tradition' is likely to be undermined, the latter going into detail which indicates that 'tradition' is likely to be replaced by other 'tradition' except when it is undermined as a form of legitimation.

Underneath Giddens' argument about 'tradition' is a concern with Weber's notion of *routinisation*. Social systems (i.e. in Giddens' meaning patterns of relationships produced across time and space rather than social structures) are only seen to exist through their continuous structuration in the course of time (1979:217). There is therefore no room for a concept of de-structuration in social analysis; social systems move from one set of structures to another. Hence a discussion of something like industrial decline should not be depicted as 'anti-social structure' or 'anti-progressive' in social analysis but simply as a transformative sequence in time in which one set of structures is replaced by another. The importance of routinisation in this is that, as an important feature of social reproduction, it helps to ensure continuity. Actors involved in routines are unlikely to question why they conform to norms of behaviour, a rationalisation of their behaviour is symbiotic with the existing but malleable dominant ideologies. Routine is at its strongest when it is sanctioned by tradition. The conditions under which 'de-routinisation' and therefore the undermining of tradition occur are elaborated by Giddens in his discussion of social change and will be commented on below in the relevant sub-section on social change.

**SPACE.** All social development involves spatial as well as temporal movement. In examining a class society like Britain it is easily demonstrated by a mapping of social indicators like infant mortality, housing density, income or unemployment levels that there is a spatial dimension to class differentiation. Indeed much of the Chicago School's ecological modelling of the city demonstrated this feature without recourse to a sociological explanation of its cause. If these spatial differences remain stable over time there occurs the development of a 'regional' class culture which modern means of closing spatial (and temporal) distances will

in time diminish.

The concern with space in the dissertation is largely to do with the changes in the spatial relationships within the case-study community and between it and its surrounding region and the rest of the country. Lingdale is a small community and Giddens' inventive way of using time-space relations to distinguish between small and large collectivities can be applied to it, and the changes that have taken place in it. For Giddens the profound difference between the macro and micro levels has to do with face-to-face interaction.

Space and presence in small communities, or in collectivities involving only time-space separations of short distance, are primarily expressed through the physical characteristics and perceptual abilities of the human organism. The media of availability of presence in locales of large collectivities are necessarily different, and often involve.... only certain features of presence availability and the nation-state (1979:209).

In essence the industrial decline of ironstone mining has been the context of the change in Lingdale as predominantly a *locale* of short time-space separations to one in which the above-mentioned features of large collectivities come into play. *Locale* is Giddens' term for describing the site of the community's activity and it attempts also to convey the sense of a spatial dimension and physical environment conjoined with social interaction. The spatial dimension is mobilised as a key feature of that interaction and is not just its setting.

It is not just physical presence in immediate interaction which matters in 'small-scale' interaction, it is temporal and spatial *availability* of others in a locale (Giddens 1979:207).

The neighbourhoods of the community do not of course simply occur in time-space, they are planned and built as part of the social management of space by individuals and groups with particular purposes in mind. The management of space and its ramifications for the community are dealt with in detail in chapters six and seven. There is however a grander enterprise

in managing the space of which this community is just a part. This has largely been discussed in terms of regional development and planning, centre-periphery relations and internal colonisation. In such a 'management' or structuring of space local class structures emerge moulded in part by the conditions of their time-space relationships with other populations. Uneven development in capitalism can be envisaged as differential time-space paths.

Capitalism structures a spatial division of labour in the process of ensuring efficiency and economy in technical processes geared to the maximisation of profit. Thus, in a market economy certain regions within a country will experience economic peaks and troughs in response to technological changes, depletion of resources and market fluctuations. Associated with this pattern of development is a transfer of surplus value from the region at the periphery to the centre. Such unequal exchanges have been analysed both in the context of the underdevelopment of the Third World (Emmanuel 1972) and for the peripheral regions within the dominant capitalist nations (see for example Malizia 1973). The result of such transfers of surplus value is to retard the development of certain regions and to accumulate capital at the centre.

The historical process of capital accumulation and the contradictory development of the capitalist mode of production is comprehensively analysed by Marx in Capital, but regional imbalances were not a major concern of his unless allied to the issue of slavery or colonisation.<sup>1</sup> It is possible to consider Marx's view of the initiation of revolution by the

---

<sup>1</sup> An exception to this is the examination of the decline and depopulation of Lincolnshire, but this is presented as a refutation of Malthus rather than a thorough analysis of the reasons for regional decline (Capital v. I ch. 25). Interestingly, it is from Lincolnshire that many of the immigrants to the Cleveland mines in the nineteenth century originally came.

conjunction of the centre with the periphery (the advanced with the retarded) as an anticipation of uneven development (which is taken up and expanded by Trotsky and Lenin) but it is not a detailed argument about spatial differentiation in capitalism. In a marxian framework, development is structural, involving changes both in the forces of production and the relations of production; it also centrally involves improvement in labour productivity. These elements are crucial to the accumulation process in capitalism. Regional inequalities therefore appear to derive from the uneven accumulation of capital caused by the spatial relationships of production as they undergo development.<sup>2</sup>

The application of dependency theory (e.g. Amin 1974, Wallerstein 1976) to regional disparities within the countries of the centre conjures up the image of internal peripheries or internal colonies. Amin encouraged such an application in stating that "each developed country has created its own underdeveloped country within its own borders" (quoted in Edel et al., 1978:6). Despite this there have been few attempts to apply dependency theory to internal development in developed countries. It has been argued that dependency theory suggests that internal peripheries, if they exist, are not analogous to the world periphery.<sup>3</sup> Internal peripheries are subject to a different process of exploitation, a process that paradoxically may include the establishment of political rights, trade unionism and substantial social improvements. In using the logic of dependency theory any analysis of peripheral regions should focus on the

---

2 A more detailed account of this process, particularly with respect to the extraction of surplus value can be found in Simon (1980:48-50). This type of analysis could be replicated in precisely the same way for Cleveland miners.

3 Such an argument and a further expansion of this point can be found in Edel et al. 1978.



conditions which govern the existence of such regions and how divisions within the working class are maintained on a spatial basis.

Relating class action to the external forces that act on regions requires a further analysis of how consciousness emerges in a regional and peripheral context. This interplay of regional and class consciousness is not often systematically studied, but John Gaventa (1980) and Raymond Williams (1973) are examples of differing but effective studies in this vein.

Essentially such analyses are pointing to the spatial implications of capital maintaining the social relations of production. Involved in this is the structuring of authority relationships between the capitalist class and the working class with the ideological role of identification with a region acting to hinder the development of working-class consciousness. The necessity of capitalists organising the labour process so as to establish and maintain particular relationships is now widely recognised by Marxist economists. Braverman (1974) and Marglin (1974) have shown how capitalist development has been historically associated with the degradation of work and the monopoly of the capitalist class over the information needed for the management of the production process. In both these cases there is a spatial dimension that needs to be clearly delimited.

The purpose of considering these aspects of spatial differentiation is to highlight its relevance as an element in the development of the consciousness of the population in the case-study. I am not arguing the case for Cleveland to be considered as a peripheral region throughout the entire period under study because this is patently not the case. There are times however when the region does acquire a peripheral relationship with respect to national economic structure and this deserves some attention.

There is also a sense in which the idea of peripheral status can be projected as a controlling strategy by dominant groups so that the working class come to accept their marginal spatial, economic and social position. Their ideology takes on a peripheral cast, whether a 'true' peripheral region is their locale or not. The management of space becomes therefore also a management of people.

**SOCIAL CHANGE.** Industrial society tends to absorb other forms of activity through its transformation not only of the economic and technological, but also of pre-existing modes of control such as tradition. In his discussion of this change, a 'de-routinisation' in which influences act to counter the grip of the 'taken-for-granted' nature of day-to-day existence, Giddens (1979) suggests that only in its most profound form (in which there is a disavowal of tradition as a form of legitimation) is there real change. In other examples of de-routinisation, such as the coming into being of divergent interpretations of established norms, there is simply the replacement of one tradition (and its routines) by another. However, any influence which abrades tradition is likely to accelerate change. In the process of change in industrial society, history as tradition is replaced by history as progression with a further consequent weakening of the links with the past modes of control.

I would argue therefore that any effort to delineate the parameters of social change in modern industrial society must trace the extensions of the social system in both time and space. In following such an analysis it is difficult to avoid the significance of the process of de-routinisation couched in an overarching condition of historicity. This dissertation as an attempt to analyse aspects of social change tries to follow this course, in a limited fashion; limited, because this study is 'episodic' in nature concentrating as it does upon a sequence of change of medium-term duration

that, it is believed, has far-reaching consequences both for the study of the region of Cleveland and for the society as a whole.

Power has had only a brief and passing mention in this section although it is an integral part of a thorough understanding of the influence of time-space relations. In the following section the theoretical discussion of power is undertaken in detail.

#### ii) Power and Powerlessness: Theoretical Issues.

Any attempt to understand the interrelationship of social structures and human social conduct across time and space must crucially explicate the notion of power. Power is routinely part of human social practices and the investigation and explanation of its use in the formation of consciousness and ideology is the key aspect of this research.

A cursory glance over the sociological work on the concept of power reveals an involuted complexity in the arguments which it is necessary to disentangle in order that a degree of clarity about the use of terms can be established. Given the view of the 'structuration' used in this dissertation (see Introduction p.4), one preliminary issue to be resolved is the supersedence of the dualism in established theories of power, related to the subject/object dualism in philosophy and sociology. Although difficult, particularly in terms of any empirical analysis, an attempt has to be made to overcome the position found in sociological discussions of power, wherein power is conceived of either as emanating from structures or as the property of individuals or collectives. These two approaches to depicting power are, in fact, as Giddens notes (1981:50) complementary, each contributing to a more complete understanding of the influence of power relationships.

For the purposes of this dissertation the one aspect of these relationships that is emphasised concerns those that have variously been

described as powerless, subordinate, deferential or quiescent, i.e. those that have relatively little power and are sustained in that position by the use of power in social structures by those who are relatively powerful. Before the creation of this powerlessness can be abstractly analysed below it is necessary to provide a more general description of how the concept, power, is envisaged in this dissertation.

A useful way to open out the discussion is provided by Giddens' definition of resources as structural elements of social systems which are drawn upon by actors in initiating social action. There are several possible outcomes of a regularised use of resources: relationships of autonomy, dependence, domination and exploitation (Giddens 1981). Of particular interest for present purposes are the relationships of domination and exploitation. Domination refers to a 'structured asymmetry of resources drawn upon and reconstituted in power relations'. Exploitation can quite reasonably be considered to be domination which serves the purposes of a specified group in the society. The extent of domination/exploitation is determined by the kind of resources available, and the degree to which control is exercised over them. Giddens' typology of resources depends on the distinction between *authoritative* and *allocative* resources, the former being those resources that are primarily social in nature and concerned with control of society; the latter are essentially material resources and the means of production (1981:51-52).

Authoritative resources can be identified in the case-study material as they circumscribe social activity in specific localities by the organisation of social time-space; they have effects on social reproduction and largely determine the life chances of the population. In any empirical study of the structure of domination there is a need to determine just how resources are manipulated strategically by individuals

or groups in order to maintain their control over the activities of others and the ways in which knowledge is applied so that the asymmetry of resources and of the power relationships remains advantageous to the powerful. According to Giddens we may also extend this notion of control over resources to cover the medium of the subordinate population's practical consciousness:

The relations between practical consciousness and the structural properties of social systems are founded above all on the routinisation of day-to-day life. It is essential not to confuse the massive importance which the routine has in the reproduction of social life with 'blind habit' on the one hand or with the engrained normative commitment on the other. In each case social actors appear as but dull automatons, moving mindlessly through the contexts of their daily lives. On the contrary, the prevalence of the routine or taken-for-granted rests precisely upon the casually employed but very complex skills whereby social actors draw upon and reconstitute the practices 'layered' into institutions in deep time-space (1981:64-65).

Several issues are raised here that are considered in detail below: the routine 'taken-for-granted' must not be taken to read 'also accepted as legitimate.' Newby has empirically established this in his explication of the 'deference' of agricultural workers in East Anglia (1977). In the same study Newby also brings in the notion of time in adding the criterion of 'tradition' to his definition of deference. The isolated agricultural worker and the ironstone miner of Cleveland may also be considered to be somewhat separated from class-based ideologies; consequently there exists or has existed a dislocation between 'local' consciousness and class-consciousness. The local practical consciousness is underpinned by routine and may be detached from any nationally located class consciousness (see the following chapter for further discussion of consciousness and ideology). The importance of routine is also noted by Gaventa (see below, p.32). There is a danger that, in theorising about power and control in terms of its being a very pervasive social process, the impression will be

given that control can be very effective and complete. This is never the case, because in using the notion of 'structuration' one condition pertains and that is that individuals are always knowledgeable about the structural framework within which their social action occurs. The depth of this knowledge will vary but it is never totally absent; hence there is always some strategy in which this knowledge can be applied to deflect or minimise sanctions imposed by the powerful, e.g. deferential behaviour.

The aim of the powerful is always to mobilise ideology to legitimise their exploitative dominance; this mobilisation utilises 'structures of signification' in which the notion of authority is anchored to social reality. Perhaps the best example of this is provided by the control and use of property to signify authority. An entity such as property therefore comes to be part of the knowledge used in the production of practical consciousness.

Ideas - or (more accurately) significations- are inherently embroiled in what people do, in the texture of the practicalities of daily life. Some of the most potent forms of ideological mobilisation do not rest upon shared beliefs (any more than shared normative commitments); rather, they operate in and through the forms in which day-to-day life is organised (Giddens 1981:68).

The significance of property in terms of power relationships has been detailed by Parkin in his extension of Weber's argument about social closure (Parkin 1979:44-54). Social closure secures a privileged position for one group and consequently an inferior group is also created. An intriguing aspect of this in the present research is that the excluded group may also succeed in closing off access to remaining rewards and opportunities. The role of the petite-bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy in the case-study can be examined in this vein. A major exclusionary device utilised by groups operating social closure is the institution of property ownership which acts to prevent general access to

the means of production and its rewards. Property therefore must be seen as linked to authority; it can be a resource in both an allocative and authoritative sense. If, however, a distinction is made between property as capital and property as possessions, it is only the former that becomes crucial for the analysis of class systems and for the assessment of power relationships (Parkin 1979:54).

To provide a detailed discussion of the intricacies of power relationships I now turn to the extension of Luke's explication of power provided by Gaventa. This is of particular use here as the empirical demonstration of Gaventa's development of the concept of power and powerlessness focused on the coal-mining population of Appalachia and therefore there are some interesting parallels with the case-study material in this research.

Much of the power debate revolves around the problem of the political inactivity of the working class, whose acquiescence in spite of the persistent inequalities which define their position has been variously attributed to apathy, hegemony, cultural deficiency, low socio-economic status, or even to the notion that the inequalities are not perceived as such by the disadvantaged classes, hence they are not "real" (Gaventa 1980:4). In part such explanations rely too heavily upon the subjective aspect of the definitions of working-class interests, as Saunders has pointed out (1979:40). Whether those interests can only be defined in terms of objective evidence, or whether we must rely upon the disadvantaged actually perceiving their position before we can credit their inactivity to apathy, cynicism or consensus, is one important point in the discussion. One other issue concerns the mechanisms of power, mainly in decision-making, which reduces the options of the relatively powerless while enhancing the position of the more powerful. Since it is clear that

delayed decisions, decisionless decisions and a range of sanctions, threats and force invoked in lieu of decisions (or, non-decisions) can achieve the same result as decisions, the question of where to draw the line arises. Which acts are to be included and which are not relevant in explaining the exercise of power? How can the non-events which some of these entail be taken into account? These questions, and the answers to them have important implications for the analysis of local class activity.

It would appear that for the present discussion the crucial aspect of Gaventa's application of Luke's work concerns the awareness of grievances and the problems of assessing the use of power where no awareness of grievances, either on the part of the powerful or the powerless is present. In this context, Lukes formulates his three-dimensional view as a response to those, like Bachrach and Baratz (1970), who view conflict as existing only if both parties or the less powerful party show an awareness of it; (in the latter case the power holders are so secure in their dominance that they do not notice the grievance of persons or groups within their domain). If this can occur, a question must arise over the reverse possibility. As Gaventa puts it,

Just as the dominant may become so 'secure' within their position as to become 'oblivious', so, too, may such things as routines, internalization of roles or false consensus lead to an acceptance of the *status quo* by the dominated (1980:11).

This possibility is excluded by Bachrach and Baratz, who argue that the study of power does not include "how power may affect conceptions of grievances themselves" (Gaventa 1980:110).

The third dimension of Luke's three-dimensional approach to power is as follows: "A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests" (1974:34). The means by which A may do so are significantly broader than those defined in other approaches to understanding power. A



may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by "influencing, shaping or determining his very wants" (1974:23). This influence is seen to affect B's conceptions of issues. No observable conflict is necessary in these power relationships but latent conflict which consists of "a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude" (1974:24-25), must be present. In the examination of such use of power, importance is attached to the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of politics, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through the individual's decisions. Given this, it would appear that an approach of this sort is particularly suitable for researching issues of power among populations that exist in states of dependency, where such expressions of power may well be characteristic.

The methodological issues raised by Lukes' approach have been the focus of criticism from both pluralists and structuralists on the grounds that he attempts to study something that does not appear to happen, and for its implicit need to impute interests<sup>4</sup> and values where they are not manifested by action. It is also argued that extending the power concept to include A's ability to influence the very perceptions of needs and wants of B ultimately reduces the notion of power to the subjective dimension of social relationships in general. To do so, they argue, is to effectively render the concept useless as a tool of political analysis. This is not necessarily the case as the case-study material is intended to show.

The mechanisms by which power is used in this three-dimensional approach are admittedly wide-ranging and complex. A full analysis would

---

4 There is no space here to do full justice to the recent debate on the question of 'interests'. See Benton 1981; Isaac 1982; Knights and Willmott 1982.

necessarily have to study language, myth and symbols, particularly with respect to communication of information, and the socialisation process. The aim of this would be, as Gaventa puts it, to "focus upon the means by which social legitimations are developed around the dominant, and instilled as beliefs and roles in the dominated" (1980:15). In total such research would aim to locate "the power processes behind the social construction of meaning and patterns that serve to get B to act and believe in a manner in which B otherwise might not, to A's benefit and B's detriment" (1980:15-16).<sup>5</sup> It is through these mechanisms that change in power orientation would occur as the local class structure, economic, political and spatial relationships of a region change over time. Lukes sees the nature of human action as both contingent and creative; people exist within "a web of possibilities" and "make choices and pursue strategies within given limits," but also that in consequence these limits "expand and contract over time" (1977:29). No doubt this accounts for differences between populations in superficially similar areas with respect to their use of, and response to, power.

A note of caution has to be added here as there is a danger that power is seen to be the sole arbiter of social life, that its use is inherently a coercive strategy that unavoidably leads to conflict. Power is seldom used in such an open, and inefficient, way.

If power was never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really think we should manage to obey it? What gives power its hold, what makes it accepted, is quite simply the fact that it does not just weigh like a force which says no, but that it runs through, and it produces things, it involves pleasure, it forms knowledge, it produces discourse; it must be considered as a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault 1979:86, quoted by Giddens 1981:50-51).

---

5 Studies which exemplify this approach are Mills, 1970, Miliband, 1969 and Mueller 1973.

The nature of the psychological effects of powerlessness on deprived populations has been documented by Haggstrom (1965) and the effects he reports are not dissimilar to the kinds of adaptations noted by Gaventa. The first of these is characterised as an "adaptive response to continual defeat": A has repeated victories over B so that eventually B comes to anticipate A's reaction and success and therefore ceases to challenge A. This calculated withdrawal becomes an unconscious pattern maintained not by fear of A's power but by B's own sense of powerlessness "regardless of A's condition" (1980:17). Having thus internalised the values and beliefs imposed by the powerful, "a means of escaping the subjective sense of powerlessness" is found (1980:17). Allied to this process is the effect of exclusion from means of controlling conditions of social existence. If this denial prevents the growth of political consciousness then it is unlikely that any steps will be taken to redress inequalities. In support of these indirect mechanisms of power Gaventa uses the work of Freire (1972), Mueller (1973) and Gramsci (1957). Freire acknowledges that a "culture of silence" develops from the inequality of political experience, a context in which the development of consciousness is stunted. The silence of the powerless then becomes a legitimization of the powerful interests. Mueller writes in a similar vein stressing that attempts to break the silence are necessarily poorly orientated and ineffective and tend to reinforce patterns of withdrawal to a point of quiescence. Gramsci sees such a state of "moral and political passivity" deriving from "the point where the contradiction of conscience will not permit any decision, any choice..."(1957:66-67).

The context in which consciousness develops is a crucial factor in two senses. Firstly, consciousness itself may develop in contradictory and ambiguous ways so that in specific instances it is not of assistance to the

powerless because it is rendered neutral by the activities of the powerful in using the third dimension of power. Secondly, as such consciousness emerges it is malleable, especially vulnerable to the power field around it. In particular the use of myths and symbols, through which the powerful manage the emergence of beliefs and actions in one context in contradiction to those expressed in other contexts, is to be observed (Gaventa 1980:19).

The definition of the power relationship has now become in Gaventa's terms as follows: B's response to his situation at any point in time should be interpreted as the sum of B's powerlessness and A's power, seen in terms of the dynamic of the reinforcing effects of one upon the other (1980:230). This does not entirely preclude challenges, but these are unlikely to succeed as in order to take action B has to overcome both A's power and his own powerlessness. A success at some point provides a basis on which further action can be founded; just as power is accumulated then a successful challenge may have a widely ramifying effect simply by demonstrating a weakening in the totality of A's power. B may be more likely to act further if there is one victory; each further challenge will restrict A's options for control. It is therefore in A's interests to anticipate and block B's actions such that the accumulation of challenge never progresses.

This account of the third dimension of power and the mechanisms by which it operates considerably reinforces the notion that power is intimately and inherently related to inequality, in the sense that the dynamics of power relationships tend to maintain and even exacerbate social and political inequalities.

Certain issues developed in the above discussion need further elaboration in order that the appropriate connections can be made between this discussion of power and the discussion of consciousness and ideology

that follows.

One effect of relative isolation within a confined set of economic and social structures is the lack of available alternatives, both in terms of obtaining a living and in terms of ideology. The concern, in terms of power is perhaps less with the lack of opportunities for lateral mobility and more with the lack of a 'how things might be otherwise' element to inform the subordinate group's ideology. This is not to state that because of the lack of alternative examples, forms of opposition are totally absent but they may take on a guise not easily identifiable as opposition. Giddens (1979) in his discussion of this, does not give any examples but in the research on Lingdale (and relevant also to the other East Cleveland Communities) it was found that the informal economy activities often took on this oppositional guise (see chapter seven).

The question of alternative models for subordinate groups has often been discussed with reference to Runciman's work on relative deprivation. However both Giddens (1980:116) and Newby (1977:116-118) provide adequate grounds for dismissing relative deprivation as an explanation of the behaviour and attitudes of subordinate groups:

The problem is... to explain low aspirations rather than limited reference groups, which are a *result* of the low aspirations rather than a cause of them (Newby 1977:117).

With these issues of alternative models a further element must be added and that is an account of the action undertaken by the dominant group(s) to ensure that the access to alternatives on the part of subordinate groups is limited or curtailed altogether.

The outward appearance of subordinate groups that are quiescent can be described as an appearance of 'adjustment' to the conditions of their everyday experience. This is a false impression derived, in part at least, from a methodology that concentrates on the *content* of the discourse of such

groups rather than its *form*. The data obtained by sociologists are often limited to narrow responses to questionnaires which accentuate content rather than form and tend to overwhelm data gained by observation, or from sources other than questionnaire responses.

The term 'quiescence' has been used above in the sense of a compliance and 'pragmatic acceptance' (Mann 1970) of the power used by dominant groups. It also carries the meaning of a variable degree of consensus over the moral right of dominant groups to have and to use power; variable because over time (due largely to the influence of external, national-level change) this consensus will reflect the conditions under which this power is used, e.g. the transformation from paternalistic control in which power relationships become moral relationships to corporate and state control in which the morality is sustained by quite different means and is by its nature remote from the locality. In essence I am pointing to a change in the nature of hegemony, the ways in which subordinate groups are managed ideologically by the provision of definitions of their situation, beliefs and values which are conducive to the maintenance of their quiescent state.

Ideology is the means by which exploitative dominance is legitimised and it must therefore contain the parameters for the development of a practical consciousness to deal with the issues of day-to-day existence and its underlying reasoning, and the responses to the "why?" questions that resort to a particular and specific set of beliefs concerning the social world as a totality. I develop the theoretical background to this understanding of ideology and consciousness in the following chapter.

## Chapter Three: Class, Consciousness and Ideology

### 1) A Review of Marxist Approaches

The imprecision and ambiguity of Marx's statements about class consciousness have been responsible for the numerous attempts to clarify this area of marxist theory in sociology; in particular such attempts have focussed on the process by which a class 'in itself' becomes a class 'for itself', i.e. the process by which class consciousness develops. I propose here to review certain of these attempts at clarification, at the same time assessing their value for an understanding of the case-study material that follows in chapter four.

It is in the context of a detailed account of his materialist conception of history in The German Ideology (1845-6) that Marx makes most of his statements about consciousness. These statements are detached from any systematic discussion of class but they indicate how consciousness is to be understood as developing from the very conditions that also create the class structure.

The production of ideas, conceptions and consciousness is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life...We begin with real, active men, and from their real life process show the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process...Life is not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life. Those who adopt the first method of approach begin with consciousness, regarded as the living individual; those who adopt the second, which corresponds with real life, begin with the real living individuals themselves, and consider consciousness only as *their* consciousness (pp. 36-37, The German Ideology).

Marx is here describing a consciousness of existence rather than a class consciousness. In his later works Marx again ties consciousness to material existence but moves further to indicate a more definite relationship to class formation:

The totality of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness (Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy).

It is in the actual analysis of the development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat that Marx explains the emergence of a social class, and from that stage the development of class consciousness. The essential element in the formation of a class is the opposition to another class, for only with this will the competition between individuals be eliminated as the 'class' identity strengthens.

Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The domination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, *but not yet for itself*. In this struggle, of which we have noted only a few phases, this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle (pp.210-211, The Poverty of Philosophy).

From the first stage of class formation, which is the acknowledgement by the individual worker of his shared identity with other workers in the relations of production there develops a perception of an opposition to the capitalist class and their agents. These two aspects are in a dialectical relationship and reinforce each other through the experience of conflict over economic rewards, the concentration of the working population (and therefore easier communication between them) and the development of a political rather than a solely economistic organisation. It is at this point that identity and opposition may combine to create a class consciousness embodying the notion of the class 'for itself'. Beyond this occurs a revolutionary consciousness with the aim of struggle with the opposing classes to establish an alternative, socialist, form of society.



A number of commentators on Marx's theory of class and on later reformulations of this theory note the problems in Marx's account of the dialectical process by which revolutionary consciousness is to be achieved (see e.g. Bendix and Lipset 1953; Mann 1973; Giddens 1973). Consciousness develops as the individual connects his direct experience to the critical analysis of the society as a whole and to the establishment of alternative structures. This occurs through the experience gained in political and trade union organisation and in the sphere of production itself. Precisely how this experience is translated into revolutionary consciousness is unclear. Marx relies on his belief that the contradictions engendered by capitalism would inevitably lead to a class consciousness through political action. The explanation of Marx's lack of concern with the conditions governing the development of proletarian class consciousness is that he viewed class consciousness as a by-product, an 'epiphenomenon' of the contradictions inherent in capitalism and therefore there was no real need to examine in any detail the social conditions which might promote the class consciousness of the proletariat. Giddens notes (1973:93) that Marx has a tendency to merge two features of the development of proletarian class consciousness that are best seen as analytically quite distinct. The relationship of exploitation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is one feature, while revolutionary consciousness with its possibility of radical transformation is the other. This separation Giddens makes is particularly relevant to the case-study in this thesis as there the relationship between the two features that Marx conflates is demonstrated to be much more tenuous than Marx assumes, even in the nineteenth century when perhaps Marx's view would be most applicable.

Lukacs provides the first significant appraisal of Marx's views on consciousness in History and Class Consciousness (1923), where he uses his

views to provide a theoretical-philosophical foundation for Lenin's conception of the party. Marxism thus becomes the "correct class consciousness of the proletariat" which has as "its organisational form, the communist party" (1923:75). Political activism and class consciousness, rather than the economic development of capitalism itself are now seen as the principal factors in the move towards socialism. Lukacs follows Marx inasmuch as he sees class developing as a national rather than local bond and in this way the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is made clear as an exploitative relationship. However, also like Marx, Lukacs does not consider the obstacles to working-class consciousness. Bottomore (1971:50-51) notes the avoidance of any examination of the development of working-class movements since Marx's time and of those features like increased geographical and social mobility, as well as a growing complexity in the division of labour and the expansion of the middle classes, which may retard class consciousness among the working class; these are serious weaknesses in Lukacs' work.

...the nature of capitalist production may obscure the fact of exploitation, even though it establishes economic interests as paramount. Neither the slave or serf can be in any doubt that he works in whole or in part for the benefit of another man; but the wage-earner cannot perceive in such a direct way that a part of his labour is appropriated by others (Bottomore 1971:510).

The factors enunciated by Bottomore are, as barriers to class consciousness, the major considerations of this dissertation.

Lukacs provides a more useful contribution, for present purposes, in his consideration of the means by which class consciousness is to be developed by the proletariat. The problem Lukacs describes here is that in the case of bourgeois class consciousness there was a convergence of bourgeois thought with bourgeois activity but with the proletariat their class consciousness is partly formed, and expressed, by those who are not

proletariat but are bourgeois. This is the case with Marxism itself. Lukacs distinguishes 'psychological class consciousness' which is the immediate consciousness which workers have of their situation in society (elsewhere he describes this also as 'false consciousness') and a 'possible' or 'imputed' consciousness which is, for Lukacs, Marxism itself, i.e. a social theory developed outside of the proletariat and delivered to them. Lukacs consigns 'psychological consciousness' to a residual category as the material of historical studies (a phrase Bottomore, 1971:63, interprets as meaning it occurs in particular historical situations and is of interest only as a comparison with what a 'rational' consciousness would have been in that situation). It does not have important social effects. Psychological class consciousness is very similar to Lenin's notion of 'trade union consciousness', the height to which the proletariat can aspire without the assistance of revolutionary intellectuals. The meeting of the 'psychological class consciousness' with the 'imputed' rational consciousness takes place, Lukacs decrees, in the party. Such a meeting is one-sided because the party disseminates a correct theory of the world and is dominated by ideologists.

Lukacs' view of class consciousness differs widely therefore from Marx's statements on how such a consciousness develops. Marx stated that the working class will, through its own efforts and experiences, attain a fully developed consciousness of its class situation and aims.

The case study presented in the dissertation is in Lukacs' terms concerned with a historical situation in which 'psychological class consciousness' is observable. Lukacs then is of use here in the following ways. He reiterates and extends the discussion of the role of the bourgeoisie as the potential generator of class consciousness for their own class and for the proletariat. He thus alerts us to the coherence of

ideological statements from the bourgeoisie, and to the necessity of political activity as a catalyst for proletariat class consciousness.

Dahrendorf's well known examination of the applicability of Marx's views of class to modern society contains few references to the processes by which class consciousness may be created or diminished (Dahrendorf 1959). However certain aspects of his analysis of Marx's conception of class are useful for present purposes; for example, his division of this conception into 'philosophical' and 'sociological' components in which the latter is only seen as valid with respect to nineteenth century capitalism. This thesis is primarily concerned with class relationships conceived under such a regime and therefore Marx's approach and analysis would, in Dahrendorf's view, be valid. Dahrendorf neglects to consider however just how far class relationships and class consciousness under certain circumstances may be resistant to change. His model of the change from class divisions to divisions based on authority (the possession of, or exclusion from), anticipates little retention of older forms of class or consciousness. The changes in the economic structure brought about by new technology and attendant organisational transformations sweep away all the older structures. I would argue that this is not necessarily the case and that Dahrendorf reaches such a conclusion because he ignores, as Marx did not, the interconnections between economic relationships and social relationships. In locales such as that analysed in the case-study the class structure and the consciousness associated with it are determined by both the past experience and by the assessment of recent change in economic, as well as societal and communal spheres. If this process of assessment arrives at the conclusion that such change is relatively minor and indicates no fundamental shifts in the power structure then the consciousness of class will not be effected. Further, if such a

consciousness was in essence quiescent then it would be to the advantage of powerful groups not to encourage fundamental changes in the perception of the working class. The case-study material indicates that in the transition from paternalistic capitalism to corporate capitalism this was indeed the case.

Ossowski (1963) places a greater emphasis on the development of consciousness than Dahrendorf but like him agrees that Marx's conception of class is limited to early capitalism. Unfortunately, the application of Ossowski's work here is limited as he manifested more of an interest in cognitive images of the class structure rather than in a consciousness of class solidarity. However, these two aspects are related as he points out (1963:34-7), for example his 'dichotomic scheme' (a polar division of two main classes in society based on power, economic or exploitative factors) if it permeates through to become part of an accepted ideology, may stimulate and emphasise class solidarity on the part of any potentially revolutionary class. The means by which, in one locality, such an image is prevented from acting in this way is delineated in the case-study.

Ossowski and Dahrendorf both dealt with class and the development of consciousness in the course of an examination of change in industrial societies. Mann's comparative analysis of class conflict in western industrial societies shares this endeavour in explaining recent responses to advanced capitalism on the part of the working class (Mann 1973). Because Mann's concern is with class conflict he places a consideration of class consciousness much more to the centre of his analysis than either Ossowski or Dahrendorf.

Drawing on Marx's conception of alienation Mann outlines the responses to the alienation experienced in work and the cumulative effects on the development of consciousness. He finds that the ability of any worker to

generate a total account of his position in society is hindered by the gap that exists between work and non-work experience. He goes on to state, rather vaguely, that, "Non-work clearly compensates for work alienation, at least to some extent..."(1973:30). I would state this rather differently on the basis of the case-study evidence. It may well be that non-work experience provides compensations but in the key aspects of the experience of power and authority in both institutional and ideological spheres (where the possibility of alternatives may be raised) it can do nothing more than confirm alienation. This occurs because dominant groups share an interrelated set of interests in economic, political and social life. Thus class consciousness does not develop, it is prevented from doing so by the confluence of work and non-work experience. The compensation of non-work may direct and help therefore to produce alienation of a very passive variety. (The analysis of the informal economy in the case-study may be taken as an example of such a compensation; see chapter seven).

Mann's use of data from studies that examine the effects of work on other areas of life is relevant to this thesis and in particular to the understanding of consciousness:

Kornhauser's findings (1965)...show how the worker progressively comes to terms with reality by steadily lowering his aspiration. By middle age the gap has disappeared and he may even seem 'content'. Argyris (1964) describes how the worker gradually internalises the demands of the organisation and resolves the initial discrepancy in individual psychological terms with guilt feelings or lowered psychological investment in work. Even the worker's fatalistic attitudes do not express a sense of disgrace, for the gap between desire and actuality is considered unbridgeable. The ability to transcend such a state of consciousness seems absent - the conception of an alternative is lacking (Mann 1973:30-31).

The work experience coupled with the reinforcement of a subordinate position in the experience of power outside of work not surprisingly produces a quiescent labour force because their belief and confidence in their power is very limited and does not permit action of a kind that would

challenge the structure of power.

One other group of Marxist scholars who have considered the problem of consciousness are the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School. Their commitment to an interpretive method and an emphasis on consciousness and intentional activity as a key element in both creating and changing society makes them appear very relevant for the present discussion. There are two aspects of their work however that makes it less applicable to an understanding of the case-study material. Firstly, they are overwhelmingly concerned with advanced capitalism and move away from the idea of determination by the economic structure. Secondly they neglect to consider in the relationship of ideologies and conflict how the use of power (in the last resort coercion) affects the outcome. As Bottomore puts it,

For critical theory it is not the case that "being determines consciousness" particularly in the sense that consciousness is only a determined reflection of the conditions of material production. Consciousness is not simply an outcome of the human interaction with nature, but it is a distinct and independent capacity to use language, to communicate with others, to create symbols and engage in symbolic thought (1978:139).

Whilst an examination of these aspects of consciousness is possible with the case-study material I would contend that is it secondary to an approach which emphasises a high degree of determination by the economic structure of consciousness, and which considers the affect of power in actively structuring the means by which consciousness is developed.

#### ii) Contemporary Approaches and Their Application

The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born - or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class-consciousness does not. We can see a *logic* in the responses of similar occupational groups undergoing similar experiences, but we cannot predicate any *law*. *Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way* (E.P.Thompson 1963:9-10;my emphasis).

In framing an understanding of class and the development of consciousness in these terms Thompson aligns himself with the vast majority of writers who have sought to revise and extend Marx's theory of class. The added ingredient Thompson provides however, significantly improves our understanding of the process of the development of consciousness. That ingredient is a fine and subtle reading of historical data. Such a reading, although undertaken on a societal scale, nevertheless allows Thompson to appreciate the variability in the development of class relations and consciousness. The empirical material provided in chapter four is intended as a case-study of this process of development which indicates the variability that can exist even within the comparatively narrow range of class relationships demonstrated within mining communities.<sup>6</sup>

The ironstone mining industry in Cleveland developed two decades after the period which Thompson recognises as being the beginning of an English working-class consciousness (1831-1835). This being the case, it may be assumed that the majority of the English working class had developed a certain identity of interests to the extent that new institutional forms, chiefly trades unions, had come into being as an expression of those interests. This identity of interests developed as an interactive process, the working class perceiving their interests as being different to, or against those of other classes. Integrated with this was the perception of the possibility of an alternative set of social and economic arrangements and the maturing of claims for such different arrangements. The national development of a working-class consciousness rested finally on the response, by other classes, to the new claims of the working class (E.P. Thompson 1963).

---

6 For an indication of the variability in mining communities see e.g., Bulmer (1978), Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, (1956) and Williamson (1982).



The lessons learnt in remedying the deficiencies that deprived the working class of material benefits from their role in productive relations were of use when the working class extended the struggle to the affairs of the local state authority. The result was movement towards the extension of citizenship encompassing greater numbers of the working class and a greater participation therefore of this class both in national politics and at the local level.

This brief outline provides a context for the discussion of the development of class consciousness at the local level in East Cleveland, where the intention is to indicate the variation in response to these changes occasioned by the specific local factors encountered in communities like the village of Lingdale.

A useful theoretical background to such an account of the development of class consciousness in a particular locale is provided by Giddens (1980). In concentrating on Giddens' discussion certain aspects of his argument will be extended and augmented to provide a firmer theoretical basis for the analysis of the empirical data which is the follow in chapters six and seven. The aim here is to indicate the mode by which the economic relationships discussed in the data become translated into non-economic social structures. Giddens' use of a Weberian notion of *social* class is followed here because it not only underlines the interdependence of economy and society, it also usefully includes consideration of differential market capacities.

In his discussion of the 'structuration' (see chapter one, p. 4), of class relationships Giddens distinguishes between *mediate* structuration and *proximate* structuration. Of importance for present purposes is the point that *mediate* structuration refers primarily to 'localised' factors which "intervene between the existence of certain given market capacities and the

formation of classes as identifiable social groupings" (1980:107). The key factor here is the distribution of mobility chances. The greater the degree of closure of mobility chances the more this facilitates the formation of identifiable classes. The effect of such closure in terms of intergenerational movement is to reproduce a largely common life experience over the generations because of the confinement to a certain range of occupations which generate a similar range of material outcomes.

In general we may say that the structuration of classes is facilitated to the degree to which mobility closure exists in relation to any specified form of market capacity. There are three sorts of market capacity which can be said to be normally of importance in this respect: ownership of property in the means of production; possession of educational or technical qualifications; and possession of manual labour-power (Giddens 1980:107).

The latter two kinds of market capacity became the differentiating factors within the case-study community, whilst the first kind remains largely external to the community.

There are three interrelated sources of proximate structuration: the division of labour within the productive enterprise; the authority relationships that exist there and the influence of what Giddens terms 'distributive groupings'. The first of these, the division of labour, has an obvious overlap with mediate structuration through the differential apportionment of mobility chances. Of interest here is that this can be effected by the nature of the authority system used in the productive enterprise. Giddens does not carry this point much further so it is necessary to extend his argument, which, in general terms, can be applied to the case-study material, so that a more effective application can be obtained. The thrust of this extension of Giddens' argument is in the direction of explicating authority relationships. There is therefore some overlap between this concern and the content of the previous chapter.

The authority structure that existed in ironstone mining was fairly

typical of a number of nineteenth century industrial ventures, i.e. a locally based management overseeing the daily problems of production and enforcing the authoritative commands of the absentee owners. Between the management and the manual workers there was another group who exercised authority. This group has been described by labour historians as a 'labour aristocracy' when it has occurred in other contexts. The existence of such a group, with differential authority, recruited from the class of manual workers, is crucial to the structuration of class relationships and the development of class consciousness.

The notion of a 'labour aristocracy' implies a stratum differentiated by prestige, wages and/or skills<sup>7</sup> from an objectively defined larger grouping of manual workers, i.e. the working class. As Hobsbawm (1976) indicates, again on a societal level, the labour aristocracy acts as a mediator between two opposed classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat slowing down the development of political consciousness. The ideological significance of the existence and activity of a labour aristocracy has been cogently stated by Holbrook-Jones:

...if...the period 1870-1900 constitutes the era of the labour aristocracy, that is three decades of absolute economic decline, we should expect to find the validity of this concept not merely in the 'bribes' of the capitalist, but in the historical structuration of the working-class activity created by the legacy of economic dominance. In this sense imperialism had a vital ideological role in the creation of supra-class images and myths which could both confuse and distort nascent proletarian consciousness, and perhaps more crucially, mould and crystallise petit-bourgeois and ruling-class solidarity - whose distinguishing feature may be the denial of the concept of class itself (1982:5).

In the occupational community the ideological role of the labour aristocracy is carried out both in the place of work and perhaps more effectively in the community itself. The labour aristocracy has clearly

---

<sup>7</sup> In the case of ironstone mining the differentiation was largely in terms of skill. The key workers such as enginemmen, overmen, blacksmiths, etc., came to compose a 'labour aristocracy'. For a fuller discussion of this concept see Holbrook-Jones, 1982.

not become part of the capitalist class or bourgeois by its action, and its members would no doubt refute any such membership; yet it operates to distinguish itself from other sections of the working class by using the technique of social closure (see above p.28). The diversion of the stratum into the use of an ideology embodying bourgeois traits not only siphons off from the working class its potential leadership but is also one factor responsible for a low level of class consciousness.

The third source of proximate structuration is concerned with consumption rather than production. The distributive groupings are "those relationships involving common patterns of consumption of economic goods" (Giddens 1980:109). The individuals concerned in these common patterns may make some evaluation of their honour and prestige relative to others and any set of relationships which derives coherence from such evaluations constitutes a 'status group'. Any pattern of consumption is related to income hence Giddens does not deviate from a conception of class founded ultimately in the relationships of production, but the notion of distributive groupings allows the forging of more links between aspects of economic structure and aspects of social structure. Essentially it would appear that distributive groupings tend to reinforce the segregation promoted by the variation in market capacity. Applying this to the mining community, it is vital to assess the extent to which the labour aristocracy and the mine management come to constitute distinctive status groups in distinctive neighbourhoods. The access to housing and other property is perhaps the most significant differentiating characteristic in this respect. (A consideration of the role of property ownership and its relationship to strategies of social closure appears in the previous chapter). In the mining community it is less easy to establish the existence of differences in life-style related to distributive groupings.

Such differences that do exist are quite subtle and are only discovered by a close examination of the social action of individuals in different distributive groupings in the community. What is perhaps of most interest is the degree to which these subtle differences are recognised by individuals in the community but are assigned no importance. This points in the direction of a denial of class as an important differentiating factor and therefore a low level of class consciousness.

A basic distinction in Giddens' discussion of class consciousness is that made between 'class awareness' and 'class consciousness' itself. It is difficult to imagine any part of the industrial population of Britain that does not have 'class awareness', a basic sharing and apprehension of a similar set of beliefs and attitudes, connected to a shared style of life. 'Class awareness' however does not involve a recognition that these beliefs and attitudes signify a particular class affiliation, or the recognition of the existence of other classes. 'Class consciousness' does imply both of these characteristics. Giddens sees the importance of this distinction in the possibility that 'class awareness' can take the form of a denial of the existence or reality of classes. In class structuration, 'class awareness' is taken as a basic condition of industrial populations but 'class consciousness' is problematic (Giddens 1980:111-112). Of particular importance to the analysis of the data presented below are the steps Giddens takes beyond the simple observation that class consciousness initially involves cognisance of other classes and thus reflexively of the separation of one's own class from these other classes. He categorises class consciousness into three types. The first level of class consciousness is the most undeveloped and simply involves a conception of class identity and therefore of class differentiation. The second level of class consciousness adds to the features of the first level a conception of class

conflict; the perception of class unity is connected to the recognition of an opposition of interests with other classes. This differs from Marx's 'in itself', 'for itself' distinction because Marx does not separate class structuration from class consciousness (as Giddens defines it) and does not distinguish between a recognition of class consciousness and revolutionary class consciousness, which is Giddens' final level. In revolutionary class consciousness there is the recognition of "the possibility for an overall reorganisation in the institutional mediation of power and a belief that such a reorganisation can be brought about by class action" (1980:113).

An issue addressed in this dissertation is the development of the level of class consciousness created by conditions found in the case-study community. This problem is therefore a problem of structuration, or rather of tracing a specific kind of structuration in which a level of class consciousness may not be exhibited uniformly throughout the community, so that variations have to be accounted for by reference to the variable experiencing of social conditions by groups and individuals across time. One particular difficulty here is pinpointed by Giddens (again stating the problem in societal terms):

The problem of the existence of distinct class boundaries...is not one that can be settled *in abstractio*: one of the specific aims of class analysis in relation to empirical societies must necessarily be that of determining how strongly, in any given case, the 'class principle' has become established as a mode of structuration (1980:110).

The delineation of distinct class boundaries comes prior to the account of the development of class consciousness in that it has already been stated that class consciousness is formed in the struggle between classes, not by the activity of one class. In investigating class structuration therefore it is hoped that the 'real' basis of class consciousness can be established.

An important element connecting class structuration and the development of conflict consciousness is termed by Giddens 'visibility' (developed no doubt from Weber's use of the term 'transparency' in his discussion of authority). 'Visibility' occurs where the conditions of existence of individuals tend to make their common class characteristics readily visible, thus these individuals become aware of class structuration, and class conscious. This idea can be applied to the case-study in quite a different direction however because the stress in the mining community is overwhelmingly towards a 'visibility' of common characteristics (not necessarily 'class' characteristics) associated with the productive enterprise; the 'visibility' results in a consciousness that de-emphasises differences. As stated previously the differences are recognised by individuals but assigned no importance. Two related factors are of importance here. Firstly, the 'visibility' of very marked class differences (as say between the miner and the owner, banker, financier) never, or rarely, is experienced in the community. Secondly, the petit-bourgeois / labour aristocracy ideologies present in the community are sufficient to counteract the potential disruption of a stress on class differences and conflict by a working-class ideology. Of particular interest in the case-history is therefore the role of the petite-bourgeoisie and their involvement in the institutional structure of the community (particularly the religious institutions) which allowed transmission of their ideological message.

The isolated nature of the community both socially and spatially promotes the effectiveness of the two factors described above and prevents the rise of a revolutionary class consciousness. Such a consciousness initially requires the recognition of the illegitimate nature of the socio-economic order. This recognition is rebuffed in the conditions found

in the case-study. There is a low order of what Giddens (1980:116) terms the "relativity of experience" because the population's experience has been totally within one system of production.

Such a perception (of the illegitimate nature of the socio-economic order) is virtually always foreclosed for the members of chronically underprivileged groupings whose conditions of labour remain stable over time (1980:116).

In order to clarify the discussion at this point it is useful to distinguish between class consciousness as described above and the concept of ideology. Ideologies are systems of beliefs developed in response to ongoing lived experiences and are attempts to provide explanations of particular social situations. Ideologies are therefore, as Lockwood (1966) indicates, relatively formalised, explicit and related to specific class interests. Ideology, in contrast to consciousness, draws on knowledge that is external to the lived experience of the individual or group. Such knowledge is then "fitted" to the social situation experienced by the individual or group. The origin of knowledge applied in this way is of crucial importance in determining the content of the ideology. With some groups, particularly subordinate groups, contradictions will arise between the beliefs present in the ideology and the 'concrete' knowledge gained from everyday experience. An account of how such contradictions arise is provided by Newby et al. (1978) in their study of the power relationships involved in farming in East Anglia, where they encountered such contradictions. In this context, as elsewhere, there is really little need for the subordinate group to "iron out" contradictions in their ideology. Unlike dominant groups in the society, the working class are seldom asked to rationalise or justify their views of the social order and their place in it. Also contradictions will arise as the working class are subjected to the influence of hegemony (see discussion in chapter two) and thus the



communication between the working class and dominant groups becomes in Habermas' phrase "systematically distorted" (Habermas 1976).

Consideration of hegemonic relationships should therefore logically precede any definition of ideology and consciousness because it is these relationships that provide the context for the development of both. The nature of the ideology transmitted from dominant to subordinate groups needs to be specified as far as is possible, recognising that in all probability it will be selected fragments of a dominant ideology that will be communicated. The tension that exists for the dominant group is one in which aspects of their ideology must be passed on for purposes of control in such a way that these very purposes of control are obscure. This can be manifest in everyday interaction:

One problem with the maintenance of traditional modes of control is the risk of carrying the degree of identification too far, so that differentiation, and hence, the legitimation of hierarchy, is denied (Newby 1975:158-159).

It should also be noted that in describing 'dominant groups' there is not necessarily a monolithic structure in which such groups act in concert. This is particularly so in the case-study where a clear distinction can be made between the action of landowners and miners. Each acts to communicate aspects of a dominant ideology in their differing spheres of operation. The desired outcome of the dominant group activity is, above all, to maintain their dominance as far as is possible in both economic and social spheres.

The notion of dominant ideology has recently been criticised by Abercrombie et al. (1980) who take a variety of the theories of the role of ideology in maintaining social order and argue that they are inconclusive and unclear but, as Rootes (1981) suggests, these critics have formulated a particularly 'hard' version of the theory and adopted a narrow view of ideology. They then argue against this 'hard' theory, by using selected

empirical evidence, and although they indicate that the use of the idea of a dominant ideology must be confirmed by materialist evidence, they do not find such evidence and therefore cannot effectively account for the role of that ideology in sustaining a particular social order.

The intention of the evidence and argument presented in the following chapters is, in part, to explain the role of a dominant ideology, and to support such an explanation with a body of material evidence.

## **Chapter Four: Work, Community and Power in an East Cleveland Mining**

### **Village: Context and Structure**

Data on the broad spatial and temporal context in which the social and institutional features of the community of Lingdale developed will be the starting point of my empirical analysis. The following historical and geographical context is presented as the regional and local expression of the social changes that occurred in Britain between 1982 and the present. This focusses attention on the local take-up and interpretation of new social patterns.

The filter of the local experience of the different, changing configurations of industrial production, social class and sporadic crises of industrial disputes and war have acted to produce a certain consciousness about the nature of power and the possibilities for class action to press for a more equitable share of resources and rewards.

#### **1) Historical and Geographical Context: Industrialisation and Regional Development.**

The initial industrial development of the North-East was in terms of the extraction of coal, dominated largely by an essentially pre-capitalist class of landowners who rapidly recognised the opportunities of realising surplus value vastly in excess of that obtained from ground rents. The market for the coal was outside the North-East, in London initially, and then in other emerging industrial areas.

Somewhat isolated from competition, the coal-owners' efforts were in terms of ensuring constant supply, maintaining profit margins and investing surplus finance. Investment allowed a rapid rate of industrialisation marked by the development of the railways and small engineering and iron

industries. The relatively rapid accumulation of the early period was based on the exploitation of readily accessible coal seams. As coal mining moved away from the Tyne to the concealed coalfields of Northumberland and Durham the amount of capital required for deep mining rose sharply and reduced the rate of profit and bit into the already accumulated capital. The labour force had to be expanded to cope with this development but not at the expense of higher wages, hence immigration into the North-East only attracted labour from the immediate, somewhat depressed rural fringe. Engels' description of 1844 not only covers the early stages of the unionisation of miners nationally but also vividly depicts the conditions and dangers under which the labour force worked. The great strike in Northumberland and Durham of 1844 was an attempt to end abuses by the employers such as the truck system and payment under weight. Engels (1971:288-292) chronicles the events of the strike and the eventual defeat of the miners after five months when the coal-owners brought in non-unionised labour from Ireland. During this early period it is vital to note how the commonly accepted image of the miner as the original and quintessential proletarian is not justified by examination of the evidence. It is only later that the coal miner becomes part of the large-scale enterprises and a highly socialised labour process. In this early period there were many interacting variables tending to fragment the labour force (e.g. size of pit, demographic mix, technology employed, methods of payment, etc.). The collection of papers edited by Harrison (1978) amply qualifies this point. Allen provides an account of the miners' struggle for higher wages and better conditions, pointing out that the coalowners had to attack labour costs as these constituted two-thirds of the total costs of production (1981:17).

The exercise of the owners' power to manipulate and exploit the labour power of miners led them to attack miners' unions which were the only means the miners had of countering and containing oppressive uncertainties. Coal owners did this continuously from the beginnings of coal mining and hampered the creation of durable mining unions for at least a century....From then the miners' unions established on a county basis and federated in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain resisted the pressure of employers. They used different methods to achieve their ends reflecting degrees of collaboration with the coalowners. There were national strikes in 1912, 1920, 1921 and 1926. After the defeat of 1926, however, the power of the employers was greatly enhanced (Allen 1981:18).

I quote Allen at length because several issues which will arise in the context of the case-study are mentioned, albeit in the context of an analysis of the miners' activism nationally. Firstly, the early ineffectiveness of unions (largely regionally based) had not only an effect in terms of organisation but must have had an effect, specific to each region, in terms of promoting or retarding class action based on notions of the classes' power or powerlessness. This is reflected in the sentence "They used different methods to achieve their ends reflecting different degrees of collaboration with the coalowners." Secondly, the strikes mentioned will have been experienced differently, depending on, to some extent, the previous patterns of activity established in the different regions.

The rate of accumulation in the coal producing and export trade were not only slowed by production costs but also by severe problems of over-capacity in the 1860's and 1870's. These problems were alleviated to some extent by the development of the iron and steel industry and the growth of a large local demand for coal. The major stimulus to the development of the North-East's iron and steel industry was the discovery of substantial commercial deposits of iron ore, the Cleveland Main Seam, at Eston on Teesside in 1850. (The effect of this on the development of Cleveland is described below and elsewhere in the case-study). These economic

transformations were paralleled by changes in ownership and a trend towards vertical integration of coal, limestone, iron ore, iron and steel production. Towards the end of the nineteenth century mergers during recessions increased the monopolistic positions of firms such as Bolckow and Vaughan, Pease and Partners and Dorman-Long. With the output of such firms finding a market in the North-East's shipbuilding industry, in the expansion of railways and in the colonies, the economy of the North-East was buoyant into the first decade of the twentieth century. But essentially the boom was over; 'rationalisation' in the major industries steadily pushed out labour during periods of recession. 33,000 left in the first decade of the century and 141,000 in the second. The competitive position of the North-East was further undermined by the advances in production by other regions and industrialising countries. The finance capital necessary to re-vitalise North-East industry was going into the industries in other regions or being exported for use in the colonies (Bowden and Gibb 1967).

After the First World War had temporarily averted a collapse of the North-East's economy, the relatively inefficient firms of the North-East were amongst the first to collapse during the depression of the 1930's. The reduction in investment and export demand particularly affected the North-East as a region, producing investment goods for home and foreign markets. The human toll was in unemployment of 13% rising to 35% and a consequent decline in working class living conditions, not matched by other regions (see Aldcroft and Richardson 1969).

Tentatively at first but with increasing conviction the State intervened in the region, with a range of tactics from police repression of industrial action in 1926 to the development of regional aid measures designed to re-integrate the region, or parts of it, into the profitable sectors of the national economy. Carney et al. summarise the position of

the North-east in the following way:

....The basis of profitability in the North-East, historically has involved depression of wages as they enter into the costs of production, and/or the reproduction of a large reserve army of unemployed. Moreover, a high proportion of realised surplus has typically been exported or consumed, not re-invested.... The class structure thrown up in such conditions has not involved strata with the necessary real wages required to firmly establish mass consumption, or micro-social structures that make the penetration of consumerist values a rapid process, such an economic and social formation is a barrier to the rapid expansion of the sorts of structures necessary for the stability and growth of State monopoly capitalism (1974:12-13).

State intervention therefore becomes a regular feature in order to retard, as far as possible, the falling rate of profit. Such intervention however, becomes less effective under modern conditions as the reputation of the region becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy and as the underdevelopment of the region and its population make it less and less equipped to take up new technology (see Gibbs, Edwards and Thwaites 1982). A further aspect is that the attempt to maintain and expand the manufacturing sector in the North-East has led to a growth in the proportion of such employment that is externally controlled. 73% of this employment, largely British and American multinationals, was externally controlled in 1973. These new plants were more integrated into their respective corporations than into the regional economy (Austrin and Beynon 1979).

It is contended, as stated above, that this process of underdevelopment of the region has had specific effects on the use of and response to power by the population in the region. Yet these effects are not uniform but vary according to the differing experience of local communities. Some communities will feel and act in a more powerless way than others depending on their experience of powerful groups and of conflict involving them. This case-study is an attempt to trace the development of a relatively powerless section of the working class in the North-East, the ironstone miners of

Cleveland. The choice of this group provides a useful comparison with other sections of the mining working class in the North-East and emphasises the differences in quiescence and powerlessness present within the relatively confined boundaries of this region.

The discovery of the iron-ore deposits in Cleveland during the nineteenth century led to a rapid expansion of Teesside's nascent iron industry under the direction of entrepreneurial ironmasters. Some of this expansion was with finance capital provided by individuals who had already been heavily involved in the rail and coal industries. The period 1851-81 saw an agricultural area with several ports serving as outlets for the southern districts of the Durham coalfield transformed into arguably the most important iron and steel making area in the country (Bullock 1974). The basis for this transformation was the exploitation of a source of iron-ore, a national resource for which there was a great demand in external markets. For the first two years after the large Eston mine opened in early 1851 there were no blast furnaces in operation on Teesside, and ironstone mining was therefore purely an export industry. This lasted for only a short period as the attraction of iron ore close to coal and limestone acted to hasten the pace of iron manufacturing and in turn heavy engineering trades. The emergence of Teesside as an iron-making region coincided with the displacement of home demand by export markets. Apart from the North-East itself the natural outlets for Teesside's low-cost pig iron were overseas and in some of the coastal districts of Britain.

During this early period of expansion so great was the demand for iron ore on Teesside and elsewhere in the North-East that the Cleveland mines could not meet it and ore had to be imported. This led to a search for cheap sources of richer ore elsewhere and during the 1870's Spanish haematite began to arrive on Teesside in large and increasing quantities.



Local companies began to play a part in the development of mines in northern Spain as interest grew in making steel by the Bessemer process, for which purpose Cleveland ore was then unsuitable. Despite the invention of the Gilchrist-Thomas process in 1879 which made it possible to make basic steel from Cleveland pig iron, and therefore enabled mines to find a market for their ore, the inroads made by the availability of cheaper and purer ores overseas remained a potent bargaining factor in negotiations between mine-owners and miners. For example,

The position of Cleveland ironstone is very serious. As you know Cleveland stone is a lean ore and the better ores are gradually working out. The cost is now so high, especially in the older mines, that unless reductions can be effected in some way it will be possible to make iron of Cleveland quality by using foreign ore or ironstone brought in from other parts of the country (Annual Report, 1919).

Cleveland can be considered as a region dependent on export of its products; in the early period the effects of this were not only experienced as a series of 'depressions in the iron trade' but as having long-term effects:

....a labour intensive export sector tends to give rise to a circular situation in which low incomes suppress domestic demand and residentiary development, while the establishment of new export industries is inhibited by the lack of broad-based development and by the reluctance of capital and skilled labour to migrate to, or remain in, such a poor environment. (Bullock 1974:82)

There is some evidence to suggest that many of these historical effects need to be taken into account in any explanation of the region's currently depressed and quiescent state.

The development of ironstone mining parallels in a number of ways the development of coalmining in Durham and Northumberland. Indeed, much of the technical knowledge used in ironstone mining was derived from coal-mining experience. The early stages of development involved drift mines (Eston, Upleatham) where large quantities of ore could be obtained at

relatively little cost and requiring little mining skill. These mines could not cope with Teesside's burgeoning demands and therefore more speculative and costly mines were sunk to get at concealed seams in East Cleveland. This required the expenditure of much more capital, a skilled mining labour force and a belief in the continuing strength of the market for iron and steel. The first two requirements were met while the third created continual fluctuations in the fortunes of the mines, miners and communities.

The new mining communities of East Cleveland were a mixture of new settlements purpose built for mining and expanded agricultural settlements. These settlements developed rapidly in the late 1860's and 1870's and within a decade the area was producing more than a million tons of ironstone yearly. By 1881 thirty-one mines were producing 6,500,000 tons and Teesside was providing 27% of the United Kingdom's pig iron (Bullock 1974:85). Most of the mines were part of a highly integrated production process, the ironmasters having control over limestone quarries, coal and ironstone mines, smelting plants and blastfurnaces. The labour force for the new mines came largely from Lincolnshire, Norfolk and the more established mining areas of Northumberland, Durham, Cornwall and Wales.

Ironstone was linked directly to the main consuming industries on Teesside, for all but a short initial period, and its profitability had always been greatest as part of a vertically integrated process. As such any interruption in the production process, and also the vagaries of the market, affected the mines: stoppages, short-time working and lockouts were commonplace.

The working conditions of the ironstone mines were primitive; the mechanisation of ironstone mining took an extremely long time and was only effectively achieved in the last two decades before closure. Much of the

working was by hand, the miners and their 'fillers' working in teams serviced by 'drivers' (generally younger men) of horse-drawn 'tubs'. Injury was commonplace, and deaths were not unusual, both partly due to the lax attitudes to safety regulations<sup>8</sup> but mainly due to the inherently dangerous nature of the work. Payment was on a piece-work basis with fines for contaminating clean stone with shale or other impurities. There were thirteen other deductions possible from a miner's wage, not including income tax. It is of some significance that house rent, fuel and explosives could all be deducted from wages by the mining companies. This indicates in a small way how the mine owners controlled not only the conditions of work but also much outside of work that was essential to the miner. The phenomenon of the company town did not occur fully in East Cleveland partly due to the decreasing willingness of the owners to invest extensively in ventures outside of the increasingly financially precarious mining operations and also to difficulties in purchasing land from local landowners in some areas. Most of the communities did however have a proportion of the housing stock provided and controlled by the company (usually for key workers) and the more paternalistically inclined owners provided for miners' institutes, chapels and churches.

Output reached peaks of over six million tons in 1875-77, 1880-83, 1906-1911 and 1913; thereafter there is a steady decline to the closure of the last mine in 1964. At its peak the industry employed 8,500 men and was without doubt the dominant occupation in East Cleveland and the basis on which the prosperity of the community rested (see Table III and Diagram I).

---

<sup>8</sup> An example of the owners' action in this respect was the successful lobbying in 1887 exempting Cleveland from the New Mines Act which introduced further safety measures. The reason given was that these measures would be against the "custom and practice" in Cleveland (Cleveland Mineowners' Association minutes, 10 March 1887, B.S.C. 210/1/1-4).

There are a number of differences between these communities and the ideal type mining community as depicted by Bulmer (1975). They were distant enough from the growing urban centres of population on Teesside so that few, if any, of the inhabitants seriously considered employment on Teesside as a realistic proposition until the advent of public transport and widespread car ownership. For most of their existence these communities have had little day-to-day contact with the urban areas. The methods of working in the ironstone mines created closely-knit and well-integrated work teams. Work was experienced as a group activity that was to a high degree under the daily control of the miner in that it was impossible to closely supervise dispersed work teams operating a piece-work system.

Central to any analysis of reactions to, and use of power, must be the incidence and character of economic and political conflict. The structure of industrial relations in the ironstone mines basically consisted of associations formed to protect the interests of miners and mineowners, and although objectively these interests were opposed the record of negotiations between the associations are interwoven with expressions of mutual interest and conciliation. Without doubt the miner was aware that the mineowner through his overall control of the productive enterprise and his strong influence on the community had the upper hand, but this did not encapsulate the miner in a world of no choice. There was considerable movement between mines owned by the different companies and although there is evidence of collusion between mine managers to exclude certain miners, such a black list was ineffective as the competition between mining companies kept the door open for the skilled and experienced miner. Choice was therefore limited; the parameters of the miner's economic existence and a large part of his social existence were fixed by the mining

companies.<sup>9</sup>

In interviewing elderly miners it was remarkable how frequently, when questioned about militancy, the retort "There was never a strike in the Cleveland mines!" was repeated. The remark was accurate for these men but ignores the one strike beyond their recall. In 1874 in response to the downward trend of prices, and following wage reductions of 10% for coalminers and blastfurnacemen, the ironstone mining companies imposed a 12% cut in the ironstone miners' wages. The strike lasted for seven weeks in May and June, and demonstrated the dependence of the iron manufacturers on local ore. Attempts were made to import ores from elsewhere but technical problems and cost made this prohibitive. Despite this power of the labour force the strike was broken and the men returned for 12% less wages and short-time working. Throughout the rest of the history of these mines there were only minor examples of industrial unrest involving single mines. These outburst were generally dealt with by negotiations between the union and local management. All other stoppages (1879 - six weeks; 1892 - three months; 1912 - five weeks; 1921 - three months; 1926 - seven months) were due to industrial action taken by coalminers. Despite close union ties and messages of solidarity, Cleveland miners never initiated any industrial action sympathetic to the coalminers; they passively waited for the notices of lockouts to go up on the pit-yard gates.

The gradual decline of ironstone mining was partially arrested by two world wars but when the final closures did come in the early 1960's the loss of the *raison d'être* of the East Cleveland communities was not a loss

---

9. The only viable employment opportunities other than mining were in very low paid agricultural work, a few low paid but secure local authority jobs and at the nearest iron and steel plant at Skinningrove. However, miners had extreme difficulty in getting employment at any iron and steel plant, the owners requiring miners to remain miners.

accompanied by a dramatic decline in the communities themselves. There are several reasons for this but perhaps amongst the most important is the fortuitous growth of the petro-chemical industry on Teesside. The development of the Wilton site of the Imperial Chemical Industries began in earnest after the Second World War. Labour was recruited both to build and to operate the ever-increasing sprawl of chemical plant along the south bank of the Tees, some of this labour force coming from the declining mining industry of East Cleveland.

Those ex-miners who did not find work at Wilton were transferred to other sections of the Dorman-Long Company, largely to the blast furnaces of the Clay Lane Works on Teesside. They became part of the British Steel Corporation when these works were eventually nationalised along with the rest of the steel industry in 1967. Thus these workers, along with the new chemical process workers experienced the change, as did their communities, from the paternalistic family company to the large corporation employing thousands. Along with this was increasing State involvement engendered by recurrent crises, uneven development and class action through the Labour movement. New patterns of class relationships emerged as these changes brought into being different social expectations, activities and life chances.

The pattern of social life in the community changed as the work-force now commuted to work outside the community at varying times throughout the day according to the demands of shifts far more rigorous than those that had operated in the days of mining. The community survived but it survived in a changed form. The social and institutional structures engendered by mining were shattered as men moved to and fro throughout the twenty-four hours to their new places of work. Relative affluence during the sixties led to new leisure patterns of a more home-centered, privatised type being developed.

This further changed the institutional structure; in particular the decline of religious life was accelerated. One of the paradoxes of current high unemployment levels is that the population is once again static and in some, few, cases an older pattern of activity is emerging.

Despite these structural changes it is not the case, as I argue in the following chapter, that there has been any significant shift in the consciousness of the population with respect to power and the possibility of class action of a political nature. The population remains quiescent.

#### 11) Lingdale's Development: the Mine and the Community.

**The Mine.** Lingdale as a community owes its existence to the second wave of development in the ironstone mining industry. The first wave had meant the exploitation of the easily accessible ore in the outcrops on the Eston Hills close to Middlesbrough in 1850. The Eston development led to other similar developments by rival companies to Bolckow and Vaughan who were responsible for Eston's rapid rise to prominence. One of these rival companies, Joseph Pease and Partners had already been involved in pioneering railway developments to bring coal from their Durham mines to the Tees, for export. Joseph Pease originally brought Bolckow and Vaughan, who were already operating blast furnaces at Witton Park in South-west Durham, to Teesside so that his railway would have a convenient supply of iron rails. Bolckow the ironmaster, and Vaughan a corn merchant, related by marriage to two sisters, opened an ironworks in Middlesbrough in 1839.

The rapid expansion of Bolckow and Vaughan and others' operations on Teesside with the discovery of the main seam at Eston led to other companies coming into ironstone mining. One of these, the Derwent Iron Company began mining on Lord Zetland's land at Upleatham in 1851. In 1857 the Derwent Iron Company ran into severe financial difficulties and the North-Eastern Railway and the Stockton and Darlington Railway helped to form the Consett

Iron Co. Ltd. from the ruins. The Peases were major shareholders in the railway companies and with the collapse of the Derwent Iron Company Joseph Whitwell Pease took over the lease of the mining operations at Upleatham. In 1858 the railway from Redcar was being extended towards Saltburn, and at Marske a line was built connecting with the Upleatham mines cutting down the extent of narrow gauge working. As a member of the Stockton and Darlington Railway Board Pease could exert influence so that the development of railways benefitted his mining activities. The mining activities now complemented the Peases' other interests. Ore was worked by Pease companies, transported along railway lines in which they had interests, to companies using the Peases' coal to manufacture iron or to companies in which the Peases had a controlling interest such as the Consett Iron Company.

The Upleatham mine was the second of the Pease ventures into ironstone mining; the first had been at Hutton (Cod Hill) near Guisborough where J.W. Pease and Company mined the Main seam by a drift mine. This mine opened shortly after the completion of the Middlesbrough and Guisborough railway by the Peases. (See Nicholson 1982 for a full account of railway rivalries in the opening up of East Cleveland.) Shortly after these Pease developments two further mines were developed under the auspices of Pease and Partners. Hob Hill, near Saltburn was a drift mine that for two short periods (1864-1874 and 1908-1910) exploited the Main and Pecten seams (Chapman 1967). The major development took place from 1864 onwards at Loftus (also known as Lofthouse, and sometimes Skinningrove) where the output of the mine went straight into the neighbouring works of the Skinningrove Iron Company, which was eventually wholly owned by the Peases. The output of this mine, which eventually became connected underground to adjacent smaller mines taken over by Pease and Partners, was the third



highest in Cleveland (Chapman 1967).

The period between 1850 and 1870 was one of very rapid expansion during which the advantages of a continual and reliable supply of local ironstone was clearly seen by the ironmasters. The relatively cheap methods of obtaining ironstone by drift mining at Eston, Loftus and Upleatham extracted tremendous tonnages and it must have become clear to the ironmasters that with such rates of extraction these mines would soon be worked out. New sites for mines, to the south of these existing enterprises, began to be surveyed. The technology required to get at this concealed area of the orefield was more complex and costly and required the prior development of railway links. As Nicholson (1982) points out, the opening of the East Cleveland orefield was retarded due to the rivalry between companies in getting permission for railways, and no doubt, the productivity of Eston, Loftus and Upleatham. Ultimately the Pease family became dominant in the early development of East Cleveland mining and transportation. Prior to the development of shaft mining the Pease companies had royalties over 5,000 acres (with "extensive royalties in reserve") and employed 2,000; 700-800 at Loftus, 350 at Hob Hill and 950-1050 at Upleatham (Northern Echo, July 5, 1872).

Pease and Partners' decision to mine at a site to the south east of Skelton (NGR:NZ 677 165) was not seen by everybody to be a sound commercial proposition. In the debate on the Cleveland Extension Mineral Railway Bill of 1872, A. L. Steavenson (a Cleveland mining engineer and authority on Cleveland ironstone) stated publicly that,

...the Guisborough ironstone was of no commercial value and Messers Pease were making a mistake in sinking shafts at Lingdale

(Tuffs 1978:12).

As this quote indicates, there was indeed a good deal of risk involved

in the venture, but economic conditions were certainly good enough to encourage Pease and Partners to take that risk.

The first step was to negotiate mining rights with the local landowners. This experience was quite different to Pease's other operations as here there were several landowners involved and not just one as in the case of Upleatham. Each right to work ironstone on lease had to be separately negotiated by the mineowners and the landowners and often involved quite different conditions and rates or "royalties" paid for the stone that was extracted. (Details of the leases are given in Appendix C). This was to have important consequences for the development of the mining community (see below).

The location of the shafts was chosen to be Nova Scotia Wood after exploratory boreholes had been drilled in 1871 and the summer of 1872. The mine was sometimes called "Nova Scotia" in the early years but eventually the official name of *Lingdale* mine became accepted, although throughout the area the miners and other inhabitants called it "Peases' Pit" after the owners.

The mine site was situated at the corner of the crossroads of Lingdale Lane and Stanghow Lane, the mine shafts and the buildings being to the north-east of where the village was to develop (see Map C). A connecting branch railway came into the mine site from the east. The spoil heap, which originally developed to the north of the mine site, soon outgrew the space allocated for it and a new area was developed to the west across Claphow Lane and adjacent to the northern edge of the village. The spoil heap grew to be the largest in Cleveland and in the process led to the loss of one row of houses, allotment gardens and the village's original playing fields.

There were substantial problems in reaching the ironstone which was 207 metres (680 feet) below the surface. The sinking of shafts was expensive

and occupied three to four years, with the seam being reached on the 12th of August 1876. Mr. E.B. Hamilton, the mineral agent for J.T. Wharton, the most influential of local landowners described the situation thus:

This section was what everybody expected, but Mr. Cockburn (Pease and Co. mines' superintendent) evidently seemed to think they would have six feet of ironstone. It is a worse seam than Kilton (a neighbouring mine) and that is bad enough. The engines and shops and all the appliances are of the best description, and although the greater part of £100,000 has been spent before touching the seam, there is something to show for it. (Skelton and Gilling Estate Papers, CCA: U/SG/1/3).

The mine was constructed for a large output and therefore, unusually for mines in this area, it was eventually to have three shafts. The first ironstone was produced in 1877, under the management of Mr. Christopher Heslop who probably gained his experience at Pease's Upleatham mine. During the period of shaft sinking the housing for the miners and other mine staff was being erected.

Production in the first years of operation was 19,965 tons growing steadily to 124,767 tons in 1883. At this point a decline set in largely due to the economic depression of the 1880's. The effect of this can best be gauged by requests made by Pease and Company to J.T. Wharton for concessions over way-leave payments on the Lingdale branch railway. Eventually terms were agreed on a sliding-scale arrangement but the gravity of the economic climate severely affected the future outlook of the Lingdale mine. Mr. A.F. Pease wrote to J.T. Wharton on October 16, 1895:

Owing to the quality of the ironstone and the large amount of shale we have to take out we have only made ends meet at this mine in those years during the whole of its existence and consequently our policy has been to keep the mine going with a comparatively small output. Our future policy with regard to this mine will shortly be decided. There are three courses open to us. 1. Abandon the mine. 2. To continue to work the mine with a small output. 3. To develop the mine and by increasing the output reduce the cost...and if it had not been for the relief you and others granted us the mine would certainly have been laid in by now. (Skelton and Gilling Estate Papers; CCA U/SG/12/8).

During discussions over the sliding-scale to be applied to a way-leave over the mine's railway, A.F. Pease further reinforced the image of a depressed industry:

...beggars can't be choosers and we have been so hard hit over the mine that you must excuse our begging hand. (Dec. 12, 1895, op. cit.)

It would appear that on concluding negotiations in 1896 with J.T. Wharton and presumably other landowners, Pease decided on the third option mentioned in his October 1895 letter as on January 22nd, 1896 he wrote:

I have given instructions for the immediate erection of a fresh shale cleaning apparatus so that we may be able to at once deal with a larger output, if there is any spurt in trade. (Skelton and Gillling Estate Papers, op. cit.).

Further work involved the construction of a wooden bridge across Claphow Lane so that shale from the new picking belt could be taken from the mine site to a much larger tipping area.

In 1887 Christopher Heslop, the Lingdale mine manager also took over at the Upleatham mine (this change being necessitated by the death of William France, manager of Loftus mines, and a subsequent reorganisation). Production picked up again from 1887 to 1890 but in 1892 it was announced that the Lingdale and Craggs Hall mines were not to be reopened after the Durham miners' strike, although Lingdale was only idle during the strike for a week. Again the reason stated was the slackness in demand for ironstone. Tuffs (1978) notes that there is a plan (no. 3064) in the National Mining Records Office, dated 31 December 1893, which shows the Linskill's district of the Lingdale mine to be abandoned. The Craggs Hall mine did not re-open but Lingdale did re-start production and by 1900 Linskill's district was being worked again. It would appear that Lingdale was closed between 1892 and 1894 but was in production again in 1895.

After the depression in the iron-trade at the end of the nineteenth

century the mine gradually built up production, with output over 200,000 tons for the first time in 1907 when 369 men and boys were employed (Cleveland Miners' Association minutes 22 July 1907: CCA/U/S/259).<sup>10</sup> Such output led to further investment from the company who ordered a bigger picking belt to be installed and a third shaft (completed in 1911) to be sunk. The stated aim was to double output (Pease and Partners Annual Report 1910). This investment paid off as peak output of 385,042 tons was reached in 1914. Thereafter a steady decline took place which was only interrupted by increased output in 1920, the year the mine was fully electrified. At this time total employment had reached 500 (450 below ground, 50 on the surface) with 48 horses used for haulage (Tuffs 1978:14). Short-time working and closure characterised the next six years as the mines responded to industrial unrest in the coalfields. In 1921 Lingdale closed for six weeks, and at one point there were only six local mines still operating. In 1922 the mine was idle for forty-five weeks and although the next three years brought some recovery the General Strike of 1926 closed the mine for a seven month period. After the General Strike, output remained steady until 1931 when the mine closed in August not to re-open until July 1940. Throughout this, the longest period of closure in the mine's history, the mine was actively maintained.

The stimulus of the Second World War led to the re-opening of the mine in July 1940 and it was worked steadily until closure on 3rd February 1962. The highest post-war output was reached in 1960 when 147,504 tons were produced. Closure resulted in the remaining workforce of 150 losing their jobs in mining.

---

<sup>10</sup> Hereafter simply referred to as CMA minutes.

No significant changes in the mine's ownership occurred between 1877 and 1948. In 1948 the mine owners became the Lingdale Ironstone Company Ltd., which was in fact a wholly owned subsidiary of Messers. Pease and Partners. It would appear that this move was connected with the nationalisation of the mines which occurred in 1951 under the provisions of the 1949 Act.

In 1952 however, the mine changed hands completely when Dorman-Long and Co. Ltd. purchased the mine and operated it until closure in 1962. At the time of closure it was estimated that the unworked ironstone totalled 8,348,000 tons.

The method of working at Lingdale was predominantly by hand. Teams of miners and fillers would work in pairs, the miner being paid so that he in turn could pay his filler. This also tended to operate as an apprenticeship system as the miner would, largely by example, teach the filler the intricacies of mining ironstone. The skilled miner was the best paid of the workforce and therefore there was always a reservoir of labour on lower rates (fillers, drivers, etc.) anxious to become miners. The method of selection for being taken "int'stone" - the term used for those involved getting the stone rather than just transporting it - was primarily through personal connection with the miner; in the majority of cases this would be a kinship connection, father and son, brother and brother, uncle and nephew. I deal with the 'career' structure of mining elsewhere (chapter six) so here simply the technical aspects of the job will be described.

The miner would make all key decisions with respect to working his "place" and these decisions would be, because of the piece-rate system of payment, vital in determining his earning power. A mistake in drilling or firing the face would result in delays or a much slower work rate and earnings would suffer as a result. A pattern of holes was drilled by hand and what was judged to be the appropriate amount of powder was pushed into

the drilled hole. A fuse ("squib") was inserted through a hole made in a clay plug inserted after the powder. The miners provided their own powder and made up their own fuses. The aim of this operation was to bring down just the right amount of stone, broken into reasonable sizes, without using too much powder. After the dust and fumes had cleared somewhat (and this could take several hours) any overhanging loose stone would be "barred" down using long iron poles. The stone would then be loaded into the tubs to be taken to the main roadways by horses and their "leaders". At the pit-head the stone would be weighed, by the company checkweighman and the union checkweighman, and credited to the miner whose token was on the tub. The stone was then tipped onto the picking belt where the older men and boys removed shale and other impurities by hand. After this cleaning of the stone it was loaded into railway trucks for transportation to the iron and steel works on Teesside or at Skinningrove on the coast.

Mechanisation was slowly introduced into ironstone mining, primarily through the provision of more efficient drilling machines. This had occasioned disruption in other Cleveland mines as the owners used this innovation as a pretext for reducing wages. The reasoning being that the new drills now made it possible for miners to produce larger quantities of stone, the job was less arduous and therefore wages should be reduced. As in the other mines, at Lingdale the issue was characteristically solved by use of an independent arbitrator agreed to by the Cleveland Miners' Association and the Cleveland Mineowners' Association (CMA minutes, 8 June 1905). Very little else altered the pattern of working until after the Second World War. There was a gradual trend then to move from the team working to greater specialisation so that drillers would move from place to place, followed by shotfirers, followed by fillers. This obviously now cut across the close links built up between individuals in the mining team.

Among further developments of note at Lingdale was the building of a brickworks on the mine site in 1900. This manufactured bricks from the shale and remained in operation until 1950. Some of the bricks were used in the local area and no doubt some miners lived in houses where each brick was stamped with the name "Pease". The Pease interest in brick manufacture pre-dates Lingdale as they operated a brickworks at Crook in County Durham in 1861. Harrison and Harrison (1980) report the insistence of the Peases that the white firebrick be used in housing and commercial developments in the nearby resort of Saltburn in which they had, prior to 1875, a controlling interest. By observation it would appear that they may well have insisted on the same provision for buildings in Lingdale as the same white bricks are fairly common and were used for some entire streets (e.g. Coral Street) which points to a specific interest in those streets by Pease and Partners. These bricks were expensive and many builders used only a few for decorative effect.

The final phase of mechanisation at Lingdale occurred between the 1950's and closure in 1962. The last horses were brought up in August 27, 1954 and were replaced by four diesel locomotives which were sufficient to cope with all the underground haulage in the mine, although miners reported that they did add significantly to the ventilation problems underground. Two further developments were not without criticism from miners: firstly the introduction of steel arches in place of the traditional wooden pit props and secondly the introduction of automatic loading machines (Aimco loaders, popularly known as "cranners").<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> The term "cranner" is said to have been adopted from the comment of a miner and part-time fisherman from the coast who, on seeing the loaders for the first time said he thought they ought to be able to load a "cran" or two, 'cran' being a measure of weight of fresh herrings (37.5 gal.) (from interview with Jack Ash, 20/8/82).



The steel arches were unpopular because they gave no warning of a roof fall whereas timber props creaked and groaned under pressure instead of silently buckling. The "cranners" were criticised by some because they took away the last vestige of skill in the ironstone miner's job - the selection of the appropriate material to load after a firing. The loaders took such large shovel-fulls of material that it was impossible for the operators to discriminate effectively between ironstone and impurities such as shale. Thus the overall purity of ironstone (in terms of percentage of iron) fell, although the job was now easier and much greater tonnages could be moved. The "cranners" also increased the dust levels that had to be tolerated by the miner. Some interviewees went further than the above criticisms and blamed the demise of Lingdale and other mines on the introduction of "cranners" and the filling of "rubbish".

"They got these 'cranners' in...they had a big bucket on, they used to fill the stone...well they spoilt the pits I think; they had to have height and they were going down in the 'bottom'. You see it was 'black-hard', like shale, they were mixing it all up." (Harry Johnson, 73 years old, miner)

This comment can be contrasted to that of a miner who after injury very early in his career worked for the majority of the time in the mine's office. He sees the demise of the mine as the fault of the miners:  
"I do honestly believe this the mines would have worked a lot longer had the men had filled what they should have done, instead of filling a lot of stuff that went up on the shale heap, instead of going into the trucks to be manufactured into something. You know they (the owners) were paying for stuff that was no use."  
(Albert Taylor, 71 years old, ex-miner and office worker).

A deskilling of the job had occurred and the miners to some extent saw this as the end of the industry as they knew it.

Many of the technical developments towards the latter end of the mine's existence were directed towards increasing productivity and although these developments did achieve this end they were not sufficient to fend off the competition from purer foreign ores extracted by much cheaper methods. A

measure of the desperation with which the mine owners sought to keep Lingdale viable was the transportation from the island of Raasay between Skye and the Scottish mainland, of three steel-plate calcining kilns. These kilns were erected at Lingdale in 1940 and reduced the moisture content of the ore, thereby increasing its purity, prior to transportation to Teesside. Given that the distance involved in transportation was very short the effect of these kilns on the competitiveness of the ore must have been marginal.

**The Community.** The labour force for the Lingdale mine was drawn from the same areas that provided the workers for the earlier mining developments at Eston and Upleatham (see Lamballe 1969). Analysis of the 1881 census returns (Table V) do differ from Lamballe's analysis of the 1861 returns in that a much higher proportion of the labour force is now 'locally' recruited, i.e. they have been born in Yorkshire. This is because of the late development of the Lingdale mine and therefore the availability of a second generation of mine workers whose families had moved into the area when the first ironstone mines opened. In one sense Lingdale can be seen as a second step in a labour migration. Initially workers moved to Cleveland attracted by the relatively good opportunities that were offered by the mines. They gained experience in the large-output drift mines and when the deep shaft mines of East Cleveland opened they moved to avail themselves of the new opportunities available there. The mineowners undoubtedly saw to it that key workers moved to these new mines, that housing was available for them and that further housing was available for the remainder of the workforce. It is interesting to note that even though Lingdale is a late mining development there are still groups of workers whose birthplace reflects the original areas of recruitment for the mines. Significantly, Cornwall is the next most numerous birthplace listed after

Yorkshire. Lincolnshire (where Peases' had a recruiting office), Durham, Norfolk and Devon are also prominent. The range of birthplaces is also interesting, 37 counties being recorded along with Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the U.S.A. This may well be indicative of the relatively attractive earnings possible in mining at this time and the open access to employment engendered by the mine owner.

On the farmland to the south-west of the mine site the village originally known as Lingdale Lane but destined to become simply Lingdale<sup>12</sup> was developed from 1872 onwards. The speculative spirit that underlay the Pease's investment at Lingdale was emulated by those who invested in the development of the community infrastructure. By comparison with other Pease ventures it is surprising to even have to consider the role of other investors and developers. The usual pattern followed by the Peases in both their colliery villages in County Durham (see Moore, R. 1974) and in their development of the village of New Marske for ironstone miners at the Upleatham mine, was to undertake the provision of housing and community facilities entirely by themselves. This entailed in many ways the production of a "company town" ambience in which the physical structure of the community incorporated many of the moral strictures of the Quaker ideology followed by the Pease family. One oft-quoted example of this related to the Pease attitude towards alcohol. The Peases would not allow the building of public houses in their communities and took action against any of their workers that were found under the influence of alcohol. This was circumvented by mineworkers who visited public houses in

---

<sup>12</sup> The name 'Lingdale' is of Norse origin and means valley of the ling (heather). The actual site of the village is more accurately a small plateau on the slope northwards from the North Yorkshire Moors to the sea. The only application of the name prior to the building of the village was to Lingdale Head Farm (see Maps B, C).

neighbouring communities and indulged in clandestine home-brewing (Holloway and Hughes 1982). It is significant to record that the Peases' attitude to alcohol could be somewhat altered by commercial concerns. In the development of the resort of Saltburn, about 10 km (six miles) from Lingdale, the Peases who had considerable interest in the two major companies involved were persuaded to allow the major hotel development to sell alcohol. This hotel, the Zetland, was opened in July 1863 (Harrison and Harrison 1980).

This minor example is of some importance in analysing the development of Lingdale, where the Peases would have had no other shareholders but themselves to contend with. In essence the problem is this: why did Lingdale not develop as a 'company town' in the way the colliery villages or New Marske developed? That it did not do so is strikingly obvious to the modern observer because immediately opposite the mine site, in probably the best location for its intended clientele, is one of the largest buildings in the village - the village public house, the Lingdale Tavern. This concern was open and in business by 1876, when it was then known as the Lingdale Hotel or locally as Snowden's after its owner.

The key to answering this question is the pattern of landholding prior to the community's development. Unlike other Pease developments in Durham and Upleatham the land surrounding the Lingdale mine was in the hands of several owners, not one large landowner. This is amply illustrated by the numerous leases that had to be negotiated before ironstone could be mined (see Appendix D). Whereas the local landowners were not prepared or able to speculate in the venture of ironstone mining they do seem to have been quite willing to speculate with their land and the provision of housing for the population attracted to opportunities offered by the new mine. This does not mean that Pease and Partners were unable to obtain land for development

but it does appear that outside certain confined housing developments they were either unwilling or unable to compete with investors who came to Lingdale willing to invest in housing and commerce. Part of the Peases' inability or unwillingness to develop a "company town" based on the model of their other industrial communities may well have been due to the inherent risks of the development of the Lingdale mine and its subsequent problems as related in the letters between A.F. Pease and J.T. Wharton (see above pp. 73-4).). If the mine was seen as at best a sporadically profitable enterprise and at worst a short-term unprofitable attempt to safeguard ironstone supplies, then it is hardly surprising that little capital was expended other than that necessary for the development of the mine itself.

The influence on the Peases of the prevailing economic climate must also be taken into account when assessing their attitude to development at Lingdale. The depression that began in the late 1870's engendered feelings of deep pessimism among the ironmasters, to the extent that it was envisaged that:

Middlesbrough and the prosperous towns depending on the production and manufacture of iron will sink into insignificant places with grass grown streets, dilapidated houses and ruins of ironworks. (Engineering, 30 June 1876, quoted by Harrison and Harrison 1980).

Given such views it is perhaps not surprising that Pease and Partners watched their expenditure at Lingdale very carefully. What they did build outside of the mine is interesting in that it lends some support to the view of their attitude expressed above.

While the shafts were being sunk Peases built houses for the key workers in the mine by utilising stone from a nearby quarry and building a single-track tramway to get the stone down to the mine site and the site for the houses. The first houses to be built included the large house for the manager, Seaton's Hill House, prominently placed separate from the rest of

the village on a hill overlooking both the eastern end of the village and the mine itself. Directly below the manager's house but 545m (500 yards) to the north was built a row of stone cottages known popularly as "Stone Row" but formally named Dale Terrace. This was housing for key personnel in the mine, blacksmiths, carpenters, winding enginememen, cashier, etc. The end cottage on the south side of this terrace is somewhat larger and this became the first miners' institute in Lingdale. A smaller row of four houses was built adjacent to the mine site, again for the purpose of housing key personnel, in this case probably the overmen.

The evidence for any further direct participation on the part of the Peases in the building of Lingdale is non-existent but it is known that they did lease housing from other landlords as and when needed, e.g. as early as 1873 they leased cottages in Pease Street, and certainly it is known from material gathered from interviews that some housing was retained for company use up to 1951 (Interview with Fred Clayton, company cashier from 1920 to 1961: see chapter six). The involvement of the Peases from 1890 onwards was of a sporadic, paternalistic and philanthropic kind. In 1910 for example, they donated money for the building of a new miners' institute and there are many examples of donations to local chapels and churches. Throughout Lingdale's existence the trend has been one of gradual decrease in the interest taken by the mineowners in the community, paralleling national changes in the role of industrialists.

One lasting impact the Peases have had on the community has been (until the slum clearances of the 1970's began) with respect to names. Many of the street names emphasise the strong link between the mineowners and the community. The name of Pease Street is an obvious link but names like Dale Terrace (after Sir David Dale, company secretary then managing director of Pease and Partners, also Secretary to the Cleveland Mineowners'

Association); Whitwell Place, (after Joseph Whitwell Pease); Cockburn Street (after William Cockburn, Peases' mining engineer) reinforce these links. The majority of the other street names in Lingdale draw attention to the other major factor in the development of housing, the local landowners and other small investors (e.g. Dixon Street, Scarth Street, Wilkinson Street (see Map C).

The vast majority of housing built in Lingdale was of the two up, two down terrace type common to most industrial areas in the late nineteenth century. The housing provided by Peases for keyworkers was of a higher standard than the housing built by other local developers. The Pease houses came with allotment gardens close by and with maintenance looked after by the mining company. The rents were low to attract the quality of worker needed (see Daunton 1980 for an extended argument on housing used in this way in the coalfields).

The non-Pease housing was built of Commondale brick with decorative portions of the white firebrick from Peases' brickworks at Crook; they had slate roofs and small yards at the rear. Outside toilets of the pan-type emptied daily were a feature of these houses into the 1950's. Given the large size of some of the families, overcrowding was fairly common but not seen as a problem by interviewees.

Little information is available on the rents for houses in Lingdale but it would appear that it varied slightly from one landlord to another. Interviewees who mentioned rents talked of sums of three shillings and sixpence per week (17.5p) in the 1920's for one of Peases' houses to seven shillings and sixpence (37.5p) for non-Pease houses in the 1950's.

From an examination of conveyancing documentation associated with 106 houses in Lingdale (approximately 20% of the housing stock) a clear pattern of housing development and tenancy and ownership changes can be seen.

The initial development of housing outside of those houses bought and developed by the Peases was undertaken by the local landowners who capitalised on the fact that their land was close to the new mine. The necessary capital for housing development was raised by inviting other interested individuals into these business ventures.<sup>13</sup> When these gentleman farmers had gathered together enough capital they engaged a builder. Once the houses were erected they were either rented out or sold to others who then acted as landlords and rented the houses to others. These means of development therefore drew on sources of capital quite distant from Lingdale. The more affluent middle-classes of Middlesbrough, Stokesley, Redcar and towns in County Durham played a role in the initial development of housing. The description of 'gentleman' and the occupations of solicitor, chartered accountant and grocer appear in the early transactions between local farmers and builders.

A few of the local farmers had sufficient capital to develop housing on their own. One such farmer was John Dixon who also seems to have diversified into dealing in coal and sail cloth. Individuals like Dixon and Matthew Marley, another local farmer, retained control of some housing into the first two decades of this century.

---

13. Not all such ventures were successful. A row of terraced houses was built during the first development of the village at the extreme western edge, on Ricey Hill. It earned a somewhat disreputable name still remembered by some, and the Northern Echo of December 19, 1877 reported a considerable 'affray' at Ricey Hill. This row was demolished about 1910 and the bricks used in new building in Lingdale. A more extreme example of an unsuccessful venture exists in the neighbouring hamlet of Kiltonthorpe adjacent to the Kilton Mine. This mine developed just before Lingdale and the owners certainly intended to develop housing for the workforce. However the workforce preferred to travel from existing villages and the only housing built was two short rows of terraced housing and the manager's house. A school, never used, and a police station were also built; indication enough of the owners' views of the necessary requirements for the new community.



Their transactions were often with other local farmers and the influence of the surrounding agricultural area directly affected the emerging community of Lingdale through this pattern of house building and landlordism. Street names like Dixon Street, Wilkinson Street and Scarth Street, are memorials to this phase of development.

The overall dual control by local farmers and the Peases began to break up quite early. Given the initially depressed state of the iron trade it is not surprising that some of those who invested in Lingdale housing decided to transfer their investment elsewhere. These transfers led to the opening up of the housing market for local control of a more fragmented kind and of more recent settlement. As some of the original investors put houses up for sale the local population with some capital to spare (and they would not have required much in the depths of the 1890's depression when many houses were empty) seized the opportunity to buy into the housing market, acting eventually as the local housing landlords.

The group that was prominent in this activity was the local shopkeepers, although it was not unknown for the more highly paid mineworker to diversify into landlordism. This phase began in the 1890's with local shopkeepers Joseph Calow, Henry Cook, John Clark, John Snowden and Robert Watson (respectively draper, grocer, grocer, publican and butcher) buying up houses some of which were retained and rented out where possible. Some houses were sold when more stable working was established at the mine. A phase of selling by Cook and Calow took place between 1902 and 1908 when houses were sold to miners, a mines deputy, an engineman, a shoemaker and a schoolteacher. Some of the shopkeepers like Robert Watson and Tom Clark, son of John, held onto houses and became major landlords in Lingdale. The Watson holdings were handed on in the family and it was only with the slum clearance programme of the 1970's that their role as Lingdale

landlords ceased. Tom Clark, extended his holdings during the next phase of selling.

A third phase of change in house ownership, like the 1890's phase, occurred during an economic depression. In the 1930's there was a series of changes in which those individuals who has become established landlords divested their holdings onto other local shopkeepers or sold a few houses here and there to individuals. These latter transactions were in the minority and the dominant change was one similar to the 1890's, although involving different personnel, in which those with capital seized an opportunity to buy cheap housing. Tom Clark bought houses from Pease and Partners who no doubt were attempting to cut their losses during the long closure of 1931 to 1940. A local shopkeeper who rose to prominence as a landlord at this time was Reginald Simons.

Two further phases require mention to complete the account of Lingdale's housing. In the 1950's the dominance of private landlords was somewhat dented by the building of five rows of council housing on the site of allotment gardens in the centre of the village (see Map D). A little under half of this housing was small bungalows intended for the housing of the elderly although the steep site was most inappropriate for this particular housing function. This small site accounted for the total number of households living in council accommodation in Lingdale until the mid-1970's. Only 14.9% of households were council-housed in 1971, 41.5% in privately rented accommodation and 43.6% in owner occupation (Census 1971). The vast majority of this latter total was accounted for by a private estate, Little Moorsholm, which was developed on the eastern outskirts of the village in 1967 and which is characterised by Lingdale people as being populated by outsiders.

The final phase of housing commenced in the mid-1970's with a slum

clearance programme. This phase saw the demise of the private landlord and the rise of his replacement, the district council housing department. One significant feature in this phase was the gradual movement of population away from the western end of the village to the new council housing at the "top end" or eastern end of the village. The social significance of this I explain in chapter six.. Street names also changed to be replaced by either the suburban, anodyne 'Meadowdale Court', 'Cederhurst Drive' and 'Beechwood Drive', or, because of the lobbying of a Labour councillor, names connected with local Labour representation, hence 'Kirkbright Close' after Lloyd Kirkbright, local councillor, ex-miner and cafe/shop-owner.

Outside of housing development the provision of public buildings shows a similar pattern. The mineowners were certainly the major providers between 1870 and 1920, in conjunction with local fund-raising. Such efforts produced the Miners' Institute, (1910), two substantial Methodist chapels (Wesleyan 1874, Primitive 1874), the Congregational Church (1885) and a number of temporary mission rooms utilised by the Anglican Church and the Salvation Army. A substantial local police station was built sometime between 1914 and 1920. A large school was built in 1876 together with two teacher's houses. The only other large buildings in Lingdale do not have functions that would have been approved of by the Peases. They are the one public house, the Lingdale Tavern, the now demolished Victoria Hotel and the Lingdale Workingmen's Club. The Workingmen's Club was founded in 1918 and is the only institution in the community that has shown a consistent level of working-class, albeit exclusively male, leadership and participation. It occupied a large building next to the Miners' Institute and opposite the Primitive Methodist Chapel originally but moved to the new purpose-built premises on an adjacent site in 1970.

I have attempted in this section to provide an essentially descriptive

account of the building of the village of Lingdale, indicating who was involved and what the major changes in the physical structure of the village and its ownership were. This information can be summarised by means of a table, (Table II), and by an example of these changes in one street as indicated by the conveyancing documentation.

Phases in Lingdale's construction and ownership can be exemplified by analysing the housing in Pease Street (1872 to 1979). The land on which Pease Street was built was originally owned by John Dixon, a local farmer with other business interests as a coal and sail-cloth merchant. From 1872 to 1877 Dixon sold off variously sized building plots on the Pease Street site, and undertook some building work on his own behalf. The plots he sold went to small builders who built five or six houses each in the terraced street, sometimes with finance arranged through mortgages. The houses Dixon built on his own behalf were quickly sold to another farmer, Hicks in 1873, and also during this period a farmer named Marley had acquired six houses probably from a builder called Hastings. Hicks leased his seventeen cottages to Pease and Partners in 1873 but sold them during the 1890's depression to Robert Watson, a butcher in Lingdale who retained most of them until 1928, but sold five to John Snowden, the local publican in 1898. Various other changes in ownership took place in the street during this period with the result that Henry Cook, a Lingdale grocer, and John Clark, another local grocer, took on roles as landlords (1889-1893). A builder named Potter also took over Henry Cook's houses in 1907 and bought three more in 1909, but he did not hold them long as they were sold in 1908 and 1909 to Philip George Swan, an engineman, and Benjamin Hargreaves, a miner. This marks the first ownership of houses by individuals employed in the mine and coincides with a period of high production and therefore relatively high earnings at the mine.

The pattern of ownership remains stable until the 1930's when John Snowden's houses are sold to a George Harmer and Reg Smith, a local builder and local shopkeeper respectively. Benjamin Hargreaves also buys another house at this time bringing the total he owns to four. Other changes that occur are due to the deaths of owners and the houses being passed on to relatives. By this process the farmers and shopkeepers retain significant numbers of houses in the street.

From the end of the Second World War the major landlords in the street, with the exception of Robert Watson's grandson D.I. Watson, relinquished their property as their relatives sold off property to individual owners on the deaths of the landlords. By this time most of the property was in a poor state of repair so that the local authority undertook compulsory purchases during the 1970's. Between 1950 and 1970 a number of houses were left empty as people left the village seeking better accommodation, usually in surrounding villages. In 1979 Pease Street was demolished and the remaining occupants rehoused in a new estate of council houses, 150 metres (164 yards) to the south of Pease Street. In 1982 council housing was completed on the Pease and Cockburn Street sites and some of the original Pease Street residents moved back to this housing, which was named Kirkbright Close.

### iii) The Social and Institutional Structure of the Community.

Discussion of the physical development of Lingdale in the previous section was necessarily undertaken with references to those who played the dominant roles in providing the physical structure of the community. The influence of these groups extended beyond a direct financial interest in Lingdale's well-being and growth; they tended to also play an active role in the social and institutional life of the community. In this section I will analyse the relationships between elements in the local social

structure in order to provide a more dynamic perspective on the relationships rather statically described above. Such an analysis will provide a further contributory component of data to be drawn on in the following section when the use of power, in the context of the community and its experience of work, is explained. This section will also be of importance in relation to the individual interview material which is analysed in chapter five, in that it provides a context for the understanding of that material.

One way of approaching the social and institutional structure of Lingdale is by initially referring back to the physical structure because there is an expression of the social structure inherent in that physical structure. This is of course, ultimately related to the labour process. The motivation of the mineowners in building housing was to provide suitably attractive residences for what they considered to be key workers in the mine. In the better constructed dwellings that resulted they thus expressed an evaluation of those that were to occupy such dwellings, an evaluation dependent on the role of these individuals in the day-to-day working of the mine. This particular sector of Lingdale's population came to occupy a dominant position in the social and institutional life of the village and the area of the village in which they lived, the eastern end (the 'top end' as it was, and is, popularly known) has retained a reputation for respectability and a degree of social isolation down to the present day.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Those born and raised in Lingdale tend to associate the 'top end' with greater affluence and this has been extended today to the adjacent modern private housing (Little Moorsholm). This division is particularly observable in terms of participation in community-wide organisations which tend to be dominated by the newcomers.

The skilled workers, the "bosses", i.e. overmen, outside engineers and office workers resided in this one area along with the village doctor (while one was in residence) and those influential local shopkeepers who did not live above their premises in other parts of Lingdale. This combination of individuals seems to have become the elite of the local power structure. Reference has already been made to the way in which the shopkeepers in particular extended their property holding into the realm of housing that for a long period they became dominant as landlords. Several of this group extended their activities into local politics by becoming councillors for Lingdale on the Skelton and Brotton Urban District Council. They also served on the School Board and one of them, Reg Smith, became a Justice of the Peace.

Mention should also be made of the role of local farmers who continued in much the same way in terms of agriculture but took opportunities to exploit possibilities opened up by the mining operations and attendant developments. Their role in housing is referred to in the previous section but they also took an active role in the community life of Lingdale in much the same way as the shopkeepers, i.e. by serving on public bodies and being elected onto Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. Their role as employers was perhaps more significant than the shopkeepers in terms of numbers employed and also in terms of the opportunities they offered for part-time work at various times of the year. These opportunities presented the major means of supplementing income outside of opportunities in the informal economy (see chapter seven) and farming was the major employment available for boys who left school, prior to being taken on at the mine. (The majority of mineworkers interviewed had experience of full-time work on a local farm; see interview material in chapter five.)

Shopkeepers although dominating the commercial life of the community

offered little in the way of employment. They tended to employ their immediate family and only after that did they employ others, mainly women.

**Religious Organisations.** The activities of the elite of the "top end" extended into the religious life of Lingdale. Every religious denomination, except the Salvation Army, had on its committee or board of trustees significant representation from this elite. The Church of England operated a very subsidiary outpost in Lingdale in the form of a mission which opened in 1908 sometime after the other chapels and churches had been well established. Apart from 1908-1928 and 1939-1945 it never averaged more than 10-15 communicants and does not seem to have been particularly well attended (Services register 1908-1955, 1955-70; CCA PB/BK 14,15). Part of the reason for the poor showing of the Church of England may have been due to the building of a sizeable Church in the neighbouring village of Boosbeck, 800 metres (half a mile) to the west of Lingdale and within easy walking distance of Lingdale. This Church which opened in 1900 was built with the help of donations from both the Peases and J.T. Wharton of Skelton and Gilling Estates, the largest local landowners. The organisational centre for church affairs was Skelton and the lay representation was primarily by local farmers and the more affluent population of that village. It is difficult to see, even with a strong local presence in Lingdale, how the Church of England could have made much of an inroad on the well-attended Methodist Chapels and the Salvation Army meetings.

It is with the Methodist Chapels that perhaps the most surprising observations on the activities of Lingdale's petite-bourgeoisie are to be made. On the basis of previous sociological work on the role of Methodism in mining communities, particularly the work of Robert Moore in his study of Methodism in the Deerness Valley in Durham, where he analyses its role in Peases' colliery villages, (Moore 1974), one might assume Methodism played



a vital role in developing political and economic leadership among the working class. The presence of the local petite-bourgeoisie as leaders of such chapels negates this assumption in the case of Lingdale, when it is placed alongside the factors I draw attention to in the chapter seven. Moore (1974:73-74) also finds that shopkeepers are disproportionately represented in the leadership of most of the chapels he studied, but in the case of Durham this did not prevent the chapels fulfilling the role of training ground for political representation, albeit of a limited kind.

In Lingdale shopkeepers were well represented in both Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Chapels (see interview material, chapter five)<sup>15</sup> Which shopkeeper went to which chapel was decided, according to the count of Ethel Clark, the daughter of perhaps the most prominent Wesleyan, in terms of business cooperation, or conflict and rivalry. If two shopkeepers were rivals or had been on opposite sides in some dispute or other they may well have decided to acknowledge their differences by attending different chapels. Likewise cooperation between local shopkeepers could extend to their mutual attendance of the same chapel. Ethel contended this was particularly the case with the Primitive Methodist Chapel leadership. (This accounts perhaps for the very late amalgamation in 1962 of the two chapels). Records do not show the occupational structure of the Methodist congregations but data gathered from interviews suggests that they were more representative of Lingdale's population than the leadership.

Much social life revolved around the chapels for those who shunned the public houses and workingmen's club and it is at these social events that contact between Lingdale's chapel going working-class population and the elite could take place on a non-contractual or narrowly religious basis.

---

<sup>15</sup> This was also confirmed by the records of the Methodist Chapels in Cleveland County Archives (R/M/RSG/2/6-7 and R/M/RSG/5).

For a long period of time the entertainment provided by the chapels was the only legitimate form of entertainment for the women of the community. Concerts, musical recitals, bazaars, jumble sales and the occasional educational talk involved the village Methodists in a pattern of cooperation that reinforced the more overt religious links. Such social occasions also functioned to reinforce communal bonds for a category of villagers broader than just the practising Methodists. Several of those interviewed related how they would move from one chapel or church to another during the week, depending on what entertainment was available. This would not occur with the leaders of the various chapels and churches and it would appear that they for the most part earned a stand-offish or snobbish reputation in not partaking of social functions other than their own. The description Moore provides of village Methodism in Durham fits the practice in Lingdale particularly well, although as I go on to show (see chapter seven) because of its relationship to other factors, primarily to do with the variable economic status of mining, the outcome is quite different.

We have a cluster of mutually reinforcing factors which make analysis of the Methodist societies in terms of formal organisations, or associations (in the community-association dichotomy) inappropriate. The societies are relatively small, family-like groups, united by common beliefs, kinship, a shared upbringing, religious, cultural and recreational life, lived under the eye of patriarchal leaders and divided only by personal disputes. The core of this religious community is both objectively and subjectively separated from the wider community by beliefs and the ethical consequences of beliefs (Moore 1974:132).

In the case of Lingdale there is little evidence to suggest, as was the case in the nearby village of Charltons and as mentioned by Moore for Durham (1974:70), that Methodists were favoured for employment by the mineowners. The evidence for Lingdale in this respect points in fact to those attending the Congregationalist Church as being favoured for jobs at the mine.

The significance of the Congregationalists for those miners that were

interviewed was that Alec Vincent, an engineer with responsibility for work in the pit-yard, was a leading figure of that church and if miners wished to get one of the better "outside" jobs they had to be seen as church-goers. Once their church-going activity was recognised they stood a good chance of getting a job "outside". The siting of this church is, I feel, partly to account, along with its leadership, for its relatively high status in Lingdale. It was at the "top end" of the village, adjacent to the better housing in Stanghow Road and conveniently between Whitwell Terrace and Dale Terrace, the two rows of better company housing. A manse was erected with money collected locally in 1907. The foundation stones were laid by Lady Pease, Mrs. Vincent and Mr. Henry Cook, a Lingdale grocer and landlord (see Chapter four, sect. iii).

Apart from its close connection with the mine there seems little to distinguish the activities of the Congregational Church from those of the Methodist Chapels. Theological differences would also appear to have been minor. Moore sums up the Congregationalists thus:

The Congregationalists as a whole took an early interest in social affairs, setting up a fund for the miners in 1893 and asserting the right of humanity over property in economic affairs. Later in the century the Congregational Union took a more subdued interest in social affairs, although individual Congregationalists remained active in politics (Moore 1974:57).

The Congregationalists (now the United Reform Church) are unique in Lingdale in one aspect : they are the only surviving non-conformist group in the village and have, on the demise of the Methodist chapels, taken in some of the remaining active Methodists. Their survival may well have much to do with this influx of new blood, with the continuity given by certain long-serving families and by their relatively advantageous position socially and spatially in the community.

One further religious group was mentioned by those interviewed, and

that was the Salvation Army. In contrast to the other denominations referred to above, the Salvation Army seems to have had a greater emotional appeal for the unskilled, less disciplined (in the Methodist sense) section of Lingdale's working class. Those interviewees who referred to attendance at the Salvation Army's meetings tended to be employed in relatively low-status occupations in the mine (or to be married to such workers). The meetings seem to have been well attended, particularly during the 1920's. The Salvation Army Hall was opened on the 29th May, 1922, the same year that the village was visited by the Salvation Army's founder, General Booth. Unfortunately this hall was destroyed by a severe gale on March 1st 1949, and after temporary housing in the Institute, other premises were obtained (School Survey 1951).

There are no records of the attendances at these various chapels and churches but a survey done by Lingdale School children (and therefore to be interpreted with caution) lists the following memberships for 1951: -

	<u>Membership</u>
Wesleyan (Brunswick) Chapel, Scarth Street:	100 (seats 350)
Primitive (Jubilee) Chapel, High Street:	270
Congregational Church, Stanghow Road:	130 (seats 150)
Stanghow <sup>+</sup> Primitive Methodist Chapel:	96 (seats 100)
Church of England Mission (Church Army), High St.:	170
Salvation Army Hall, Scarth Street:	<u>450</u>
	1216 Total

+ (Neighbouring hamlet within easy reach of the eastern end of Lingdale)

Although these numbers have to be treated cautiously, and there certainly seems to have been some double-counting in that the numbers of children attending Sunday Schools appear to have been added, and no account of dual membership has been taken; nevertheless there is a rough indication here not only of the extent of religious observance in the community but also of its composition. Given that by 1978 there were only two active churches (Congregationalist/United Reform, and the Church of England), both with small memberships, there is provided by these figures a picture of a

steep and dramatic decline in religious attendance. Taking these figures at face value, there is a decline from approximately 62.2% of the population attending one denomination or another to approximately 6.9%, in a twenty-seven year period.

Moore dates the decline of village Methodism in County Durham from after the First World War; accounting for this he refers to increasing social differentiation, increasing institutional specialisation, increasing access to commercial entertainment in nearby towns, through the provision of public transport, and finally the widespread growth of the Labour Party (Moore 1974:215-216). Lingdale certainly did not experience such changes so early and the population in general did not have the surplus income to travel to Teesside for their entertainment on a regular basis. The growth of the Labour Party was not as pervasive or as strong as the growth in other parts of the North East (see below ). The onset of the religious decline was therefore delayed but when it came it was more rapid, no doubt accelerated by increasing rates of car ownership, the necessity to work outside of the community and thereby to associate with a more socially and spatially differentiated population and by the advent of home entertainment in the form of television.

Before closing this brief account of religion in Lingdale, one further development is perhaps of some note in any overall explanation of responses to industrial decline and relative powerlessness.

For a period of ten years between 1930 and the outbreak of the Second World War, the Lingdale Brotherhood flourished. While the Lingdale mine was closed this non-denominational weekly gathering attracted large numbers of men from Lingdale to its meetings. The posters that survive, and the comments of interviewees, described the programmes put on. They included hymn-singing and a prayer but they really could not be described as

religious meetings, particularly as interviewees reported that they were open to, and attracted, the men from the public houses and the club, as well as the chapel-goers. The main event of the meeting was a talk or lecture by a guest speaker of some reputation, often national rather than local.

The social control aspect of such an organisation is particularly useful at times of high unemployment, and embodied an expression of social cohesiveness with the national social structure. This was emphasised by the visit of H.R.H. Prince George on February 17th, 1933 when he was inducted into the Brotherhood. Lord Feversham was likewise inducted along with other local large landowners. 350 members attended on the occasion of Lingdale's first, and last, Royal visit.

The local leadership of the Brotherhood was primarily composed of the Wesleyan Methodists with Tom Clark playing a leading role. Little was heard of the Brotherhood after the Second World War and the annual outing which once took twenty buses full of men to local seaside resorts was superseded by the workmen's club annual outings.

**Social Activities of the Mine Management and the Owners.** The mine owners, the Peases, remained socially distant from Lingdale people. Their role, other than that of employers, was confined to the provision of an educational, religious and recreational infrastructure, usually in conjunction with other local benefactors, local landowners like the Whartons of Skelton Castle, or in conjunction with the local population. In this way the Lingdale school, the Miners' Institute and the Congregational Church manse among other buildings came into being. Apart from visits when buildings of this type were officially opened, it is doubtful the Peases ever set foot in Lingdale. The paternalistic activities declined as the nature of Pease and Partners changed from a family firm to a modern limited liability industrial conglomerate, and as the role of the State broadened.

The mine management, in contrast to the owner, was locally situated and knew the local population, in the context of employment, on a day-to-day basis. In the early years of Lingdale's development the managers (e.g. C. Heslop, the first manager and later Peases' mines agent) were brought in from other Pease mines, both coal and ironstone. Their position at other Pease mines and their continued employment leads to the assumption that they shared something of the owners' ethos. There were only five managers at Lingdale during the 75 years of Pease ownership although they all did not live in Lingdale. Interviewees had difficulty recollecting any social activity in which the managers took part. Their social isolation was no doubt partly a reflection of their social standing between workers and employers, partly an acceptance and following of the paternalism of the owners (although in Lingdale there is no recollection of managers inspecting the community with respect to cleanliness and upkeep as happened in other local villages) and part a very necessary stance in order that appropriate industrial discipline could be maintained. This latter point was amply demonstrated to Edward Firbank, secretary to the mines agent for Bolckow and Vaughan and later Dorman-Long, by the difficulties experienced by two local men, Jack Ash and Andrew Hope, who rose to be managers, in keeping discipline among a workforce they were familiar with on a community level.

There was another factor at work in bringing in outsiders to manage the ironstone mines; the matter of qualifications. The examination system for mine management (until the late 1950's) was based solely on coal-mining practice. Any individual wishing to become a manager had both to be familiar with coal mining methods and to have some practical experience of them. Thus Peases had their management talent developed in their collieries and transferred to the ironstone mines after qualification to

gain further experience before taking over as managers. This system made it very difficult for local men to rise to the position of manager. Throughout the entire history of the Cleveland mines only two men achieved management posts after rising through the ranks and those two only did this in the period between 1945 and closure. (Both these men, Jack Ash and Andrew Hope, were interviewed in the course of the research).

Managers were therefore outsiders in terms of the community and in terms of the workforce. They retained their marginal social standing in order to be more effective managers; their contact with the community was almost solely as the local representatives of the owners, an employer of miners and of locally-recruited workforce through the undermanagers, further emphasising the aloofness of the manager.

The undermanagers were locally recruited, and this was generally recognised as the highest position a local man could aspire to. They acted as the brokers between the manager and those with direct supervisory responsibility over the men (i.e. the overmen and the deputies). They were seen however as part of the community, not socially distinct but 'just like us', in contrast to the managers who were generally described by interviewees as 'gentlemen'.

**Shops and Commercial Life in the Community.** The pivotal role of the shopkeepers in the social and economic life of the community has already been referred to, but some indication of the relative size of this group and its social differentiation over time is necessary.

Little information is available on the social origins of the majority of shopkeepers who would have been established in that role by the time of the 1881 census. It can be assumed that the majority brought their business with them as the new market, created by the opening of the mine and the building of the community, presented them with business opportunities not



readily available in the more established towns and villages.

The other route to this occupation was taken by miners who were injured and therefore unable to work at the better paid mining jobs. Rather than face the rest of their lives on lower incomes they used what money they could raise (and some of this no doubt would be their compensation payments) to start a business. Two of those interviewed recalled parents or grandparents who had started a business in this way. One case failed but the other was very successful and laid the foundations for one of Lingdale's most successful shop and house-owning concerns. It is worth recounting this latter case in some detail as it draws together a number of elements in Lingdale's early development.

Ethel Clark (aged 73) is the last surviving member of the Clark family. When interviewed she recalled that her grandfather John Clark was originally moved from West Durham (where Peases operated coal mines and limestone quarries) by Pease and Partners to assist in the opening of the new mine at Lingdale. He was accompanied by a Mr. Cook (this may be the same Cook who went into shop and house owning also) and was told that "he could have as many men as he wanted." Originally, while housing was built at Lingdale, he lived at Guisborough. At some stage during the mine's development John Clark was injured and therefore he decided to establish a grocery shop and local transportation business. He was described as a staunch Methodist (Wesleyan) and prior to the building of a chapel he held services in his house on the High Street, Lingdale. His business flourished so that he was able to contribute to the funds for the building of the chapel (1874) and buy several houses. He had a family of one son (Tom) and seven daughters.

Tom inherited from his father in 1908 when he was 34. He had married in 1898, his wife being a teacher at the Lingdale school who originally came

from Dalbeattie in Scotland. They had two daughters, the youngest of which (Ethel) now is the only survivor. Tom retained the houses his father left him and extended his business activities into butchery. The family moved to a large house on Stanghow Road in 1911. Throughout his adult life Tom was the major figure in the Wesleyan Chapel, and later the Lingdale Brotherhood. The family, through the eldest daughter, retained a land-owning and landlord role until the 1970's, and throughout attended the Wesleyan Chapel.

The diversity and size of the petite-bourgeoisie shop owning population in Lingdale at the turn of the century can be gauged by referring to local trade directories, e.g. Bulmer's Directory of North Yorkshire (1890) lists the following businesses in Lingdale (population approximately 1100): ten grocers, three butchers, three drapers, two general dealers, two china dealers, two bootmakers, two public houses, a post office, a hardware dealer, a tinsmith, a carrier, an insurance agent, a joiner, a stocking-knitter, a huckster and a watchmaker. Other individuals listed in the directory are either skilled positions in the mines (5), teachers (3) or ministers of religion (1). Such a listing was accompanied by the following description of Lingdale:

...a large village...built in the prosperous days of the iron trade for the accommodation of the workmen employed at the neighbouring mines; but since the depression set in, some ten or twelve years ago, the place has been half abandoned, and tenantless houses meet the eye everywhere (Bulmer's Directory of North Yorkshire 1890:196).

If these 33 businesses continued to exist under such harsh conditions it might be concluded that more would be supported during more favourable times. The contrast between the number and diversity of businesses in the past and the present low-level of commercial activity is marked. There are now a little under half (16) the number of businesses that existed in 1890

although the population has increased. These are: one public house, one workingmen's club, two fish and chip shops, a garage, an electrical goods and repair shop, a greengrocer, four grocers, a butcher, a newsagents, a post-office, a draper and a hardware store.

Any analysis of the commercial activity in a mining village would be incomplete without reference to the place of the local co-operative store. Williamson (1982:72-77) describes the central place of the co-operative store in the Northumberland colliery village of Throckley. The initial convergence of unionism, liberalism and non-conformity in the mining community was supported by consumer's co-operation but this focus tended later to separate unions and the co-operative movement. Certainly in Cleveland there was an initial close relationship between the two movements. Joseph Toyn (1888-1924) the miner's leader helped to serve behind the counter of the first co-operative store in Skelton (Bellamy & Saville 1974:369). This connection may however have been detrimental for the co-operative store in Lingdale as it never came to occupy anything like the key position described by Williamson. There are undoubtedly other reasons for this, the main one being the dual role of the shopkeeper/landlords. These individuals would often extend credit to their customer/tenants in much the same way as Williamson describes the co-operative store as doing, so that particular co-operative advantage was negated. Further, it seems likely that the promotion of good relationships with the landlord, by shopping at his establishment, may well have been in the long-term interests of the tenants. What emerges from the interview material supports this; few references are made to the co-operative store (although of course it did have its staunch supporters who make comments about the value of the dividend); rather, the emphasis is on the relationship between individuals and their landlord/shopkeeper. This

sometimes ramifies into the shopkeeper acting as an adviser to his customer/tenants on legal and bureaucratic matters.

Williamson's analysis of the data for the Co-operative store in Throckley enables him to assess the financial importance of the store and its dividend for the community (Williamson 1982). It is not possible to replicate such an analysis for Lingdale as the existing records of the Skelton Industrial Provident Society Ltd. do not provide a separate breakdown of receipts or dividends for the Lingdale branch. It is important to note however that in terms of the development of the Skelton I.P.S. Ltd. which was founded in 1873, the Lingdale branch was a late development. By 1899, when the Lingdale branch was established, the Skelton Co-operative's main branch and branches in Boosbeck, New Skelton and Skelton Green had been serving their respective communities for a decade or more. The co-operative enterprise in Lingdale remained and remains dominated from Skelton. Given its comparatively late start in Lingdale it may be surmised that the commercial structure of the community dominated by the landlord/shopkeepers with their established tenants/customers, offered comparatively little opportunity for the new co-operative store.

**Education.** A school has existed in Lingdale since 1874 and, as might be expected, throughout most of its history it has educated the children of Lingdale in terms of the local labour market opportunities. The school log books record a curriculum based on basic literacy and numeracy with songs and poetry lauding the virtues of the English countryside and patriotic ideals. It is difficult to escape the impression that the destiny of the male children was inescapably the mine and therefore education was to be part of the process of narrowly fitting them to that occupation. Remarkably few of those interviewed volunteered any comment on their school experience; it was viewed as inconsequential. The girls were treated in a

similar fashion and given basic training in the skills, such as needlework, that they would find of use in the domestic sphere.

Children and parents noted the irrelevance of much of what the school taught for the working life that was inevitably to come their way. Hence attendance became a frequent problem. The school log books contain many remarks of the following kind:

Low attendance, children potato picking with parents (Oct. 1884)  
Few in school, children potato picking and brambling (Oct. 1886)  
Many of the older boys are absent being at work in the gardens  
(March 1881).

It should be noted that absence did not mean idle leisure for the children; they were at work providing additional income for their families (see also chapter seven).

The school was under the auspices of the local School Board which throughout its existence reflected the dominance of the local elites. Local farmers, the shopkeeper/landlords, the mine management (significantly their only role in the institutional structure of the community) and local large landowners oversaw the running of the school and frequently visited the school (Lingdale School Log Books 1874-1921). The composition of the School Board in 1883 illustrates this point; chairman: J. Petch (local farmer); committee: C. Heslop (mine manager), J. Calow (draper, landlord, Primitive Methodist Chapel trustee), H. Cook (grocer, landlord). It should be stated that working-class representation was not entirely excluded but it was always in a minority on the School Board. George Whitbread, the miners' union lodge secretary is one example of such working-class representation; he was a Board member from 1899-1900. The presence of farmers on the School Board did little to prevent absences of the kind referred to above, as one entry in the School Log Book for July 1882 makes clear: "Some of the farmers in the district employ the children when they

ought to be in school."

**Politics.** Before the advent of the Labour Party, politics in Lingdale was almost wholly in terms of support of the Liberal Party. A good deal of this support emanated, according to interviewees, from the "top end" of Lingdale and events were held to raise funds by the Congregationalists. Such efforts helped to make the Cleveland division a Liberal stronghold, represented in Westminster by Sir Herbert Samuel and briefly by Sir Charles Starmer, a Quaker and businessman from the Peases' home town of Darlington.

The Labour Party must have had a local branch at Lingdale before 1928 as the existing records note that the Lingdale branch was 're-opened' in August of that year. Just how or when the early Labour Party was organised in Lingdale is not known as there are no records remaining prior to 1928 and none of those interviewed had any clear recollection of Labour politics in that period. Lingdale seems to have responded in tune with the parliamentary division as a whole and an account of this has been provided above.

The existing Labour Party records enable some reconstruction of local organisation from 1928 to the end of World War Two. The existence of the local party seems to have been very precarious as there are quite frequent references to the local party being re-formed (in 1928, 1930, and 1938). The peak of the Labour Party's numerical strength in Lingdale seems to have been between 1931 and 1936 although no actual figures are given in the records ; there are references to the branch doing well (1936) and the establishment of a women's section of one hundred members (1933) (Labour Party Constituency AGM minutes and Executive Committee minutes). There are no records of any Lingdale branch existing after the Second World War and it would appear that Labour Party organisation in the area moved onto a ward party structure as there was not the numerical strength to support branches

in the individual mining communities.

In terms of political representation there is a picture of long periods when Lingdale's elected representatives came from the petite-bourgeoisie, mine management or local farmers. This was particularly the case on the Skelton and Brotton Local Board just prior to Lingdale's founding, right through to the turn of the century. The names of those that built Lingdale or sold land for development (Dixon, Tyreman, Marley, Wilkinson) or were concerned with mining because of royalties (Wharton, the local squire and his agent, Hamilton) or profit (Heslop, mine manager and later agent for Pease and Partners) are consistently present. As Lingdale's population grew, the right to elect individuals to represent the community itself (rather than contest elections over a broader area) was eventually gained (1919). This did not change the nature of that representation in any substantial way. The early class of developers was replaced by the shopkeepers and businessmen (Clark, Milligan, Potter, Snowden) with the farmers and landowners retaining their role (Allison, Scarth). This domination was occasionally punctuated by the election of a member of the working class. In 1898, for one year, George Whitbread, the union lodge secretary, was elected and in 1908 and 1913-1921 N. Teasdale, also a lodge secretary, represented Lingdale alongside Tom Clark, local landlord and businessman. Despite the Lingdale Labour Party's strength during the thirties they were unable to challenge the position of Tom Clark. In 1933, 1936 and 1937 the Labour Party candidates lost, although by the small margins of 11 and 12 votes on two of these occasions.

Since the Second World War the pattern of representation has not changed greatly; the local shopkeepers seem to have consistently retained one of Lingdale's two seats on the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. The Labour Party has often struggled to find candidates and when candidates have been

found they have not always been successful. The tendency that has often defeated the Labour candidate who stands for Lingdale but is not seen as a 'Lingdale man' is the tendency to vote for the local man regardless of his politics.

**Leisure.** If working-class interests surface at all in Lingdale they do so most significantly in the realm of leisure. The rich complex of activities which have become associated with the culture of coal-mining communities are also found in the ironstone mining communities of East Cleveland. The brass (or silver) band, the pigeon racing, the whippet racing and flower and vegetable shows, football, quoits and cricket teams have all flourished in these villages and Lingdale is no exception to this.

All these activities tend to have one thing in common; they put the individual or team into competition with other individuals and teams. The competition is generally good-natured but the emphasis placed on this competition (particularly in the case of football) by interviewees and its implications for community identity and reputation should not be minimised. In the era before privatised, home-centered leisure these activities alongside the opportunities offered by pubs, chapels, Miners' Institute and workingmen's club were central to the social life of the community. They acted to shape and re-inforce the social networks created by the world of work whilst at the same time they provided a means of self-expression not possible in the context of work.<sup>16</sup> In a discussion of pigeon racing it has been suggested that it should be seen as "compensation for the experience of coercive, fragmented and repetitive work in the mine" (Mott 1973:89).

---

<sup>16</sup> Work, in the shape of the mining company, was not always absent from this sphere of activity, e.,g. in the thirties (while the mine was closed) Lingdale's football team became known as 'Pease and Partners' due to the owners' sponsorship.



The same may well be said of other leisure activities; they not only provide emotional satisfaction but may provide tangible financial returns and not least of all a sense of autonomy. Williamson suggests, in the course of a discussion on leek-growing, that such activities are best seen as an adjunct of a miner's status, another strand of the individual's reputation to be developed in a less constrained atmosphere guided by peer evaluation (1982:116).

It is perhaps significant that most of these activities continue in the community today although in some cases this is on a much-reduced scale and with the assistance of people from outside the community. Nevertheless, if there is one area of life that has retained some semblance of continuity throughout Lingdale's existence it is the area of leisure activities. The underlying rationale for this continuity is discussed in chapter seven.

It is not possible to discuss the leisure-time activities of Lingdale's inhabitants, both past and present, without reference to the role of the pub, the club and the Miners' Institute.

There has always been a Miners' Institute in Lingdale and it has always been provided by a coalition of mine owners and local landowners then given over to the miners for its day-to-day running. Initially the Institute was at the southern end of Dale Terrace but in 1910 (no doubt because the Dale Terrace buildings were proving too small) a lease was drawn up in which a building for the purpose of the Literary and Scientific Institute Act, 1854 was to be erected on land provided by the Skelton and Gilling Estate (W.H.A. Wharton). The money for the building was provided by Pease and Partners and the running costs were raised by deducting two pence per week from the miners' wages. The initial list of trustees reflects the dominant influence of the mineowners. The trustees were A.F. Pease, J.A. Pease (mineowners), C. Heslop (mine manager), George Steele (mine deputy), H. J.

Allison (local farmer and councillor), Joseph Calow (Draper and prominent Primitive Methodist) and J.A. Parker (occupation not known).

The Institute was, of course, strictly temperance but sales of tobacco, sweets and soft drinks were allowed. There was a well-equipped reading-room, large hall and games rooms catering for billiards, snooker, dominoes and cards. Gambling was prohibited although those interviewed did indicate that it went on when the Institute caretaker or committee members were not present. The building was extremely well used by all the community for large social gatherings. It had the largest hall in the village and this was in demand for the frequent dances and concerts. Those interviewed particularly recalled the competition for the use of the billiard tables. They were in constant use and in order to ensure a table was available it was necessary to run from the mine as soon as the shift was ended. On weekends the tables were never out of use during the Institute's opening hours.

"Institute used to be packed; Christmas times I've seen those billiard tables never stop for three days. Dance nights...and they used to take classes every week...and some people used to turn up in that Institute. I've seen some good do's there. There was a library, reading room...after two o'clock lads used to come running down from the pit, put their names up on the board for a game. They'd get washed, changed and have their dinner and be back for a game of billiards. There used to be cards going, dominoes, draughts, all the games." (Jack Cuthbert, 75 years old, miner).

The use of the Institute did decline however when slowly, at first, the competition of the workingmen's club began to attract members away. This process accelerated greatly with ease of access to entertainment outside of the community and the growth of privatised leisure activities, particularly television, in the mid-1950's. The fabric of the building suffered as the take-over of the mine by Dorman-Long and its eventual closure meant that no assistance was forthcoming for its upkeep. The trustees grew old and died one by one and eventually in 1979 the responsibility for the Institute which

now houses the County Council sponsored youth club passed totally to Cleveland County. At the time of writing £120,000 is being spent by the County to modernise the building for use as a Youth Club.

A number of those interviewed charted the decline of the Institute from the opening of the Lingdale Workingmen's Club in 1918. The Workingmen's Club is the only organisation that has had throughout its existence a leadership and clientele drawn exclusively from Lingdale's working class. Few records survive due to two unfortunate fires which destroyed the accumulated accounts, membership rolls and minute books of the early years of the club. From one or two early balance sheets that do survive it is possible to substantiate that the club's committee was composed of miners and kindred occupations. The club was also a flourishing concern as it was able to obtain its own premises, situated adjacent to the old club. The club is probably the most frequented place of entertainment in Lingdale today and it still retains a ban on women in the public bar.

There were also two public houses in Lingdale which co-existed with the club as predominantly male preserves for most of their history. As has been noted, the presence of public houses in a 'Pease village' is something of an oddity to be explained in terms of the pattern of land development and the overall economic climate at the time Lingdale was developed. The 'top end house', the Lingdale Tavern is a large building situated conveniently close to the mine site. The original owner, John Snowden gave it the name of the Lingdale Hotel although in its early days it was known as 'Snowden's'. The monopoly the hotel had must have made it a relatively profitable enterprise as John Snowden diversified into house ownership. The proximity to the mine site made it easy for miners coming off their shift to slake their thirst before going home. The hotel also had a small room that was used for dances. This room had a separate entrance so that women coming to dances

did not have to pass through the bars where men were drinking.

The monopoly held by the Lingdale Hotel was broken in 1910 when Cameron and Co. Ltd. opened the Victoria Hotel at the western end of the village. This became a popular meeting place for residents in that part of Lingdale but after the opening of the club, a short distance away and offering cheaper beer, its fortunes declined to the extent that it closed in the late sixties and was demolished.

### Summary

The intention of providing the above account has been mainly to describe the development of the social and institutional structure of the community, not so much to provide the detailed "community study" account that is well known and well criticised in sociology (see e.g. Bell and Newby 1971), but to provide material so that Lingdale's very specific patterns of development and decline can be effectively compared with and contrasted to accounts of the effects of development in other mining communities. Further, the material provided above is used in chapters six and seven in the course of explaining the emergence of a particular consciousness about power in the population studied.

In concluding this section reference must be made to very limited participation of women in the elements of the structure of Lingdale's social and institutional life discussed above. With the possible exception of the religious organisations in the community women were confined to a purely domestic role. A role which has been documented at length for other mining communities (see Williamson 1982, Allen 1981 and MacIntyre 1980). Reference will be made to the outcome of this non-participation in chapter seven.

Finally, those familiar with material on mining communities will be surprised no doubt at the absence of any reference to the union lodge and

its role. That a lodge existed in Lingdale is not in doubt. No. 21 Lodge, "The Rose of Summer" of the Cleveland Miners' Association was established in 1876 and lasted through to the C.M.A.'s amalgamation with the G. M. W. U. in 1932. No records now exist for this lodge and references to it in the minutes of the C.M.A. present a picture of an ill-supported organisation which periodically had to be boosted by visits from Union Headquarters officials. More significantly none of those interviewed recalled, even when directly asked, that the union lodge had any major role in the social or political life of the community. Its role was simply to act as a local collecting point for union contributions and for the dissemination of union news and information. Lodge meetings were not well attended according to those Lingdale miners interviewed and in general the lodge was seen to have little importance. This local reaction to the union lodge is symptomatic of reactions to the union in general. An explanation of this reaction and its effects, using data recounted in the early section of this chapter will be provided in chapter six.

## Chapter Five: Personal Accounts of Change in the Mine and the Community

The material presented in this chapter has been extracted from the interviews undertaken during the course of the research. The purpose behind the provision of this data is twofold, firstly it supports and supplements the analysis undertaken in chapters six and seven and secondly it demonstrates how the individual expresses his or her experience of the mine or community in a holistic way, thus these accounts tend to provide a coherence different to that provided in the analysis in this research. The analysis has tended to fragment the data provided in the interviews in order that particular themes and issues can be discussed in detail, but it should be emphasised that this is not the way in which respondents categorise their experience. The material that follows restores some of the coherence of the individual's personal account. The account of the miner's work experience for example is now seen as complementary to his life in the community whereas, so far in the dissertation, for analytical purposes, these have been somewhat separated.

The pattern of the following sections of this chapter is similar to that employed in chapters six and seven, i.e. accounts of the mine and the world of work are dealt with first and then those accounts that deal primarily with the community follow. I shall attempt to draw attention to the relationship between the two categories where possible and to add commentary where this will provide an additional emphasis supportive of themes explored in chapters six and seven. The actual language used by respondents is preserved as far as possible but explanations of technical terms or dialect have been added where necessary (see also Appendix E). All the names of respondents are pseudonyms in order that the confidential nature of their statements is protected.

## 1) The Miners: work and attitudes

Harry 'Pomper' Teasdale<sup>17</sup> is a 76 year old miner whose account of his career as an ironstone miner is typical and demonstrates both the nature of the work itself and the structure of the mine's hierarchy. His background is interesting in that he can trace a line back to his grandfather as the first generation to move to Cleveland:

"My grandfather came from Lincolnshire to South Skelton mine, that was start of t'family when he came to Lingdale and after that...now was there thirteen or sixteen...there was six lads...there was thirteen of 'em in t'family. He used to bring his wages in and he used to throw down a gold sovereign and a gold half sovereign and that was 'er money to keep t'family for a week. He used t'come home drunk on Sunday afternoon and he alus sang a hymn, alus t'same hymn and he threw his hat in first. They alus wore

---

<sup>17</sup> I have retained the use of nicknames because of the striking regularity with which they occur among the miners. They are used to the extent that often an individual will not be known by his Christian name in the community; and they are recorded on the headstones in local cemeteries. Jack Cuthbert related an experience which points up this emphasis on nicknames. When he first attended school the schoolmaster asked all the children in the new class for the full names of their fathers. None of the children knew their father's Christian name and they had to be sent home to ask; they only knew the nicknames.

Fox (1978) reports a widespread use of nicknames on Tory Island to reinforce the use of personal names to fix a person's kinship status. The use of nicknames in East Cleveland also fixes an individual, but in a particular community rather than a kinship grouping, although there is an element of this too as nicknames are passed down the generations. E.G. "Pomper" was the third generation of his family to carry that nickname. Of greater interest is the way in which this pattern of naming reinforces the sense of identity of the individual with the community. A stranger would use the 'official' Christian name whilst the community member would use the nickname. The stories told of the origin of the nicknames are also important as they again usually relate to the work of the individual, his family, or his community. E.G. "Pomper" relates that his grandfather came from Lincolnshire (Lincolnshire men were known as "yellow bellies" after a Lincolnshire regiment that wore yellow waistcoats) to work at South Skelton mine attending the pumps. He became known therefore as "Pumper" which over time got corrupted to "Pomper" (possibly because of a Lincolnshire pronunciation). The name was then passed down to "Pomper's" son and his grandson who I interviewed. I collected thirty-three nicknames used in a similar way. It should be noted that this was a totally male pattern of naming and I have not come across any women with nicknames.

those sailor-type hats.

"They lived all over Lingdale, up here (top end), down North Terrace. My father was fourth or fifth in age. He got his spine fractured at North Skelton pit after he got...well, he never really did get better...I got my spine fractured at Lingdale. We lived in Dixon Street first, then we went down t'High street. My father was in t'First War, he needn't have gone because deputies, miners needn't have gone but he volunteered. I can remember 'em marching down t'street in civvies as they were going to the station to go to Catterick. He got to be a sargeant.

"He worked at Kilton longest, I never remember him having a day off. He'd be drunk as a lord on Sunday night but he was up at four o'clock next morning. First thing he had was a cup of tea with one of those old fashioned packets of Epsom Salts in. Betime he had his breakfast he was running and after that he was clear. He was deputy at Kilton, walked all that way hail, rain, snow. Later part of his life he worked here (Lingdale) like, then he went t'South Skelton. He always seemed as though he could get a job. I can't remember him ever being out of work. When most other people were out of work, he was working. When they had a choice ...mines ...they picked t'best man...those that really didn't want to work they left.

"I started as soon as I left school. I went onto t'belt, Peases belt, that was sorting. It was threepence a day (1.25 pence) more down the pit, so first chance you put your name down. You wanted to be down t'pit as leaders, used to lead hosses...I'd say I was about fifteen. It was harder work at Peases, and bigger tubs but you were an hour in bed longer and at end of day. I didn't used to get up 'til buzzer blew, that was six o'clock.

"You got from leading to driving, then when you got to twenty-one if you



didn't go into stone as a miner you had to finish. You were on top driver's wages at twenty-one. They gave you a choice, but somebody had to take you. If you didn't do that they'd sack you 'cos you were on top wages and they could get a young lad of fourteen.

"Most of 'em went with their fathers, most of young lads went with their fathers. I didn't, I went from a leader, a driver to dog-whipper, that was boss of lads who had hosses, then I went as back-bye man, a deputy's mate. Then I became a deputy. To get into stone I went with me brother. He was a miner like, he did a bit of day work but it wasn't enough money so he went int'stone, I went with him. Then when he died I went with several others. I could go with anybody. We had advantage over those going straight int'stone 'cos we knew all about the mine. By the time I got to be a deputy I knew all about the mine 'cos I worked it - leader lad, driver, back-bye man, deputy. When I first started men who were deputies were men with most ability, best miners. I went to be a miner because it was more money. It was harder work, you'd fill a certain thing a day, well with Peases, this mine, eight was a good thing because of the big tubs. At South Skelton and North Skelton you'd fill fourteen to be about the same (as Lingdale). The harder you worked, the more you made.

"The stone was harder at Peases, it was harder drilling, they were bigger tubs - we tried to get them to take on board off the top but the manager said they were meant to be level filled - we used to build 'em up. It was hard to lift the big lumps up. But you got used to one pit and you'd work there rather than go to one that was easier. You see here (Lingdale) you didn't have the walking to do, but this was definitely the hardest and I've worked at them all, definitely the hardest pit in Cleveland.

"Most often Peases' closed down, whereas anything happened Peases' closed down. It wasn't clean stone you see, too much shale. So I used to

travel to South Skelton or North Skelton. Managers knew you but they used to telephone one another. I was at Lumpsey too, and Langacres.

"Shifts used to disturb us so I moved. You see I was a pigeon man so I wanted to be on t'front shift, six 'til two. If I fell out with any of the bosses I could always come back here (Lingdale) because they wanted six 'til two.

"If I fell out it was mainly overmen. At Lingdale overmen really had no responsibility except over drivers. They wanted to be boss though, and I knew more than them sometimes. At Lingdale on a Friday the undermanager used to come down and go in every place and give 'em make-up<sup>18</sup> but at North Skelton and South Skelton the overmen used to do it, they came round every day. If they didn't like you they'd not give it or give you very little, give your mates extra and knock you down a bit.

"For the work we did, the pay...well, it was slavery. We've had coalminers come and when they looked at t'height and when they saw what they had to do they said niggers wouldn't have this, and they went back to Durham. They come just to avoid going int'forces, but when they come here they'd rather go int'forces than stop here.

"Int' thirties I was travellin' all way to Lumpsey in all kinds of weather for six shifts a week and I got thirty-two shillings. Well, I could of got thirty shilling on the dole. So I went to see t'manager and I explained to him and he said you must be better off working. No, I said, come off it, I had to supply working shoes, working clothes, I have to have a bike, Well, he said, I do agree with you, I'll give you a shilling a day more. Well, I had to take it you see if I'd said no and gone on t'dole,

---

18. "Make-up" was the term for the allowances awarded by the overman or undermanager to miners who were working in poor conditions, i.e. wet, hot, dusty, poor geological conditions, etc. (See Appendix F for a typical listing of these on a miner's wage slip).

he'd have stopped me dole. People wouldn't believe he'd given me a shilling a day to stop with him. He knew value he had like. I stopped as long as I could but I got tired on it and that's when I decided to go int'stone.

"There were some good managers and some bad 'uns but most of managers and undermanagers particularly, if they were gentlemen born, you could work 'em. They were better to work with; you could bluff 'em, but undermanagers knew the job. Undermanagers were brought up among yer but managers were educated. When I got me back broke the manager and undermanager used to come and visit me.

"After the accident I used to wake up at night and I alus saw me mate, Jimmy Buck, alus stood with his hands up trying to ward it off. Stuff like a billiard table it was, it was coming down on top of him. I didn't hear it but I just turned round and looked and there he was with his arms up. When it thudded t'ground, these acetylene lamps, rush of wind put them all out, only two lamps, mine and his. Well, I was in t'dark and it was still cracking above me head. I thought, now I better be out of this or I'm going to be buried up, and I tried to run round but instead of that I was too near and a piece hit me in the back.

"I won't have two things. I won't have Labour and I won't have unions. I've seen two men, secretary of t'union (lodge) and maybe another union man fighting over wagons being stopped...and they decided who got wagons. They used to come out of t'gate just below pub and stand there and fight over who got the extra wagon. I didn't believe in t'unions but I still paid it, about threepence (1.25 pence) a week. There was a lot against the union. They couldn't do nowt for you, they weren't big enough. When coalminers wanted anything they sent word they wanted our support and we used to vote for it; but if we wanted owt they were "looking through t'window". There were several lodge secretaries in Lingdale. Some robbed it, it never went

right.

"Politics was same as 'tis now, Tory people kept quiet, Labour was all...There used to be quite a few Tories, we used to be Liberal but when it changed round biggest part of t'family went to Tories.

"There were a few important people, local people. Tom Clark, well he owned all this property up here (Stanghow Road area, the top end) and these fields; and Reg Smith he bought a lot of property, he was going to make a fortune out of property. Old Joseph Calow in Springfield, I think he was most important man there had ever been in Lingdale like. Shopkeepers, auctioneers, butchers all of 'em...important men and they all went in for t'council jobs.

"When I finished work for the day I used to have my dinner and maybe ten minutes sleep in a chair and then t'garden. Well I had this garden and I had these pigeons and they're a full-time job if you're a good pigeon man. Then I would have a couple of pigs and a few hens, a bit of a greenhouse. All this sort of kept us. I've kept pigeons, fifty-five, sixty odd years.

"Pigeons, football and t'old Institute that's all there was in Lingdale. T'Institute used to go better then, eventually it was costing too much to keep it going and men couldn't afford to pay more and pit wasn't working. They (the owners) used to supply coal and coke but when pit wasn't working that was finished. You maybe got a few logs, a bit of old wood to put in t'stoves. Eventually there wan't enough to pay caretakers wages - so he finished. In hard times people went into fields and pulled up stakes to take home as firewood; used to go looking for pheasant's nests or owt like that. During the Depression half of Lingdale went down to Thurnscoe, South Yorkshire. Me grandmother and me mother's brother and sisters, they all went. Some came back but some are still there. Me father went, but not to Thurnscoe, he didn't stop long before he was back home.

"I bought my own house after renting. Some landlords wouldn't do owt, just kept coming for the rent, it didn't matter what the house was like. Like it was landlords and maybe a bit tenants and all, their negligence and roughness that meant landlords couldn't afford to do it. It took his profit for t'year, rents were that small. We used to pay seven shillings and threepence a fortnight (36.025 pence). If they put a bathroom in then they raised the rent. I could have bought property, sixty pounds for a house, with my compensation.

"In Lingdale the chapels were the same as t'pubs, they were against each other. Primitives used to be full, old Joseph Calow was t'head man there, then you'd come up to Wesleyans them was Tom Clark's and Hettie Clark's, and Dunn's; they were Wesleyans. They were as much against each other as pubs was. If you went to Congregationals you could get a job outside. Andy Vivers was t'big man at Congs, when he died Eddie Scarth was t'big man at Congs, so you had to be an Eddie Scarth man; they got all t'good jobs outside.

"It was always shopkeepers at t'head, aye...or pit bosses. They'd fight each other to get on t'council, all these shopkeepers or auctioneers that went on t'council. Everything got done at Skelton or Brotton, never at Lingdale."

**Commentary.** Harry's account illustrates a number of themes developed in chapters four, six and seven. The uncertain nature of mining, its danger and financial constraints, the fluctuations in the fortunes of particular mines, especially Lingdgale, and the hierarchy of the mine. Like most of the miners interviewed, he talked vividly of the injuries he suffered in the course of his work and he also gives the impression of a pride in his work, the skill and physical effort it demanded. He counts himself as one who could always get work as he could produce good tonnages. Like most of the

Lingdale miners he worked at other mines although he preferred the relative ease of a six o'clock start at Lingdale and the benefit of finishing early so that he could get to his garden and pigeons. He makes reference to the hard times and the importance of the informal economy, to people leaving altogether to find work and to the parallel decline of mine and Institute.

In mentioning his interaction with managers and overmen Harry draws attention to the degree of independence the miner had and how there were opportunities for miners to gain some small advantages in the work situation. Of interest too is the complete absence of the mention of any role for the union in Harry's dealings with the management. His vehement statements about the union (and his excusing of their powerlessness) leave no doubts that he, like others, saw little good coming through union activity. Just as striking, for one so obviously bound by the conditions imposed by owners and their agents, is his rejection of Labour politics and his support of the Tory Party.

For Harry the community appears as the sphere of leisure time activity, and the influence of the petite-bourgeoisie, although recognised and quite clearly analysed, is not experienced as constraining his daily activities. Yet it is this group in the community and the management hierarchy in the mine that effectively controlled the social, economic and political conditions under which Harry lived and worked. His consciousness developed as a response to these conditions and the ideology that permeated them.

Certain of the aspects of the miner's life do not emerge in the context of this interview or are mentioned only in passing. To examine these aspects I will draw on excerpts from interviews with other miners. The following two accounts have some similarities (as would be expected) with respect to the description of working life but they also bring certain different emphases and nuances.

Ernest Bell is an 84 year old miner who now lives in the Stanghow Road area of Lingdale with his daughter.

"I was born in 1898 in Lingdale, Wilkinson Street, my father was a miner from Brotton who came to Moorcock Row; my mother came from Guisborough. I remember we had a great big garden because you had to grow your own stuff, you couldn't go to the shop because you hadn't much money. Before going to school we used to gather horse muck and after school we went with Dad to t'garden. I was the oldest so I helped my mother at home. There was six boys<sup>19</sup> and three girls, one girl died at fourteen.

"At thirteen I started work at Magra Belt,<sup>20</sup> that was sorting shale, dogger and sulphur from the iron 'fore it went into the trucks. I was there a year and then I went down below. We started at seven shillings and sixpence (37.5 pence) a week on the belt, well you had seven shillings and sixpence a week below but then it went up to twelve shillings (60 pence) a week. When we did start work we were out of work often, railways fetched us out in '26, well I was a miner then, 'cos I went mining with me Dad. He taught me the job. I went by myself in t'stone later, with my brother.

"You used to meet at t'deputies cabin in t'morning so he could tell you place was alright to go to work. Some places were better than others, you were lucky if you got a good place. You had to be a bit brainy like to shoot the stone down in t'first place. You used to drill hole and estimate how many pellets of powder; put the powder in, then the pricker in,

---

19 Most of the miners interviewed came from large families. This often had implications for the standard of living, e.g. Jack Cuthbert who was one of seven brothers all, at one time, working in the mine recalled that his family regularly employed a domestic servant. These young girls would be taken on for about six months and trained in the Cuthbert household before being given a reference so that they could obtain better-paid employment in Saltburn, Scarborough or further afield in Leeds or Bradford.

20 "Magra" is the local pronunciation of Margrove. The mine there was open from 1872 to 1921 and was owned by the Cochrane Iron Co. for most of its existence (Chapman 1967).

underneath where squib<sup>21</sup> go up, and stem it up and then you just fired it. Paid for your own powder, squibs; that's another thing in coal, you never had none of that; where here they were called 'oftaks' and they took summat off an' all! When you were in a bad place you used more powder and sometimes you might fire and not get anything, have to drill again before you could fill, in a bad place. In a good place it nearly tumbled down on its own. You were using less powder, less squibs and everything; it were cheaper.

"I can't remember Cleveland miners having a strike on their own. Only time they were out of work was they were brought out either with coal or railway. I think they were pleased to have a job to go to.

"In 1923 because of little work here I started work in South Yorkshire, in coal mines, Hickleton Main. My uncle was down there before me. I spent six years there, working nights. I weren't a collier, I was just day<sup>22</sup> working. Some of ours 'at went from here were coal miners, went in t'face like. You couldn't get a job round here, you used t'go t'dole office, first question they asked you, 'Have you been lookin' for work?' and they knew damn well there wasn't any work in the area then.

"In 1929 I came back here (Peases), we worked until '31 and then we were out of work again. I started work again at North Skelton in '34. I came out of pits in '46 because of health reasons and I worked in the yard, but the manager said miners like me had to go down below. So, we all finished and I went down to Teesside Bridge at North Ormesby and I got a job on a foundry.

---

21 "Squib" is the fuse to ignite the powder. (See glossary in Appendix E for other mining terms).

22 The implication of this statement is that he was on a lower but regular wage, without access to the higher earnings of the collier.



"I was going in on six o'clock 'bus in t'morning and wasn't getting back here sometimes 'til ten o'clock. It was a big change but it was easier than down the pit. I ought have gone down earlier...and it was more money. That's how I ran out at t'club, I was a member but I was never in so I just automatically dropped out."

**Commentary.** In Ernest Bell's account we have a repetition of certain themes present in Harry Teasdale's interview. Ernest in particular indicates the vital importance of the miner's 'place' for the determination of his earning power. The bosses then, could, and did, through their allocation of places, determine who got the good places and better earnings and who got the poor places and lower earnings. In this part of Ernest's account he also conveys his impression of the miner's job requiring a considerable amount of knowledge and skill. Reference is also made to the 'offtaks' made on the miner's pay and how, here again, the skill of the miner deciding on the amount of powder to use was a decisive factor in determining his pay.

Ernest also makes reference to his experience of the times when the mines were closed but as he was one who, on one occasion when the mines were closed, went to South Yorkshire to work in coal mines, he is able to compare ironstone mining with coal mining. His judgement is that coalminers had an easier job and higher pay. This individual's use of coalminers as a reference group echoes the earlier unsuccessful attempts of the Cleveland Miners' Association to use this comparison as a justification for an improvement in wages and conditions.

The change in the community because of the development of commuting to work on Teesside and the decline therefore of some village institutions is illustrated by Ernest's later career. The time spent at work away from Lingdale and in travelling to and from work leaves little time to spend

participating in village organisations. In Ernest's case his club membership lapses because he cannot attend enough to see to the renewal of membership.

Walter 'Gadge' Jackson is a 75 year old miner born in Dixon Street who remembers his relations 'as far back as I remember' all as Lingdale people.

"Me first job was as a pump boy at South Skelton mines. I went an' asked if they had any room for a boy. I'd left school and they said, 'Well, we haven't outside, you could come down the pit and be a pump boy, pump water from miners' places like.' So I went down there and had a few months of that at about eighteen shillings (90 pence) a week I think it was. I was told which places to go to by a boss, one of the overmen. You kept going to that place until they told you to go somewhere else.

"I gave the eighteen shillings to me mother and kept a shilling pocket money for pictures, fourpence (1.36 pence) - a packet of Woodbines, twopence (0.68 pence)...you had to be satisfied with it there was nothing else. You thought you were O.K.

"I came out of the mines after being a pump boy and went coal-leading for a year, and night soil work, for my uncle. He gave me a pound but I had much more hours to put in so I asked for a two shilling rise, so he gave me the sack and I went back to the mines.

"I went driving at South Skelton at twenty-eight shillings (£1.40) a week, that was a big rise for me. Mr. Palmer the Bolckow and Vaughan manager (he came from Eston), always called me 'Gadge', I always got 'Gadge' as a bye-name, asked me to take another two miners because other drivers wouldn't take them, they had plenty with four men. Well, I 'ad four like but I said I would shove 'em in, they'll have to have a bit of bread and butter like all the rest. He didn't say anything but he paid me top money: thirty-four shillings a week (£1.60), married men only got that. I had six

miners for a year and then another two which made eight. They were fillin' some stuff, they were real miners. Mr. Crombie, undermanager wasn't too bad on 'takin' off' side, he was alright when you got to know him. He was a grand man.

"I came to Peases in 1950, its the hardest pit in Cleveland, this. The ironstone wasn't clean and it was hard, you could only drill in the 'blue', if you got out of that you couldn't drill. Hand drills it was, the gear was clumsy, the tubs were big wooden ones. I finished at Peases before it closed.

"When pits were out people got parish relief. They didn't get money, they got a chit for Cooperative store for a few groceries and they weren't allowed any tobacco or cigarettes. We had soup kitchens at t'Institute and they might go to a farmer to ask for a job potato picking or something like that.

"It doesn't do to say what some of them thought about the union. You had to call a meeting to get your rights, and ask'em to do this and do t'other before they'd do it. A lot wasn't in the union, they had the idea it was no good. They didn't fight then, same as they do now, for the men."

**Commentary.** The above excerpts from the interview with Walter give some impression of relationships between men and management and the attitude of the miners to their union. Walter is persuaded by the personal approach of Mr. Palmer the manager to take on extra miners to drive to; he is suitably rewarded by being placed on the top wages. Later, his quota of miners is increased again but no mention is made of more money. At no time is the union involved in these negotiations; it is a private bargain struck between man and master. The lack of union involvement is partially explained by Walter's comments about how he and others felt about the union. The following extracts describe in more detail the management, union and

miner set of relationships.

"We used to go t' manager if we wanted anything, for conditions and that, y' know, what we were working in. We used to go to the manager and if he said 'no', we used to turn round to him and say 'I'll go put it in front of union, I'll go an' see secretary.' He said, 'You can see who you like, I can talk to them you know.' I said, 'You can, can you, then it's time we finished paying union, if you're the boss of 'em. They're supposed to be fighting for us, not you.' But it made no difference. That's the sort of union we had, mate. They wouldn't do nothin' for you, everything you asked 'em you were ignored. They never fought a case yet." (John Wynn, 67 years old, miner).

"The manager would say, 'I'm the bloody union here,' you see. If you had any complaint you went to the union man, he took your case up to the manager but if the manager said 'no', there was *nothing* you could do about it. If he said 'no', that was it, his word was law. If the union had sacked the union man they wouldn't have gone on strike. You were that...how shall I put it...grovelling, they really were. The manager's word was law, he could just tell the union men to get." (Arthur Robinson, 68 years old, miner).

**ii) The Managers and Their Staff.** There are difficulties in presenting the manager's perspective on relationships with the men as only two managers survive and both of these are atypical as they have come up through the career structure of the mines as local men to achieve the top position in the local management structure. They are the only two men known to have done this. Despite this some impression of the attitude to the problems of management in the ironstone industry can be gained from these interviews.

Jack Ash is a 61 year old mines manager who was born locally, left school at fourteen and after one or two jobs outside mining went into the mines in 1937 as a leader of horses. He was initially very reluctant to be

interviewed and required to know what subjects I was interested in. At our first meeting we talked for two and a half hours and I took notes as he would not be recorded, but once we had 'rehearsed' the interview he agreed to a recorded interview. A comparison of the notes I took and the tape recording does not reveal any discrepancies in the two accounts.

"My father was employed in the mines, he started at Grinkle mine as a fireman, looking after boilers for the steam driven machinery. That mine went out of service due to the prevailing conditions, so he commenced work at the Carlin How mine. I, having left school and wanting a job, went to the mine and was set on. This was three weeks before I was fifteen. Lads of my age did boys' jobs, you would either be a leader-lad or a trappy lad, after that you went on to other jobs. My first job was as a leader lad, leading a horse called 'Phoenix'. This was the commencement of my mining life. I continued with that job until September 1939 when I was called up. I was in H.M. Forces until October 1940 when, under the Essential Works Order, I was transferred back to the works. Being eighteen I went to work at the face as a miner with my father.

"There was a skill in being a miner, an acquired skill, judging where to drill, the amount of powder, too little and there wasn't enough to fill, too much and it was blasted to kingdom come and took other things with it. There was the skill of firing one hole to make another. It was like playing chess, you had to be a move or two ahead, you see. You had to use breaks, fissures to help you, it was your place, you looked after it, you tried to make the job as easy as possible by getting as much stone as possible with the least effort. It was an old saying that your hardest day at the face was when you filled very little...because you were really up against it.

"I realised this was going to be my life, 'Once a miner always a miner.' So I began to take a little more interest in the work, went to the local

technical institute to sit for the deputy's certificate which I obtained at the age of nineteen. Along with two or three others that attended this course, our tutor gave us some mining engineering questions just to keep us going. This was the start, he said 'You're doing very well and you ought to carry on.' Well, an undermanager's course was formed with maybe eight to ten would attend that course. This was at Loftus, then later to Carlin How.

"During this time it meant going to work, getting up at four-thirty in the morning, catching a 'bus to get to work for six, working six 'til two, then back home, wash, change, a bit of a meal, back over to Carlin How. At a certain period this meant me going five nights a week.

"Men were encouraged to become deputies, once they got that certificate they could aspire to be a deputy and an overman. You didn't need any more qualifications to become an overman. About eight of us went on to do the undermanager's certificate, it was a bit unusual for men to do this because it meant a lot of time studying.

"Nineteen was young to take a deputy's certificate because strictly speaking you could not use it underground until you were twenty-five, you had to be re-examined every five years to keep your deputy's certificate. So I'd be re-examined at twenty-five before I could use it as a deputy, but I could use it at twenty-three as a shot-firer. I did all the jobs at the face, winning and working stone until I was twenty-four and then after a spell in the coal mines I was appointed a shot-firer. This was with the new method of shot-firing with high explosive instead of black powder. The delayed detonators and pattern of shots meant you could bring down thirty to forty tons of stone instead of three or four tons with black powder. This meant you had greater quantities of stone to fill; with a heap of stone like that we said can't we get a machine to fill it, and that's when the

loaders came in. The next problem was keeping the loader fed with tubs because it was horse haulage, so the next stage was the introduction of locomotives. The changes were introduced slowly. In the introduction of this it really knocked the 'w' out of work for the miner. All the hand-mining went.

"I had a lot of support outside of the mine. Men would talk to you, 'How you comin' on, Jack?' Sometimes men would trip out snippets of information, pearls of wisdom which were all very good. For instance one man said to me, 'When tha runs a mine, Jack, look after thee wind and thee water and pit'll run itself.' That meant a lot you see. One chap was an undermanager and walking round a district one day we got around to my studying and he said, 'Well, I wish you the best of luck, lad, you're doing well, I'm sure you'll make it, but,' he said, 'I want to tell you one thing, when you get your certificate and a job, and,' he said, 'I think you will, you'll then look through different eyes and walk in different shoes, you'll see things completely different, you'll look at the other side of the coin.'

"I never thought I wouldn't become an undermanager, I knew I had to have that piece of paper though, it was like a passport. In March 1950 I succeeded in getting the mining engineering second class certificate, the undermanager's certificate it's normally termed as. In June of that year I was offered the job of undermanager at Kilton Mine...I commenced at Kilton Mine with Mr. Hope who was appointed manager at that mine. Strange as it may seem we were both 'home products,' brought up in this district, both qualified .

"Other managers had generally come in from outside because Cleveland mines hadn't been going as long as coal and there was probably not the facilities. Some men had qualified but they had to do it more or less solo,

by home study...correspondence for undermanagers with the Mining Institute.

"The mine manager or undermanager lived in certain houses that were designated for you, to some extent as well this applied to overmen. Even they didn't live in some cases, in among the people that they looked after. This helped you know, because the old saying "Familiarity breeds contempt" and it also assisted the ordinary miner to aspire to be a deputy, to take his deputy's certificate, to try to do well at his job, to try to become promoted an overman. The incentive was there.

"Mr. Hope and me had a problem coming up through the ranks but at least you say you talked their language. As a manager it was always 'Mister'...I suppose it was difficult for them because it was second nature to them to say, 'Hello, Jack, how you doing?' I remember the undermanager one day, walking with him into a place on my first day underground as manager. The undermanager was an older man than myself and this miner said, 'Hello, Jack, how are you going on?' The undermanager turned round and he said, 'Heh, heh, he's here now not as a workman, he's here as the manager. It is *Mister* Ash.' He was an older man and I thanked him for it and he said, 'I didn't do it just for you, I did it for myself. If they start calling you 'Jack' as manager then my respect can be undermined.'

"In March 1951 I qualified with my first class certificate which was mine manager's, and in August of '52 I was appointed manager of Lingdale Mines when it had been taken over by Pease and Partners. They were still mining in the old ways so I had to commence laying out plans for modernising the winning and working of ironstone, i.e. powder drilling, high explosives, delayed detonators, pattern firing, locos, loaders, etc.etc. If we didn't modernise we would not have been able to carry on with the mine. I know there are certain opinions from the rank and file that all this equipment coming to the mines, modernising, ruined it; but it



did not. Strictly speaking if it hadn't been for that it had been closed a bit earlier. One of the factors was there had been an upsurge of industry in the Cleveland area, Wilton (ICI) in particular, which had taken a lot of men from the mines, which were becoming a little depleted.<sup>23</sup> We could not have worked the mines economically without machinery, we kept up a reasonable output with fewer men. But then technology moving on, as it has to do, greater availability of foreign ores with greater iron content, bigger ships being built with bigger loads. All this ultimately overtook us and one by one the three remaining mines (Kilton, Lingdale and North Skelton) closed.

"The men could probably see the end but at least they accepted they were in a job. The men were transferred between the mines and then to the works in the same company. We ran the mines down gradually...over almost three months. We broke the men in gradually to their new jobs. Previously they had practically lived on the job, rolled out of bed and down the shaft practically; now they had to travel. The men accepted this and that all was being done to ensure that they were in employment. We tried as far as possible to do our best for them.

"There was an established monthly meeting with the mines' agent and other mines' managers to discuss matters. I had to put in a written report to this meeting. Then ultimately I suppose the agent sent his report up to the board. There were meetings in Middlesbrough of the joint board with managers from other mining companies, these were held at the mine-owners' offices with the mine-owners' secretary there. We would discuss future

---

<sup>23</sup> Labour shortages had been a persistent problem in the post-war period and two attempts at labour recruitment outside the area had been made. Irish labour was brought in by Mr. Slater of Dorman-Long and Polish displaced persons were recruited also. The former group did not stay for very long but the Poles did stay and earned good reputations as workers (Interview with Edward Firbank, 23/7/82).

prospects, what the order book was (like), also if there were any wage claims to be met from the unions. The board would negotiate with the unions, we were quite amicable with the union. At the end of it all whatever the decision was, it was then accepted. There was strength there at times but I don't think that came into it as much as sensible thinking, all round. Those men would come to the mine all hale and hearty. The checkweighman would ring over with any problem, we solved a lot of things that way. All matters that involved all miners had to go to joint board, but if it was my mine I would deal with it on the spot. The men supported the union. It would be nice if a bit of that mutual respect and sense could prevail now, rather than this militancy.

"I was at Lingdale until April 1956 when I was transferred to North Skelton mine, having been appointed manager there. I was manager there until 1964 when it closed. At that time I was also a local preacher in the Methodists, that got me round a bit. At times there was the attitude that the Wesleyans were the higher and the Primitives were the lower...class, sometimes, it maybe appeared to work that way."

**Commentary.** Given that Jack Ash is a manager who was raised locally and was a manager in the modern era during the 1950's and 1960's, it is perhaps surprising to find that he expressed many of the attitudes to be found (according to reports from older respondents) among the older generation of mine managers that came into the communities from outside. His account in this respect complements those accounts given by ordinary miners that are quoted earlier in this chapter and elsewhere in the dissertation. This is particularly clear when Jack talks of the respect owed to managers and the importance of maintaining social distance so that this respect is not undermined. In the unrecorded interview prior to the recording from which the above transcript is taken, Jack conceded that both

he and Andrew Hope, the other locally-born manager, had some difficulties in maintaining work discipline. They had to earn respect which in the past had been more easily accorded to outsiders who came in as managers. Jack put it very succinctly when, as we were discussing the manager's interaction with the community, he stated that, 'The conductor of the orchestra has to turn his back on the crowd.' A further insight into the difficulties of being a local, ex-working miner and then becoming manager was obtained after the tape-recorder was switched off. By this time we had been joined by Jack's wife who listened to the end of the interview. She then recounted what were obviously bitter experiences for her of being shunned by the villagers and treated in an unfriendly manner. Perhaps the transition for the locally-raised manager's wife, who had less means of 'earning' respect in the community, was more traumatic than for her husband.

Apart from the strongly held notion of 'respect,' there is also a continuation of a paternalistic attitude to the workforce. The overmen, for example, are described as not living among 'the people that they looked after.' When the mines closed the management are described as doing their best for the men. A further echo of the past is contained in Jack's reference to the role of imported foreign ore in deciding the future of ironstone mining.

The relationships between the mining companies and the union is also neatly summarised by Jack, but in a way that ignores or contradicts the vehement statements about the union by miners that are reproduced elsewhere in this chapter and in chapter six. He does confirm however the acceptance of the joint board's decisions by the union and encapsulates the relationship between companies and men in phrases about good sense and mutual respect. This again echoes the phrases to be found in various Pease

and Partners' company reports (see chapter six, section (i) ) and in the minutes of the Cleveland Mineowners' Association. At a local level he gives the impression that problems between men and management were routinely solved through the union; many of the miners' accounts however do not support this and indicate a distrust of union and management deals.

Jack seems to have experienced few problems in his personal transition from miner to manager ; he seems to have very capably taken the advice of the older undermanager and looked through different eyes and walked in different shoes. His acceptance of the ideology of management seems total and may well have been aided both by his rapid movement through the various career stages in the mine and his Methodist beliefs.

Finally, Jack's account gives another perspective on the final phase in the history of ironstone mining, that of modernisation. The attraction of easier, better paid work for the local labour force made accessible by better transportation did obviously create a labour problem for the mines, for the first and only time in their history. The solution was to quicken the pace of mechanisation and in undertaking this in the most profitable mines a few more years of working was made possible.

Andrew Hope, the other manager interviewed in the course of the research had a working history very similar to that of Jack Ash. Born in North Skelton he spent two periods away from Cleveland, one spent working in the 'coal country' of South Yorkshire for five years in the early twenties and the other was his first job as manager in the iron ore fields of Northamptonshire. He qualified as a manager after working at most of the jobs in the mine starting as a leader then becoming 'dog-whipper' and eventually a deputy. His family had a mining background, his father being a deputy and his brother also working in the mines. His grandfather had been a checkweighman at North Skelton. Like Jack Ash, Andrew Hope had to spend

most of his spare time in studying for his manager's qualifications although he did it, as Jack would say, solo, without the benefit of a formal course of instruction. He placed emphasis on the fact that he got no encouragement from the company (in this case Bolckow and Vaughan).

The interview with Andrew highlighted several areas that had proved to be of concern or interest to Jack. There was the problem of maintaining the respect of the men, not so effectively solved initially in Andrew's case, as he had to resort to considerable verbal abuse and the threat of physical punishment. (This was corroborated by some of the miners that had worked under him). Both Jack and Andrew had the same view of the role of the union and firmly believed that the mines were kept producing simply because of the modernisation programme they carried out. Andrew in particular was very proud of his innovations in the mines he managed, stating that it was he who introduced the rocker shovels (automatic loaders) to Cleveland and that he initiated the use of welded track for the diesel locomotives to run on. In terms of contact with the community he was more isolated than Jack and stated he did not mix much with the community (the death of his first wife may well have deprived him of a more active role in the community). In terms of religious belief he was, like Jack, a Wesleyan but not as active as Jack. He was certainly more critical of the mining companies and was particularly outspoken about his career after the mines closed. He, like the miners, was transferred to steelworks on Teesside where, he said, 'I had a job and I hadn't.' Being older than Jack at 70 years old he was nearer retirement when the mines closed and there was some difficulty in finding him a suitable management post.

A further perspective on the mine management and the mining companies was provided by the last secretary of the Cleveland Mineowners' Association, Edward Firbank. His family background was in mining with both

his father and grandfather having worked as miners at Eston. His grandfather had originally migrated from Norfolk in the 1850's when the mines first opened. Edward Firbank's working life had been in the offices of various mine managers and mining companies, and for much of the time he was secretary to Bolckow and Vaughan's mines agent, and later to Dorman-Long's agent. His position gave him a unique overview of the working of the mines and the interplay of unions, companies, managers and men. I interviewed him after the interviews with the two managers and took the opportunity of asking him to verify the impressions I had gained from these interviews. He confirmed that the general rule was to bring in managers from outside but that this was as much to do with the qualifications being based on a knowledge of colliery practice as it was to do with their position as outsiders being useful in a disciplinary sense. He acknowledged that both Andrew Hope and Jack Ash had unique difficulties because their background was different and they had worked their way up through the ranks. Being present at the meetings of the joint board Edward witnessed the discussions between owners and unions. He saw the unions as doing the best they could from a very weak bargaining position and having to accept wage reductions in order to preserve their jobs and the mines in which they worked.

One further individual deserves attention as he provides an insight into the management of mining in Lingdale and acts more effectively as a means of bridging the discussion of work and the discussion of social interaction in the community. Fred 'Tal' Clayton was the oldest individual interviewed<sup>24</sup> for this research and for most of his working life he had worked as the cashier in the Lingdale mine offices. Born in 1893, 'Tal' as he was known by everyone, is a reminder of the first phase of the Peases

---

24 See Table I.

involvement in ironstone mining as his father had been cashier in the very profitable Upleatham mine. When his father died in 1907 Pease and Partners kept a job of cashier open for Tal who was at that time finishing his education at Middlesbrough Grammar School. Tal spent six years at Upleatham before being sent to Lingdale due, he said, to the incompetence of the cashier there and the relatives of his that he employed. He served in the army from 1914 to 1919 and on his discharge took up residence in Lingdale until 1939 when he moved back to his birthplace, Marske. He retired from his post as cashier at Lingdale in 1961. His account of his residence in Lingdale provides a very clear picture of the division between the 'top end' of the village and other areas.

Tal lived in Dale Terrace and he could vividly recall the inhabitants of each house in the terrace which was, at that time, owned by the company.<sup>25</sup> The occupations of the nineteen householders in Dale Terrace were as follows: banksman, timberman (4), companyweighman, checkweighman, miner, cashier, joiner (2), truckman, blacksmith, another blacksmith who later became the winding-engineman, pumpman, deputy, storeman, on-setter and one not recalled. This represents a marked concentration of skilled workers and craftsmen and supports the notion that Pease and Partners retained some housing to ensure that key workers could be provided for. It should be noted that the union-paid checkweighman who was also the lodge secretary was also in a company house.

The details of the occupations of those living in Dale Terrace were perhaps not hard to recall for Tal as it was one of his jobs to collect the rents from the company houses. He remembered that while he had this task

---

<sup>25</sup> The houses were sold off to Tom Clark during the '30's, but prior to this the rent of a company house was five shillings and sixpence per week (27.5p) inclusive of two allotment gardens and decorating done by the mine (Interview with Fred 'Tal' Clayton, 7/7/82).

(1920-1939) the company owned or leased housing in Moorcock Row, Cockburn Street, Stanghow Road, Dale Terrace and outside the village at Groundhills. With the exceptions of Moorcock Row, the houses at Groundhills and the few houses owned in Cockburn Street the bulk of the housing was located at the 'top-end' of the village. When discussing the company housing Tal mentioned that there were few evictions because of the ability of the company to deduct rent arrears directly from the miners' wages and because of the availability of houses for rent owned by private landlords. It does not seem likely therefore that housing could ever have been a direct means of social control over the workforce.

Tal had, of course, a close working association with all the managers appointed at Lingdale from 1913 to 1961. He described them all as 'gentlemen' and could only recall one who had actually lived in Lingdale at the manager's house (Mr. James Howe, 1931-1943), the others living at Loftus, Saltburn and Skelton.

When describing changes in the community Tal places particular emphasis on the Institute and its decline. He had been the secretary of the Institute and thus maintained the strong connection between the mining company and management and this aspect of community life. He claimed the Institute 'had always been a problem' from a financial point of view, its reading room 'was never used' and when the workingmen's club opened it rapidly declined. Tal also acted as a cashier for the Yorkshire Bank and transacted his banking every week in the schoolroom of the Congregational Church. He was proud of the fact that he had increased the flow of money into the Yorkshire Bank by a factor of ten during the time he was their cashier. This unique combination of mine's cashier, bank cashier, rent collector and secretary to the Institute gave Tal some considerable insight into the various divisions in the community. The more prosperous portion of



the community he associated with by virtue of his position and his residence, the working class in the community he saw and assessed as he paid their wages or collected the rents. Whilst clearly recognising these divisions as being both social and spatial his preference was for interpreting the community as all being involved in the same task, as co-existing one with another in the bargain struck between owners, managers and workers. His ideology was predominantly paternalistic as might be expected in one so closely associated with management and the 'labour aristocracy' of the community.

iii) *The Petite-Bourgeoisie.* In further researching the role of the petite-bourgeoisie in Lingdale I interviewed two women who were the last surviving members of two of the most influential shop-keeping families. In the case of Ethel Clark, the younger daughter of Tom Clark, it was really only possible to explore the family's background as she had spent most of her adult life away from the village in her career as a schoolteacher. In this she had demonstrated what many of the women in Lingdale had to face on reaching adulthood, that by far the most opportunities for work existed outside Lingdale. Working-class women usually took jobs as domestic servants in Saltburn, on local farms or much farther afield in South Yorkshire, Scarborough or Leeds. Most of these women seemed to eventually return to Lingdale and marry. The problem of work for the few middle-class women in Lingdale was even more acute; outside of school teaching there was nothing beyond working for the family business. In the case of Ethel Clark and Olive Malton it had meant the vast majority of the time they were away from Lingdale, returning only for holidays, family events and in Olive's case, retirement. They should then be seen as marginal to the social life of the community, but at the same time able to recognise changes in the community as they paid their periodic

visits to their parents and friends.

Ethel Clark is now 73 years old and was reluctant to be recorded so I made notes both during and after the interview which was conducted in her comfortable bungalow in a middle-class area of the small country town where she now lives. This town is eleven miles (17 km) from Lingdale. Two days after the interview she telephoned me with further information that she had checked with a relative.

Ethel's grandfather, John Clark was one of the workers brought in by the Peases from County Durham to open the Lingdale mine. He must have had some kind of supervisory position because it is remembered that he 'could have as many men as he wanted' to get the work done. He lived at Guisborough while the shafts were being sunk and was injured in the early mining operations. The injury meant retirement from mining so he started a grocer's shop in the High Street and also kept horses for hire. Ethel described him as a staunch Wesleyan and a founder member of the Lingdale Chapel. Prior to the opening of the chapel he held services above his shop. The rural quality of life in the village at this time was remembered in the Clark family and Ethel recounted how her grandfather had a garden behind the shop and kept his beehives there. (This land was built on certainly by 1910). John Clark's heirs were his eldest and only son Tom and seven daughters. The pattern of outward migration by women is here exemplified by the fact that all seven of these women left Lingdale. Tom married a Scotswoman who was teaching at the Lingdale School in 1898 and when his father died in 1908 he took over the family business and property. Ethel is the youngest of Tom Clark's two daughters.

In the course of the interview with Ethel Clark it became clear that she had a very precise knowledge of her father's property-holdings and she gave a detailed description of buildings and owners in Lingdale during her

childhood. The connections between the petite-bourgeoisie and the two Methodist chapels in the village were described by her from a position of some authority as her father had been, like his father before him, the leading figure in the Wesleyan Chapel and Ethel had been in contact with members of this chapel until its closure in 1978. In her view the Primitive Methodists in Lingdale were the 'poor relations' despite the fact that they, like the Wesleyans, were led by shopkeepers and landlords. When I asked about differences between the two chapels she replied that the reasons for the presence of shopkeepers among the Primitive Methodists were disputes among the shopkeepers who normally would have attended the Wesleyan Chapel *en bloc*. She further believed that business relationships were reinforced by mutual attendance by the shopkeepers of one or other of the chapels.

The data on shop-keepers and their social status and role provided by Ethel Clark was expanded and described more fully by Ena Brown (71 years old) particularly with respect to the close connection between the shop-keepers and religion. Ena was the third generation of a family of grocers. She took over the family business on the death of her father and ran it until she retired (when the shop came under a compulsory purchase order prior to clearance in 1979). The Brown family were not typical of Lingdale's shopkeepers in one respect: they never diversified into house ownership.

"My grandfather was a grocer, same place we've been in all these years. I've always heard me Dad say they was at Boosbneck and he was three weeks old when they brought him up to Dixon Street, Lingdale. They had the business you see.

"My father was well-known, he was very popular, even though I say it myself. If anyone wanted anyone burying they would come to me Dad before

the minister. He knew them all you see, the whole family. The ministers were always very good, me Dad said to them, 'If you don't wish me to do it, I'll stand by,' but they preferred it because they knew he knew all the people. He used to baptise babies; he used to be called out by the doctors if a baby was dying, so he used to go in his white coat from the shop to baptise it.

"I went to Hugh Bell's School at Middlesbrough at first. I didn't go too long, two or three years, because I didn't care for Middlesbrough. I had to pass an exam to get into Saltburn High School. There were about ten of us went from Lingdale. They were a bit better off but you had to pass the exam.

"I was sixteen when I was in the shop but I looked after my mother too. I went in permanently at seventeen. Me Dad always paid me a wage, perhaps not as big a wage as everyone but he was still very good if I wanted anything.

"My father's shop was a grocery and drapery, and he used to sell wallpaper but that got too difficult as he got older. In the end it was practically a grocery, fruit and vegetables and we used to sell parafin in the warehouse. We used to sell everything, you could really say general dealer. We used to have a lot of customers and did good trade in those days. We used to carry out to the customers. We had regular customers and their children when they grew up and got married, they all came...from all over, Springfield. Me Dad was always friendly, he was never nasty with anyone.

"No end of people left Lingdale you know, well they left us in an awful lot of debt. We had some very genuine people when hard times came, when there wasn't much money and they saved so much each week and eventually paid it back. They only had an allowance on parish relief, so much of this and

so much of that. Some of them had no money at all. There was quite a lot of poverty, some of the children used to go to school in barefeet. It really was hard. I was in the Women's Voluntary Service and we used to collect and store stuff at the chapel in Scarth Street and give it out to the poorer classes. It was a struggle for a lot.

"My father used to be thought the best man<sup>26</sup> in the village, good living and willing to give. When there was funerals he didn't take the money but gave it back to the family; they were poor you see. My father used to send me with money and he would say, 'Tell them to accept it because they need it and I don't.'

"My grandfather was chairman of the school managers for years. When he died me Dad was put in and when he passed away they asked me to take his place. My uncle owned a few houses below us, he lived at Sheffield, and my auntie had two. Joseph Calow<sup>27</sup> had houses built at the bottom of Wilson Street, memorial houses. He handed them on to Reg Simons; they were for old people. He also had a fund and he gave them two bags of coal at Christmas. When he gave money to anything he dictated what was to be done. He wasn't very liked, it was his manner; it was a pity.

"My life was Church life, I belonged the Primitive Methodist which is still there. Me Dad was the leading light in that. We used to have two choir practices a week and a "Christian Endeavor" and a 'Band of Hope'. Oh, all different things. Our life was at the Church...socials, pie suppers. We really enjoyed life. We were on the hospital committees and collected for children's homes.

"The membership didn't change much until a lot started going away to

---

<sup>26</sup> This was substantiated by a number of respondents; see for example, Alan Thompson's comment on p156.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Calow, formerly a draper and property-owner/landlord was a leading figure and trustee of the Primitive Methodist Chapel.

live down the coal country and when the young ones got to a certain age, they had to go out to work; you lost a few young ones that way. Attendances started to decline in the bad times when the people were going away; you lost quite a number of people from your services. Later on, I don't know, they didn't seem to have the interest. We had a good (Sunday) school and we could get the young people together during the week but you couldn't get them to church somehow...at the latter part. And then we lost a lot of members, they passed away. That's why we had to give up, we hadn't the money to carry on. The Salvation Army took over our chapel, but they hadn't officers in the place so they simply let it go. The closing of the mine had an effect on the chapel, the giving part especially. You didn't get the money in which you got normally.

"The Clarks were big Wesleyans, Mrs. Clark was a nice woman and kind to people. Mr. Clark used to go round preaching same as me Dad did. At the first meeting to talk about amalgamation with the Wesleyans I was the only one that voted for it. There was a lot of opposition to it. The minister came up afterwards and said, 'By Jove, you were brave!' However, it didn't come off then. We joined in 1962.<sup>28</sup> They (the Primitives) didn't like the people (Wesleyans) you see, the ones that were in charge. Up there they would say, 'Well, we're having so-and-so.' There was one or two of them thought it was their church and that was it. Our people took badly to it, they weren't used to that sort of thing; I wasn't, myself, for awhile. I went up to Stanghow (Primitive Methodist Chapel). There was some jealousy in the Women's Institute with the president Mrs. Hall,<sup>29</sup> what with that and the church I decided to leave the W.I. It doesn't do to have trouble especially when you're in business.

---

<sup>28</sup> It should be noted that the official union of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists took place in 1932 nationally.

<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Hall was the eldest daughter of Tom Clark and sister to Ethel; she therefore played a major role in the Wesleyan Chapel.

"Well, me Dad was a big Liberal, he used to go and speak for Mr. Starmer.<sup>30</sup> Me Dad was friendly with another old one that was there before him, who used to come to our house...oh, what was his name.<sup>31</sup> Me Dad and him was very friendly. They had committees in Lingdale for Liberal, Labour and Conservatives, they met in schools. There were a lot of Liberals, in Lingdale at that time, and in the Prims. He didn't bother with anything apart from school managers. He said when you were in business you were best out of a lot of things. It (politics) was always left out of the services, it doesn't do you know.

"I knew everyone in Lingdale, I could have gone round every house in Lingdale and told you who lived there. I couldn't now."

Commentary. Ena clearly provides examples of many features of Lingdale's petite-bourgeoisie that are analysed in chapter seven, particularly their paternalistic stance towards the 'poorer classes'. Both Ena and her father were involved in charitable acts towards both villagers and those further afield. Indeed, her father's reputation, which was far better than most shopkeepers, had developed from his role as the part-time, unpaid, unofficial minister when he could administer church/chapel rites to those who knew him and moreover would do this at little or no cost to those concerned. This role was not contradicted by either his role as a shopkeeper or, uncharacteristically for Lingdale, his role as a landlord, although it should be noted that the Brown family was closely connected both to those who were absentee landlords, and to others in the Primitive Methodist chapel who were landlords and lived in Lingdale.

The similarities between Ena's father and Ena herself, and other Lingdale petite-bourgeoisie were largely in terms of the way the key roles

---

<sup>30</sup> Sir Charles Starmer, Liberal candidate for the Cleveland Constituency, M.P. 1925-24 (see Table VI), a Quaker businessman from Darlington as were the Peases.

of shopkeepers and church/chapel dignitary were combined and tended to lead to other leading positions within the community. In the Brown family this was confined to management of the school and a leading role in the Liberal Party. The other shopkeeper/landlords combined their church/chapel activities with local politics as well as other positions as chairmen, trustees, or committee members.

There is an acute awareness on Ena's part of the potential problems for the business that might be caused by disputes; her father is remembered as saying, '...when you were in business, you were best out of a lot of things,' and she states, 'It doesn't do to have trouble, when you're in business.' This may account for the more limited approach to accepting positions within the village adopted by the Browns and certainly accounts for their avoidance of conflict. This particular aspect of the interview material indicates an awareness of rifts between the petite-bourgeoisie and points to a more hierarchical structure existing in the Wesleyan chapel. These differences do not however indicate any ideological differences between members of the petite-bourgeoisie; the positions they occupied (church, school) and their activities (politics, commerce) gave them a dominant position with respect to disseminating a clear and unified ideology. As Ena remembers, her education was different to that received by the vast majority of Lingdale's population and here the Brown family demonstrates another feature ideologically segregating them from the working class in Lingdale. Ena's father was the first boy in Lingdale to gain a scholarship to a Middlesbrough Grammar School; Ena followed in his footsteps. The ideological links forged through this formal education were supported by the experience of church and business affairs, and by Ena's father's close connections with leading Liberal politicians at the national level.



Despite this division between the Browns and their customers Ena does not refer to any significant social differences beyond recalling those who were 'very genuine' and paid what they owed and those who left without settling their outstanding debts. Other petit-bourgeois respondents were less reticent about identifying differences as the interview material below illustrates.

Finally in Ena's account we are presented with her perception of the decline of the chapel and church attendance. She links it to the 'bad times' when the mine shut down, and to its eventual closure. The younger people were still attracted by the weekday events but could not be persuaded into attendance on Sundays. The increasing mortality among the aging chapel members was not compensated for by new members. The rich social life she referred to as being such a vital part of the chapel and indeed the community's life, was, it should be noted, essentially for the women and children who could not obviously avail themselves of the facilities provided by club, pubs and the Institute.

To amplify certain issues highlighted by the petit-bourgeois interview material presented above I will draw on the interview with Olive Malton (65) and Edna Harrison (68). These women were interviewed together as Olive, like Ethel Clark, had spent most of her adult life away from Lingdale pursuing her profession of schoolteacher, and she felt that I would get more information if Edna helped her in the interview. I really could not object to this arrangement although I was aware that certain methodological problems could be created by this procedure. I do not feel however that the effects of the respondents on each other were great; I felt they consisted largely of some inhibition on giving opinions about other members of the petite-bourgeoisie. The interview took place at Olive's mother's house on Stanghow Road; her mother had been a schoolteacher in the Lingdale School

and was now in her nineties but could not be interviewed because of her frail condition. (She in fact died not long after the interview.) Olive's father had also been a teacher but at a school outside Lingdale. Edna Harrison who also lived in Stanghow Road was the widow of an office manager at the Skinningrove iron and steel works and was born in Lingdale and lived there for most of her life.

O.M. "My grandfather came from Eston and lived at Charltons; he was a miner...just an ordinary miner. When they came to Lingdale they lived in Catherine Street and before in Dale Terrace. When my mother<sup>32</sup> was married she lived in Scarth Street and then we moved to Stanghow Road.

"I had to go to Sunday School in the morning, chapel in the afternoon and chapel at night. We weren't allowed to do anything else on Sundays...we weren't allowed to knit on Sundays."

E.H. "If there was a social at your own Methodist church it was a 'red-letter' evening. Everything was so quiet without much to do. We used to have a fair come, usually at Whitsuntide. It was a bit of excitement, there was nothing else to do."

O.M. "If Grandma found me knitting on Sunday she was really cross about it. I went to the Primitive Methodist down on the High Street. The congregations were large at that time. My Uncle Tom was the choir master. My mother taught at this school (Lingdale) in her younger days."

"We tended to keep to this part of Lingdale. These houses were always known as the best houses; they were at one time the only houses with bathrooms. It was the higher up officials at the mine and steelworks lived here and of course both mother and father were teachers. At that time a headteacher lived next door. The Cooks, local butchers, lived here and the

---

<sup>32</sup> Olive's mother was from a family of shopkeepers and landlords, the Wrights.

Swales<sup>33</sup> and the Carvers, worked in the mines. The Doctor lived in Stanghow Road for awhile, and we lived next door to Clark's."

E.H. "My parents lived at the top end of this row, I lived there too until I was married. My father worked in the mines, but he wasn't a miner but he worked in the mines. I know he had something to do with the boilers. Most of the bosses, I mean the head men, used to live at Seaton House: Mr. Coxon, Mr. Howe. They kept very much to themselves, all strangers to the village.

"The rough end, oh well, its gone...Coral Street and Moorcock Row."

O.M. "When we were children we were told not to play with them. We were snobbish really. They were just a poorer type, they didn't worry...they didn't try to educate themselves. They enjoyed life...In hard times when they hadn't the money, that's why the children used to go around in rags. In those days some of their houses were terrible, that's all gone now. We used to give out cocoa in the mornings at school after the First War...and they had soup kitchens. It was very bad at times."

E.H. "I don't know what happened...there were strikes or something but some went to work in coalmines...they went to Thurnscoe. A lot of them didn't stay very long, as soon as this mine opened they came back."

O.M. "Most went to churches or chapels. We had 'Band of Hope' at the Primitives, my father used to run Christian Endeavour once a week. The church revolved around the community."

E.H. "They all sort of vied with each other, to do a bit better than the others."

O.M. "Events, a concert of something was announced by the bellman. If you head the bellman you rushed to the door. The church was the only social

---

<sup>33</sup> Mr. Swales was an engineman at the mine.

thing there was...concerts, I know the Primitive choir always had marvellous concerts, operettas. They used to go to other villages to give their concerts. Choral singing, organised trips to seaside places."

"You had Joseph Calow, he always had a lot of money...the Calow fund in the Primitive Methodists, and the Clarks in the Wesleyans."

E.H. "The shopkeepers were the only ones who had money to buy property. Some were not so good as landlords."

O.M. "At one time it was Liberal; Liberal or Labour, not so much Conservative. When I was a child it was Liberal...'vote, vote, vote for Charlie Starmer." People were interested much more than they are now, parades in the High Street, rosettes."

E.H. "We were Conservative, there weren't many in Lingdale."

O.M. "I know late on we changed over to Conservative."

E.H. "Councillors weren't very prominent then, we didn't hear much from them. We didn't seem to know much about them. Everything went on in the same old way. Clarks and Calow were the important people. The farmers came in, they did quite a lot."

O.M. "The groups for concerts all originated from the churches. The place was always full. If the Institute was used it was always full, it was very much used."

E.M. "We went out to Middlesbrough to the cinema when they opened, and for shopping. It was a regular day out. Shops in Middlesbrough used to knock off the train fare or 'bus fare as discount."

O.M. "Things started to change when we got a 'bus service. When I went to school in Middlesbrough at eleven years old there were no buses. It was really very gradual. When the mine closed a lot of younger men went away."

E.H. "The Church here (Congregational) kept going because a lot of them were head men at the mine and the workers came in to it. I think that was

quite a lot of it."

O.M. "When I came back for holidays I felt...I was always ashamed of the shale heap. When I brought my friends I said that the shale heap was a horrible thing and the people who live down there, we have nothing to do with them. You know, proper snobbish...but I hated that shale heap. With being away a lot I didn't speak broad Yorkshire, but I knew I didn't want to speak it although I'm still proud to be Yorkshire and from Lingdale. Although we always wanted to live at Saltburn."

Commentary. Olive Malton and Edna Harrison both came from families which were involved in mining and they are examples of upward social mobility in that their families show a transition from mining itself (O.M. 'My grandfather was a miner .... just an ordinary miner') to the more skilled, technical tasks involved at the surface (E.H. 'He wasn't a miner.... I know he had something to do with the boilers') and to the white-collar, professional occupations of school teaching and office management. In the space of one or two generations there has been a move that differentiates these two women from the working class in Lingdale.

The complex web of kinship connections partly accounts for this movement. Olive is connected through her mother to a successful shop-owning/landlord family. These connections ramify in the context of the Primitive Methodist chapel where relatives connect Olive to other petit-bourgeois associates. The importance of the social focus provided by the chapels is again emphasised. The ideological climate for Olive and this section of the community is determined within the interaction involved in religious practice, kinship and work. It should be noted that important differences in statements about the village emerge between these women and other petite-bourgeoisie like them and the working class. For example, the isolation of the community, its enclosed nature and restricted

opportunities which are interpreted in the working-class interview material as primarily effecting work and livelihood are seen by Olive and Edna as limiting the the scope and degree of leisure and socialising. There are also clear statements that indicate a separation from sections of the working class, 'a poorer type....didn't worry....didn't try to educate themselves.' The latter phrase implies that the upward mobility demonstrated by Olive's family history could quite easily be replicated by the working class. Here the Maltons and the Harrisons may be seen as providing examples for the working class indicating that no rigid class barriers existed and mobility was possible for those who worked for it. They therefore acted as Parkin (1971:2) has argued to support a dominant ideology and to stabilise a social order with obvious inequalities. This is apparent also in the move of political allegiance from Liberal to Conservative. As the Liberal Party declined and no longer appeared as a realistic opposition, rather than support the Labour Party and its furtherance of working-class interests, allegiance switched to the Conservative Party.

The retention of pride in her historical and geographical origins and her present ideological position leads to the expression of some ambivalence about the community in Olive's closing statement.

**iv) The Labour Aristocracy.** In examining the channels through which ideology permeates to the working class I have made reference to the notion of a labour aristocracy, workers who by virtue of their skills have been singled out for better conditions, wages and privileges. This group have much closer contact with the working class and it can therefore be conjectured that the ideological role they play will be of importance in determining the development of consciousness in the working class. As an example of the ideological position of this labour aristocracy and to

demonstrate their links to the petite-bourgeoisie I have chosen extracts from an interview with Jane Gill, a 72 year old widow of an engineman at Kilton Mine and Peases.

"My grandfather came from Cornwall and I was named after my grandmother. My grandfather worked in the tin mines and then he was deputy at Margrove. My father was a miner, he came home because he had been working at Wetherby. He and my uncle came home when my grandfather was ill, to help support the family because they didn't want the three daughters going into domestic service. There was nothing but mining around here in those days. I lived in the High Street.

"My father wouldn't let us go out to work so we stayed and looked after mother. She wasn't well. We had somebody come in to do most of the domestic work. We weren't allowed to go out to work. My uncle and my grandfather lived with us. My father was in the chapel choir, with Mr. Brown and Thomas Wright's grandfather. That was the Primitive Methodists. You went to chapel three times a day, you weren't allowed to play ball on a Sunday. You didn't have any spare time on a Sunday.

"Clarks sort of ruled the Wesleyan Chapel in Scarth Street, but Mr. Wright, Mr. Brown, Ena's dad and Mr. Calow, they were the Primitives.

"I moved into Wilson Street when I got married. When we got married we were on the dole. We weren't going to get married, we were waiting 'til work started, but Grandma Gill said, 'Get married and then you won't be sent down south to learn a trade, we'll help you.<sup>34</sup> We went to see the landlord, Mr. Graham from Harrogate, it was seven and six (37.5p) a week.

"We weren't allowed to mix with certain people. There was people you

---

<sup>34</sup> During the 30's unemployed men could be sent on courses by the 'dole office' of the Assistance Board. One respondent stated that a number of Lingdale men were sent to a hat factory in Aylesbury (Interview with Wilf Holmes 26/8/82).

wouldn't mix with. It was their way of living...drunkards, and morality, you know. All the different things we weren't used to. We'd always speak to them though. Coral Street and North Terrace, they were a rough part of Lingdale.

"Mr. Simons, Mr. Calow and Mr. Clark they owned a lot of Lingdale. They were mostly shopkeepers, they easily bought houses. We were offered houses at one time at sixpence (2.5p) a week because people were using empty houses as pigeon lofts and things like that. That happened when the mine wasn't working. That's how Clark got most of the ownership of the houses.

"When the mine wasn't working they would do their gardens and sell their garden produce, all that sort of thing. My husband used to make pounds and pounds out of his garden. He had pigs slaughtered at Christmas and he was a flower show judge too. We managed to get through the hard times. My husband used to drive the lorry for Mr. Wright which was opened out for a fourteen seater and he used to drive for the doctor. He used to get jobs like that so I can say we were never in need, we were never hungry.

"It was a dreadful thing to have to get parish relief, it was an awful thing. You've heard them say the questions they used to be asked. People didn't like to go. You know they used to send a lot of clothing from America and people used to go to the Institute to pick out clothing for children. There used to be soup kitchens in the old days.

"My grandmother was a farmer's daughter and she'd been brought up to pickle and preserve, that sort of thing. She'd take any old sort of tramp in and fix them up with a meal.

"I was just a housewife and then later on I went to be a caretaker, the only job I ever had, at the clinic. I was up there twenty years as the caretaker in the clinic. I was sixty-six when I finished. I took the job because we thought my husband was going to lose his job, there was some talk



of the mine closing; but he never did have to finish.

"My husband used to work at Comondale brickworks and walk from Lingdale to Comondale every day.<sup>35</sup> This was when Peases was closed. I've seen him come home and be able to stand his coat up because it was frozen on him. He couldn't stand being out of work so he'd go anywhere. He got on at Kilton and worked his way up. He was banksman and would do any job going, he was a real handyman around the works. If there was any job needed doing it was 'send for Joe, he'll do it.' He worked twenty-five years at Kilton and when it closed he went down to Grangetown after that but it was heavy work. I got him persuaded to go down to the council - no road work, sweeping streets or bins I said, but garden work. So he got on in the cemetery at Skelton and finished off at the Boosbeck cemetery.

"With Wilton and everything else people started to work out of the village and people started to move out. People came from Grangetown, Middlesbrough area and came this way to live, a rougher element. The rougher people from the towns came and that made it quite different. Once upon a time you knew every house in Lingdale, who lived there. These murders and that, that happened in Lingdale, they weren't Lingdale people. They were all outsiders that came here, they weren't Lingdale people, the good old Lingdale folk.<sup>36</sup>

"Families married into one another...because there weren't any 'buses, so you couldn't get out of the place. You weren't allowed to go out, I mean to being twenty-one I had to be in by nine o'clock.

"Browns and Clarks, Smith, Andy Vincent and er...the decent people, they were looked up to. Now I'll tell you one thing, we moved to Moorcock,

---

<sup>35</sup> A distance of approximately nine miles (15 km).

<sup>36</sup> During a relatively short period in the 1950's the community experienced several murders and thus gained a reputation as a violent community.

well it used to be classed as on the rough side...in the latter days. My father was on the dole and they had a very big rent up there (Stanghow). So they had a chance of a company house and they were only three and six (17.5p) a week. Well of course we moved down there and they used to say, "Joe, that's not thy place going down there to live." So we just lived there for two years and my father moved back into Lingdale again. They used to play war because my dad moved down there to live.

"They were councillors and J.P.'s, if we didn't want our children vaccinated we always went to Mr. Clark, as references. I went to Mr. Simons for my first job. My uncle Nat was on the council years and Mr. Morrison the butcher, they were always classed as the nice people. They wanted my husband to put up for council, but he wasn't interested. He loved his garden and his Sunday School (at the Church, Anglican). They thought Church was better. There was a good deal of mixing. Mr. Wright was choirmaster at the Primitive Methodists and his son was organist but Mrs. Wright used to love to go to the Church. Ida Wright went with Andy Vincent and she had to go to Church one week and the Congs the next.

"We met the mine managers because my father did the driving for them. We went up to Seaton House for our Christmas presents every year. Their wives were active in the Church, they went to Church.

"We were always Liberals, well there weren't any Labour in those days. Well I know Sir Charles Starmer invited women from the Congregational Church to tea at Darlington, to Sir Charles Starmer's house. There used to be a lot of 'aggro' over politics, the Labour honestly spoilt it at that time because they couldn't take losing. We used to put posters in our windows and choose who we wanted, I mean we didn't look down on them. They used to cause a lot of 'aggro' they shouldn't have done. Lady Guisborough came and they threw sods of earth and knocked the hat off her driver. If

there was a Liberal poster in the window, they'd break the window. Now I really think that did a lot of harm to Labour. Now Mr. Mansfield was a good man, and Harry Dack was a grand chap. My husband did his garden and the mines agent and Mr. Roberts, the manager at Boosbeck."

**Commentary.** Jane and her family are securely positioned in a network of relationships that are dominated by petit-bourgeois influence while retaining everyday links with the working class of which objectively they are members. The Primitive Methodist chapel is again an important locus for contacts with the petite-bourgeoisie which have in Jane's case a very practical side. It is through these links that her husband is provided with work when the mine is closed. Jane's husband and previously her father, through their driving and gardening skills, developed close links with the mines' management and with other petite-bourgeoisie outside the mining context, e.g. the local doctor.

There are aspects of Jane's family background that point to this development of social interaction with the petite-bourgeoisie. Her family lived in the relatively prestigious housing on the High Street, they enhanced their social standing by ensuring that the women in the family did not have to go into domestic service; they in fact employed a domestic servant themselves. (This was quite possible if there were a number of men in work in the one family all contributing to the family income. It happened also in the case of Jack Cuthbert who had seven brothers). The account of the reaction to the family's move to Moorcock Row points to the social significance of spatial location in the community and to the sense of social differentiation developed by and among the petite-bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy.

Jane gives us yet another opinion on what isolation meant to the community with her reference to the endogamous marriage patterns. This is

of some significance in her own case and in some of the cases included in this chapter (e.g. Olive Malton, Ethel Clark), because such marriages provided and reinforced links between the petite-bourgeoisie and the working class. (A full account of the scale and impact of this would require an analysis of the kinship structure of the community which is outside the scope of the present research).

The social interaction referred to above contributes to Jane's adoption of an ideology which is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the petite-bourgeoisie. Hence her account of social differentiation in the community is the same: the 'decent' to which one might go for advice (a recognition of their greater knowledge and respect) and with which one wishes to be associated and the 'rougher' elements who are distinguished by their social conditions and their 'morality'. It is interesting that when Jane discusses change she sees the newcomers to the village as contributing to this 'rougher' section of the population and change therefore becomes a decline in standards.

As we might expect Jane's political allegiance has in the past been Liberal but with that party's decline she has turned to the Conservatives. Labour is associated again with a different code of conduct perhaps because most of their support in the community would come from the 'rougher' elements. The outstanding exceptions to this, and of particular importance in supporting the view expressed in this dissertation about the union and the perception of its leadership by the miners, are the union leaders Mansfield and Dack who stood for political office.

The analysis of Jane's ideological stance is crucial because she, along with her husband and family, was not isolated from the working class in Lingdale; she 'would always speak to them' and her husband had daily contact with them through work as Jane did later with her clinic caretaker job. The

Gills therefore, and families like them, should be seen as a conduit for a petit-bourgeois ideology which permeated through to the working class and moulded their consciousness and action.

v) **The Commuting Worker**      The final interview excerpts are provided to support the material that has been presented so far but to do so from a different experiential background and perspective. Alan Thompson, a 54 year old steelworker has lived in Lingdale all his life but has not worked in the mines. He is the youngest of those interviewed, a bachelor who has developed as an astute observer of his community and its characteristics. Despite the difference in his experience he still provides an account of the community that is similar in many respects to that of the older generation. "I was born in Dale Terrace and then we moved into Oldham Street. My father was in the mines, he'd been in the mines the majority of his working life, as a miner and then rose to be a deputy. Oddly enough he was the first man when they changed from steam to electricity, he was onsetter. My grandfather was a miner before my father, he worked at Lingdale mine and in those days he lived at Moorsholm.

"The reason we moved from Dale Terrace was because a landlord bought the houses and he wanted to live in one. It was eviction, in those days it was, 'Find yourself a house!' The houses at Moorcock were owned by Keith Watson who owned a lot of property in Lingdale, Boosbeck and around the area. The rent collector was Pridmore who was horsekeeper at the mines, he lived in Stanghow Road. There were only two landlords in Moorcock, Keith Watson and Arthur Colbeck. Arthur Colbeck was a pit-man himself, he was classed as a 'cod-gaffer'. When we first lived there the mines were closed and there were only a few in the village working. There was about ten people working at Lingdale mine, it was just ticking over.

"My father was out of work and he also had ill-health even though he

worked until he was sixty-nine years old. We lived as best we could. My sister started work at the Cooperative and my brother went farming, they were the first wage earners. We've always had gardens, all my life...that was the only thing you had to live on.

"It's only since I.C.I. started that this village took a turn for the better. You could have looked, say twenty years ago, and you could have looked on any stairs and you wouldn't have seen a fitted stair carpet on anybody's stairs, even those houses in Stanghow Road. A clip-mat<sup>37</sup> was the thing, lino and a clip-mat. As I.C.I. started people drifted away from the mines because they were tied to the mines through the war up to 1947 or 1948; 'essential works order'. When Wilton opened the village really took off, because there were people who left the village then, the mines, and they got a better standard of living. They went to work at I.C.I. on contract, which was manual work, there weren't many skilled; just an odd one that was skilled in the villages. That's when the money started to flow in the village and that's when we saw the biggest changes, such as painting and things like that, and acquiring bathrooms.

"The whole atmosphere changed, but for the better in as much as men had a different outlook on life for the simple reason they were working in better conditions, they were gettin' more money, they mixed with different people. The mines were such that it was their whole life, there was no cars or owt like that; a walk to Saltburn was a day out...that was it.

"The shopkeepers...in lots of cases they had a little bit more...people respected them for a little bit more education, knowledge, so they respected their views. They had business knowledge...he had a little bit

---

<sup>37</sup> A mat made from the clippings of other material, once a common feature of North-East communities.

more knowledge than the average man in the street who went to the mines, put it that way.

"In the whole attitude today...there's no respect for anyone today, clergy or anything more so for people today in business. I'm of the old stock, I had to respect them.

"I've never heard anyone to this day say anything against Sam Brown, not only was he a businessman but Brown was a shrewd man who stopped to think before he opened his mouth. Now Clark, I've mixed feelings about. Smith wasn't of the same calibre as Brown, but he wouldn't be far behind. In my younger days they used to pick these type of people for J.P.'s and things like that. They thought if you were a businessman you had a bit more knowledge.

"Chapels were important but only for certain families. We always went to chapel in our younger days. We went to the bottom one, the Primitive Methodists. My father was a Methodist preacher for a lot of years...he's even baptised children. We didn't keep it up though, as we got to working we fell apart from chapel. In my book chapel going life has been far the worse. For instance you didn't see very many gardeners on a Sunday in them days. I've said to my father, 'Well, we go to work today on Sundays.' That didn't go down well, to his dying day.

"After the war as men came back, anyone from eighteen to forty-five was away, apart from those on 'essential works'; they expected more. There was the club, the Victoria and the 'top-end' and people were in little clans oddly enough. You had your club men, your Victoria Hotel men and your 'top-end' men, and you still have in a way. The club was always a thriving concern, it had gone from strength to strength. There was a 'wall' between club, pub men and chapel goers, it existed more so in them days than it does today.

"Townspeople have a different standard of living, I don't think they're as studious in their form of living, they live more for today and tomorrow looks after itself while country folk are apt to think, 'Well, it might be raining tomorrow,' they don't have a feast or a famine, they budget better.

"You could go to Warrenby works<sup>38</sup>...and if you said you lived in any of these villages they were only too willing to give you a job. But there is another side to it, there is a saying, 'Strong in th'back and weak in th'head,' that does apply. The average person in this village, if they were talking to the boss, would call him 'Mister.'" I could talk to you all night, without you recording it, of families who were born workers, born honest and have never, even down to the grandchildren, have committed an offence. And then you've got the rogues who have never gone straight in their lives. If they're ex-miners its in 'em to work...they can't get out of that tradition, that mines' way were they up and had to work. The way they're brought up any person, the majority of people of, what shall we say, forty-five down over, still respect...er...their elders. In the way they were brought up to it at school and that, ten times greater than any townie.

"We've lost the community spirit and things that one could do with daily. In terrace houses we had that little bit more, 'Love they neighbour' was an understood thing. But let's face it the modern conveniences are far greater, they outweigh the bad points. It's not gone completely...but it's been shattered."

Commentary. Alan's family background is typical of the community as a whole and can be compared to the other respondents quoted in this chapter. His

---

<sup>38</sup> A small steelworks situated to the north of Redcar, after Skinninggrove probably the nearest to Lingdale.



family's experience of unemployment and housing, their participation in the Primitive Methodist chapel indicate they were open to the same influences as others in the community. Alan however has never worked in the mines and despite being aware of the changes in the community and having experienced the world of work outside the village he still demonstrates a consciousness that is little changed from that of the older generation.

Alan is perhaps more optimistic about the community and generally sees it having changed for the better. He charts the changes rather narrowly to the increased material wealth accrued by those who got work at I.C.I. There is a recognition here of the way in which this type of work changed the workers and their community by breaking them out of the encapsulated world of the mine. The loss of the community spirit Alan sees as being amply compensated by the access to 'modern conveniences.'

Despite the acknowledgement of change, Alan conveys in his account the older generation's attitude to the shopkeepers, a respect and recognition of their greater knowledge. The persistence of this deferential attitude given a quite different work experience is noteworthy. A partial explanation is found in Alan's description of the difference he sees between people from Lingdale and villages like Lingdale and the 'townies' from the urban areas of Teesside. This differentiation supports his deferential posture; it is part of his identity as a villager opposed to his 'townie' workmates. Within the village however he still uses the older generation's guidelines in dividing the village into the 'honest' and the 'roques'.

**Summary.** The material presented in this chapter has been used to supplement the themes presented in chapters six and seven. It also serves to emphasise the value of the life-history approach where the intersection of time and space is seen to culminate in the social structure that acts as

the context for the social action described in the accounts. The presentation of data in this manner adds a coherence to the material that has previously been fragmented for the purposes of analysis. In presenting a number of accounts in this way an impression is also gained of the uniformity in the consciousness and ideology of the population under examination.

## **Chapter Six: The Labour Process, Paternalism and Power in an East**

### **Cleveland Mining Village**

The material presented here is the result of the application of the theories of power and consciousness presented in chapter two to the empirical data. My intention is to indicate how in the locale of the case-study community, Lingdale, the interrelationship of social structure and social action produced specific outcomes in terms of the development of consciousness in the population. The key aspect of this developmental process was the nature and use of power experienced by the population. Throughout the eleven decades of its existence Lingdale has been subject to the major features of social change seen in Britain; but these changes have, because of the specific nature of Lingdale's locale, historical experience and involvement in particular power relationships, achieved their own local effect. I have emphasised industrial decline as the dominant change in the locale and it is therefore with the industrial structure, the labour process and the overall relations of production that this analysis should begin.

#### **1) Power, Paternalism and the Local Labour Market.**

Lingdale owes its existence to the decision by Pease and Partners to sink a mine there. The production of ironstone remained under the direction of J.W. Pease and Company and the successor companies (Pease and Partners, Lingdale Ironstone Co. Ltd.) controlled by them, for the majority of the mine's working life. The mode of control used by Pease and Partners can be generally described as paternalistic. The precise nature of this paternalism and its ramifications in terms of the use of power in the community are analysed below where particular emphasis is placed on the

spatial and temporal aspects of this power as it becomes manifest in the social life of Lingdale.

A model of industrial paternalist capitalism has been developed by Norris (1978), building on Newby's consideration of rural paternalism, and there are several ways in which the activities of the Peases in Lingdale depart from this model. Norris concurs with Newby's assertion that paternalistic forms of social organisation are those in which economic and political power is stabilised through the legitimating ideology of traditionalism. The main problem for the 'traditional' elites is that of managing the tension that results because of the contradictory elements, differentiation and identification, that occur in what Newby (1975) calls the 'deferential dialectic'. The four ways of managing the tension utilised by the traditional elite that are identified by Newby can be employed as a framework for the analysis of paternalism in Lingdale.

One of the key issues here is that of 'identification'. Both Norris and Newby stress that the identification of the workforce with the employer is crucial to the maintenance of a 'traditionalist' ideology. Such an identification is produced through an emphasis on local ties and some degree of interaction between employer and employees. Norris (op. cit. p. 245) in the context of his discussion of the effect of size, raises the question of whether a property owning bourgeoisie can impose its own interpretation of reality through the agency of intermediaries.<sup>39</sup> This would appear to be the case with the Peases and Lingdale.

There are several dimensions to this use of ideological agents in Lingdale, but it can be established that the contact between the Peases and

---

<sup>39</sup> There is some confusion in the way Norris states that the 'local' bourgeoisie need not be necessarily resident near their industries but on the other hand to wield paternalistic control they need to interact with the workers. In this situation the only solution must be to use intermediaries.

Lingdale was minimal. I can only trace one instance of one of the Peases visiting the village, in 1907, when Lady Pease laid the foundation stone for the Congregational Church Manse. Certainly none of those interviewed had any contact whatsoever with the Peases, or mentioned any visits of the Peases to Lingdale.

"The owners? Well...you never saw them, you only saw managers..they were alright." (Wilf Holmes, 68 years old, miner).  
"I can't remember seeing any of Peases here." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

"We did get one or two of the head people down from Darlington in '39-45 war because we used to sell pies during the war. If you were a miner you could purchase a pork pie an' that. There was one of them came down and he reduced the price to about threepence a pie. Actually they used to go into the manager's room, we used to see them but that's about all, we never really spoke to them." (Albert Taylor, 71 years old, ex-miner and office worker).

This contrasts with the contact between the village and the dominant local land-owning family, the Whartons of Skelton Castle.

It is the Wharton family that fits the paternalist pattern of activity most precisely. They are able to trace their origins in the area back to the twelfth century and were much involved in charitable acts towards the local population. With the advent of mining the Wharton family, because of their land-holdings, reaped the benefit of considerable royalties, way-leaves and land sales. Land in and around Lingdale was not wholly under the control of the Wharton family (see Appendix D) but nevertheless they extended their sphere of activity to cover Lingdale's population. The provision of soup-kitchens, donations to worthy causes and the leasing of land for public buildings is recorded regularly in the local press, school log books and accounts of local organisations. The family earned a reputation for its 'gentlemanly' conduct.

"Squire used to open the woods...when coal strike was...they used to mark the trees what was dying, that you could cut down and bring home." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

The use of a 'gentlemanly' ethic is seen by Newby (1975) to be one means

of easing the tension involved in the deferential dialectic. As a flexible instrument of legitimation it defines the elite in terms of wealth and the possession of a distinct code of conduct and ethics.

The maintenance of social distance in spite of physical proximity is managed partly by the subtle mixture of concern and contempt which characterises and identifies the 'bearing' a gentleman adopts when engaged in interaction with subordinates. This 'bearing' acts as both a badge of recognition and the demarcation of the intangible line which separates the ruler and the ruled (Norris 1978:472).

No doubt the Peases would also be termed 'gentlemen' in terms of their wealth and charitable acts but they could not be closely observed by the local population, therefore the local expression of the 'gentlemanly' ethic was entirely in the hands of the Wharton family. The mutual interests of these two elites (mining profits and mining royalties) ensured that the process of legitimation developed to serve the long-term interests of both. In this sense then the Wharton family became the local 'agents' for the Peases. This coalition of mineowners and landowners has further implications which are discussed below.

Interview data yielded another group described as 'gentlemen': the mine managers.

"They were alright, bosses were alright; we had some good bosses and we had some queer 'uns. Some of 'em were proper toffs, they didn't row with you or owt like that." (Wilf Holmes, 68 years old, miner).

"There were some good managers and some bad'uns but most of managers and undermanagers particularly, if they were gentlemen born, you could work 'em." (Harry 'Pomper' Teasdale, 76 years old, miner).

This group had the day-to-day problem of maintaining work discipline while living in the community. They were identified as part of the locale; but in all but two cases they were not local men but qualified mine managers brought in by Peases from their coal and quarry interests in County Durham. This feature of being an outsider was of use in maintaining some social

distance in the community itself. The social distance was reinforced by the physical distance of the manager's imposing residence (up the hill, 400 metres to the south of the village, see Map C).

The managers acted as intermediaries between the owners and the workforce. They were men brought up through the hierarchy of the Pease industrial empire and it must be assumed that they had therefore demonstrated adherence to the Peases' business ethics. They 'translated' such ethics into practice in the running of the mining operations, where interaction between workforce and manager was subject to understood rules of conduct. The manager seldom actually saw miners at work or personally issued directives to them. The undermanager and the overmen had the task of going underground and passing on instructions from the managers to the miners. The manager was always accompanied underground by the undermanager (generally a local man) and he saw to it that the appropriate degree of respect was accorded to the manager.

"The greatest respect was due to the bosses, you addressed them as 'sir'. When you went in that office you had your safety helmet off, you stood at the desk and took your hat off. You always had to."  
(Arthur Robinson, 68 years old, miner).

When this miner went to work on Teesside, the differing degree of respect owed to bosses struck him forcefully:

"They used to say, 'It doesn't matter about bosses, don't take notice of them.' A boss once said to me, 'It's funny Robinson, every time I come in here you stop work.' So I explained to him, I said, 'well, when we were down the mines, when the boss came to see you, you stopped work and talked to him, maybe ten minutes then away you went, you started work again. It's force of habit.'"

The manager had a similarly limited role in the community. He was invited to 'ritualised' occasions such as the opening of public buildings, presentation of prizes at flower shows and sporting events; and he became the honorary president of local organisations. As such he symbolised the local presence of the Peases and, like the Whartons, acted as an agent for

their paternalistic capitalism.

"Chairman of this and chairman of that you know, if there was a function going on, well, they asked you to come and judge the prizes, or if you would chair the meeting." (Jack Ash, 61 years old, mines manager).

The mine managers and the local landowners demonstrated quite clearly the "totality of hierarchy" in their occupation of positions of power in the local political structure (Newby 1975). Uniformly, until after the Second World War, the Skelton and Brotton Urban District Council (the local authority) and the School Board were dominated by local landowners (and their tenant-farmers), mine managers and local shopkeepers. (Skelton and Brotton Local Board and U.D.C. minutes 1866-1920, Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. Yearbooks; Lingdale School Log Books). Domination of this sort indicates that the traditionalist ideology contains a powerful element that disperses the power of the elite gained through wealth so as to allow the occupation of other elite positions in other spheres. No other groups are seen to have the appropriate qualifications to occupy these positions and domination by elites is thus secured.

The main element of identification between workforce and elites is that provided by the "ideology of localism" (Newby 1975). As has been demonstrated above the Peases could not have been closely identified with Lingdale in terms of interaction with its population. This role devolved to the mine managers and the Wharton family.

This lack of appearances and interaction by the Peases in Lingdale was to a certain extent alleviated by the activity of charitable giving. Newby (1975) draws attention to the importance of the gift relationship in paternalism. The actual transfer of material wealth through a gift confirms both the differentiation and the identification of the elite and the subordinate class. The act of giving reinforces the moral and social



superiority of the elite and encompasses the subordinate class in the reciprocal principle of gift-giving much emphasised by anthropologists. The subordinate class reciprocates with respect and continued loyal service. The Peases (like the Whartons) gave donations to local organisations (from churches and chapels to the local football club) and provided the new Miners' Institute as the social centre of the community. Activity of this sort identified the Peases with the workforce as they both were now seen to have a common interest in the welfare of the area. Giving was perhaps also the most direct way to alleviate the deprivation caused by the fluctuations in the market that so chronically effected the Lingdale mine and ironstone mining in general.

The success of the promulgation of a traditionalist ideology rests in part on the prevention of counter-ideologies arising. One arena in which this may well occur is the arena of work, where workers in the same market situation may develop counter ideology as they meet and compare their experience at the hands of the employers. To prevent this, as Norris (*op. cit.* p.475) notes, it has been suggested that the deliberate creation of hierarchy may be used. There are a number of ways in which this can be applied to ironstone mining. Firstly, the creation of a 'labour aristocracy' of skilled workers who are given supervisory responsibilities over fellow workers. Secondly, the piece-work system of working (supervised by the 'labour aristocracy' of the overmen) tended to throw workers into competition with one another; a hierarchy of work-teams, based on production levels, being the result. Paralleling these positions in the hierarchy there were, of course, appropriate financial incentives.

Another potential source of counter ideology could be introduced by the petite-bourgeoisie in the community. They have a close identification with the locale (in contrast to the Peases) yet have not attained complete

acceptance in bourgeois circles largely through the operation of a strategy of social closure. They are however incorporated into the ideological process by the bourgeoisie as they associate with them in local politics, property and business dealings and as they occupy influential positions in local organisations. The local petite-bourgeoisie in Lingdale take on the appearance, because of this incorporation, of 'broker' figures between the bourgeoisie and the working class. As such they do not perform a counter-ideological role but rather communicate and reinforce the traditional ideology in the locale. The involvement of Lingdale's petite-bourgeoisie in the community's religious organisations is particularly important here and is discussed in detail below. It is of course evident that the local petite-bourgeoisie have a vested interest in the continued prosperity of the community and their clientele in it. They would therefore need little persuasion to associate themselves with a group whose ideological message speaks loudly of success and profit.

The nature of the local labour market has also to be considered in any discussion of the stability of paternalistic ideology. One of the key factors that sustains paternalism is the continued economic dependence of workers on local employers. The relative isolation of an area both spatially and economically tends to retard the incursion of alternative ideologies although (as in the case of coal-mining areas such as South Wales and arguably Durham) this is not always a sufficient explanation. The East Cleveland labour market was relatively isolated and the mine-owners were the dominant local employers.

"When I left school like, you either had to go to mining or farming, well if you went farming, you got hired and it was maybe six months or a year, and you got hiring penny at Guisbro' for it." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

"This was a mining area, it was natural, your dads worked in the mine and when you were fourteen it was a shilling or two more than anywhere else. There was just farming." (Alf 'Cuddy' Wood, 71 years old,

miner).

The only alternative to mining was the poorly-paid work offered in agriculture. This domination eased the imposition of a paternalistic ideology on the workforce; they were "workers trapped in the local economy...(having) little option but to accept ideologies, situational definitions and the rules of the game imposed by local employers..." (Norris 1978:475).

Coupled with the consideration of spatial relationships it is necessary to take into account the historical development of the locale and its elites so that the effect of this on the content of the paternalist ideology can be determined. The Peases' Quaker background had been tempered somewhat by thirty years of hard entrepreneurial endeavour in the North East's leading industries of coal and iron by the time development at Lingdale was under way. They still operated a system of industrial relations however that was run primarily on a principle of conciliation. It is possible to build up a picture of the Peases' attitude to their labour force in general by reference to the careers and public reputations of Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease and Sir David Dale. The former was chairman of Pease and Partners until 1902 when he was replaced by Dale, the managing director and vice-chairman. Both men were well known for their conciliatory attitude towards labour relations in the North East. In Sir Joseph's case this is reflected in his career as vice-chairman and chairman of the North East Railway Company, which was notable for a commitment to the principles of conciliation and arbitration at a time when other railway companies refused to recognise trades unions as bargaining agents. As for Sir David Dale, he was a noted and successful conciliator in industrial disputes, particularly in the Northern iron trades. When Dale's positions as a director of the North East Railways, chairman of the Consett Iron Company and the managing

director of Pease and Partners are considered, it is not unreasonable to assume that the relatively placid state of labour relations in the railway, iron and steel and extractive industries in the North East after 1890 was partially the product in some measure of the Pease-Dale partnership. A sense of the Peases's attitude to the workforce, and indeed, the reaction of that workforce is illustrated by these excerpts from the Pease and Partners annual company reports:

...the cost of manufacture is more accentuated in the case of Cleveland iron. Having regard, however, to the reasonable way in which the Cleveland men have met us I feel it is our duty to draw the maximum quantity we possibly can of ironstone from the Cleveland district even though it may not be at times to our immediate interest to do so. (Annual Report, 1923).

I doubt if we should have been able to continue working the Cleveland mines or at any rate to the extent that we have done, if it had not been for the reasonable way in which the Cleveland Miners have met us with regard to hours and wages and I think it is an obligation on us to stretch a point to find employment for the Cleveland men. (Sir Alfred F. Pease, Company Chairman, 1924).

It is to be regretted that it has been found impossible to make arrangements with the Durham Miners' Association to adjust wages and hours...which would have avoided the necessity of closing down collieries. The acceptance by the Cleveland miners of longer hours has enabled the Company's ironstone miners to be kept in operation. (Annual Report, 1925).

May I also pay tribute to the attitude and conduct of the miners, who were in our service and whom we hope to again employ, whose behaviour during the cessation of work was beyond reproach. (Lord Gainford, Company vice-chairman, 1926).

With the development of Lingdale it is possible to detect a change in the Peases' strategy (see chapter four, section iii) with the growing dominance of commercial concerns over moral concerns. There is no vigorous attempt in Lingdale to develop the 'company town' seen elsewhere in Peases' industrial ventures. The depressed state of the economy when the mine opened coupled with the uncertain geological and financial future of the mine may well have dictated to the Pease directors that cautious investment in Lingdale's social infrastructure was the only policy. If these factors

were not enough then the difficulties in obtaining total control of the land due to the independent property developments of local landowners may well have concluded the matter. Despite these problems the essence of paternalism was retained through the mine's industrial relations structure and through philanthropic acts. A glimpse of the waning attitude of paternalism is gained in the autobiographical notes of Sir Alfred Pease who, on entering his father's business in 1880, complained of having to take on many of the tasks which nobody else in the family wished to perform, notably the tedious round of opening schools, institutes, chapels, etc.<sup>40</sup>

The Peases were not the only mineowners in Cleveland but they were certainly one of, if not the most, influential. It was the Peases who convened the inaugural meeting of the Cleveland Mineowners' Association in 1873, and the evidence suggests that, through Sir David Dale, they won acceptance for their conciliatory pattern of industrial relations. The joint committee that was formed to discuss the issues arising between owners and miners was modelled on the committee established and operated by the Durham coal owners. The Peases would have been very familiar with this committee, and, because of its adoption in Cleveland, we must assume they found it worked to their satisfaction.

From 1873 the Cleveland Mineowners' Association became the collective voice of the owners. It is in the minutes of its meetings, the meetings of the joint committee in particular, and in the press statements that it issued that we see expressions of the owners' paternalistic ideology. The statements were aimed at the labour force and their families and this is where their impact was felt. I discuss the content of the ideology expressed through the Cleveland Mineowners' Association and the labour

---

<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Dr. M.W. King of the Department of History, University of Stirling for providing this and other information on the Pease family.

force's reaction to it in the following section.

The complementary dimension of the paternalistic ideology is the deferential workforce. The nature of the mining labour force is analysed in the following section and so for the moment I will confine myself to a brief discussion of their historical development as this can be seen as crucial to their relationship with a traditional, paternalistic ideology with consequent effects on class consciousness.

The geographical origins of Lingdale's labour force have been described in chapter four, section (ii) and Table V. The significant aspects of their background are firstly that a substantial proportion came from depressed agricultural areas: Lincolnshire, Norfolk and the surrounding area of North Yorkshire. The rural deferential workers of the nineteenth century migrated to the Cleveland mines to find an industrial elite, co-operating with the kind of rural traditional elite with which they were already familiar, in terms of the production of a similarly paternalistic ideological message clearly announcing the relationship between the classes. But they were not alone in migrating to Cleveland; ex-miners from Cornwall and Devon left the depressed tin mines to find work in the new ironstone mines. It is significant that this group, together with smaller contingents from Wales, Durham and Northumberland, formed the backbone of early action to form a union and within that union to take steps to improve wages and conditions (Nicholson 1982). These skilled workers had to struggle against three factors in their endeavour to form an effective union; firstly, the majority of unskilled ex-agricultural workers tended to reject collective action, operating a strategy whereby "longterm, corporate status was inexorably sacrificed to short-term individual earnings" (Nicholson 1982:20). Secondly, the different regional origins, reflected in the early settlement patterns, exacerbated differences between workers

in their life outside of work. Lastly, the action of the owners in creating a hierarchy in the work situation and by other means chiefly that of using a piece-work system of working, set worker against worker.

By the 1870's when Lingdale came into production the union had become established but analysis of the 1881 census indicates that at least 34% of the population were first generation mineworkers; the remaining percentage likely to have had some experience in the large-output drift mines at Eston or Upleatham, or alternatively in those East Cleveland mines that had opened prior to Lingdale. The population was therefore very mixed in terms of origin and historical experience. No widespread class consciousness could easily develop under such conditions; the population was open to influences from the dominant groups in their working lives and from the groups which controlled such necessities as housing, education, health and finance. Their experience in the formative years of the mine, community and union were to be crucial in the development of consciousness.

Before moving to a more detailed discussion of this experience it is necessary to summarise some of the key points from the above analysis.

Norris stresses that the ideology of localism is liable to collapse if those in powerful positions are not clearly identified as local people. A collapse of this ideology would make the sustaining of a traditionalist, paternalistic ideology very difficult (*op. cit.* 473). An examination of the Lingdale case indicated that this is not so and that the property-owning bourgeoisie (the Peases) could remain absent and communicate their ideology through agents ( the Wharton family and the mine managers predominantly, and in a more remote sense the local petite-bourgeoisie). The use of agents also broadens the geographical scope of such paternalistic ideology. If agents are used then the bourgeoisie can retain overall control of the ideological 'output' by simply ensuring that a coalition of interest is

maintained between the agents and themselves. Thus paternalistic ideology and control do not have to be highly localised. In the case of the Peases it extended over large tracts of Durham, Cleveland and North Yorkshire.

The necessity of a unified ideology on the part of the mineowners was ensured *via* the mechanism of the Cleveland Mineowners' Association. The mineowners (and local landowners) no doubt already shared much of a common paternalist ideology prior to the establishment of the Association; what the Association did was to prevent any fragmentation of that ideology due to the pressure of market forces, the advance of democratic capitalism and trades union activity. It was largely successful in this, the outcome being a mainly deferential workforce sustained by the use of a traditionalist, paternalistic ideology.

#### ii) The Labour Process, Unions and Industrial Relations.

**The Labour Process.** The method of working in the ironstone mines has been described in chapter four, section (ii) and in the personal accounts in chapter five, but the consequences of the social structure of mining and its uncertainties need to be explored further.

Like the collier the ironstone miner's working life was characterised by danger, fluctuations in earnings and hard physical labour. Some compensation for these negative features of work was the relatively high degree of autonomy allowed the miner in the day-to-day decisions encountered in performing his occupation. To analyse the implications of this balance between a relatively independent, individual control over the job itself and the constraints imposed by the working conditions and the necessity of earning a living, I will use as a framework a 'typical' career of a Lingdale-born miner. What is presented here is an amalgam of material collected by interviewing elderly miners and is not intended to reflect the career of any one individual. (Some detailed case studies of which I present



in chapter five.)

On leaving school in Lingdale the two choices that were usually placed before the young boy entering the local labour market were farming or mining.<sup>41</sup> A small minority found work in the service occupations in the village (coal, milk deliveries, work for the local authority, shop work, etc.) but the majority were destined eventually for the mine. For those too young to go underground and not able to find work in the pit-yard there was no alternative but to seek agricultural labouring jobs. Few of those interviewed who had worked on the surrounding farms reported any satisfaction from this work; the hours were very long and often the boy lived-in and was at the beck and call of the farmer. The pay, when compared with the wages possible at the mine, was very low. The deductions made for room and board reduced wages to a pittance, but a pittance nonetheless welcomed by the boy's family according to respondents.

"...when you went there (farming) you were tied. When it was harvest or hay-time you were up at three o'clock in t'morning and you were maybe going at twelve o'clock at night; and you were seven days a week, there was no break. You automatically went t'pit, which was harder, but you had eight hours and you had Sunday off." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

"Farmer<sup>42</sup> came to school and asked for you at school, he used to pick the big lads out, big strong lads. They got six shillings a week, but if you lived on the farm you got three shillings and sixpence a week." (Ken "Sinker" Beckley, 62 years old, miner).

---

<sup>41</sup> The only exceptions to this were a small number of local authority jobs and for a fortunate few a job at the Skinninggrove iron and steel works. These latter jobs were generally reserved for those in Loftus and villages around the works.

<sup>42</sup> In this case a farmer who was on the School Board.

"At thirteen I went to Airey Hill Farm for half a crown a week, I wasn't living in, I had to come home. We used to do all sorts,...ploughing. Your work wasn't hours, I started at five o'clock in t'morning milking, clean out, catch horses, feed pigs. I've been coming down, when we've been harvesting with a moon up, I've been coming down at three o'clock in the morning; no extra pay. Seven days a week, no holidays apart from Christmas, Good Friday. At fourteen, when pits would take you, I went down, I got six shillings and ninepence a week." (Alf 'Cuddy' Wood, 71 years old, miner).

The knowledge gained from this experience of farming was put to use in later life when an allotment garden (and often livestock) were acquired. One of those interviewed (Billy Hutchcraft) went back and forth between mining and agriculture until the mine closed and he went to work on Teesside.

Work on farms was a common experience for the younger boys because only a small number could be taken on by the mining company directly from school. Farming brought the boys into direct contact with the 'traditional' paternalist ideology. If their families' backgrounds were once agricultural this short work experience may have well reinforced the boys' deferential relationship to the traditional elite.

Boys taken on by the mine went into several quite different jobs, all of which were designated as 'light' work or 'boys'' work. Work on the surface consisted of working on the picking belt.

"Fourteen year old boys used to work on the belt, and when they got too old they could go down the mine." (Albert Taylor, 71 years old, ex-miner and office worker). "I went on t'belt at Peases...they were all lads, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen years old...two bosses on belt, they were called 'cod-gaffers', like supervisors, classed same as overmen. Twenty, twenty-five lads on t'belt." (David Wright, 69 years old, miner). This was a broad

moving conveyor belt onto which the 'tubs' full of ironstone were emptied. It was the task of the boys (accompanied by older, injured or disabled miners who supervised) to pick out the shale and other debris and throw it onto another moving conveyor belt for transportation to the shale heap. The

workers on the picking belt worked an eight-hour shift for six days (later five days with four hours on Saturday) bent over and surrounded constantly by the moving belts. When asked about this harsh introduction to working life the respondents did not recall any great problems of adjustment beyond a period of deadening fatigue. This response was also obtained when asking about their adjustment, as boys, to working underground.

"No, it didn't take a lot of getting used to, it come to you natural." (Jack Cuthbert, 75 years old, miner).

"We used to start in mornin' on t'belt and sometimes never came home 'til six or seven o'clock at night. You got used to it, it was long hours and hard work, back-breaking work like, I even remember my first pay, six and tuppence halfpenny a week." (Wilf Holmes, 68 years old, miner).

Underground work for boys consisted of work at the shaft bottom coupling and uncoupling the 'sets' of 'tubs' in preparation for the empties to be sent 'outbye' i.e. to the working miners at the face; or for the full tubs to be sent to the surface. The boys worked under the direction of an 'on-setter' or 'dog-whipper', the latter term conveying some of the disciplinary task undertaken by this worker. The boys had to man-handle the tubs and use short iron stakes, 'sprags'<sup>43</sup> to brake the tub's wheels. The work was undoubtedly hard and uncomfortable particularly in the winter when the cold down-draught of air froze hands and the damp conditions of the mine kept clothing from drying out. Yet these boys were part of a working team and what respondents emphasised was the camaraderie and joking of this period of their working lives rather than the harsh conditions.

The 'trappy-lad' had none of the compensations of contact with his work-mates. Boys given this job had to sit throughout the eight-hour shift,

---

<sup>43</sup> 'Sprag' is just one mining term that became part of the everyday speech of the mining community. It would be used, for example, in the following way, 'I'll put a sprag in his doing that,' meaning 'I'll stop him doing that.' See Appendix D.

more often or not in darkness, opening and closing the doors that ensured the efficient circulation of air in the mine. Their only human contact was with the 'drivers' and 'leaders' of the horse-drawn tubs for whom they performed this service.

The most fortunate of the boys would be taken on as 'drivers' or 'leaders' straight away. This was rare however and depended on having some influence with the mine management, e.g. one respondent's father did the mine manager's gardening for him. Becoming a 'driver', taking horse-drawn tubs to the miners at their 'places' was the first step on the way to becoming a miner; it was therefore a job with better prospects than other jobs boys would get. It introduced the 'driver' to the miners enabling both him and them to estimate their respective qualities as workers and earners. Such a process of assessing the worth of an individual as a worker was an essential pre-requisite before access to potentially the best-paid job (open to the majority of workers), that of the miner, the 'stone-getter', was granted.

Being started at the mine meant seeing the manager; sometimes this was after an introduction had been made by a member of the boy's family already at work in the mine. Often however the boy saw the manager without such introductions. What respondents recalled of their brief interviews were the enquiries about their family. The mine manager's decision depended to a large extent on the reputation of those of the boy's family already at work. If he did not know the family he would enquire of other mine managers, or of others on his staff, to ascertain the background of the labour he was about to engage. This procedure was carried out whenever the worker moved from one mine to another. It was, in a limited labour market, a powerful means of ensuring that the workforce behaved so as to achieve the necessary, wholesome reputation as loyal and hard-working.

"In them days if you said too much and the job didn't suit you - 'Get out, we can get someone else.' 'Cos there was a few out of work. You daren't say much. If you fell out with the boss and you went to another pit for a job, they'd ask you the reason you'd left the last pit. You'd tell 'em your story and they'd say 'Stop there a few minutes and I'll call you in.' They're on the 'phone to see what you'd fell out over, why you'd left. If you'd told the truth they'd set you on but if you told a lie you didn't get on." (Walter 'Gadge' Jackson, 75 years old, miner).

"I went to Lumpsey to try to get a job there, and they said 'Where did you work last?' So I told 'em Peases. They said 'Will you wait outside?' Now what happened was they rung Peases to see why I'd finished and if I'd done anything wrong. They came back and said 'I'm sorry but we can't take you on at present.' The management wanted me to go back there (to Peases) you see." (Arthur Robinson, 68 years old, miner).

This gave them a limited mobility, i.e. between the mines in the area. If one mine was closing or on short-time working (as Lingdale often was) then a good reputation enabled the miner to get work at other mines. The employers' system of checking references extended beyond the mining industry particularly when there was a considerable shortage of work in mining. The only viable competition (in terms of wages) in the local labour market was the iron and steel industry. Prior to widespread public transport the large iron and steel plants on Teesside were generally too distant to be considered as within commuting range by the East Cleveland population. The small iron and steel plant at Skinningrove on the coast was an employment possibility however, but one barred to unemployed miners. Respondents who attempted to get work at Skinningrove said that as soon as they stated their last employment was in the mines they were refused work. The close ties between the mines and the iron and steel industry (the Skinningrove Iron Co. was part of the Peases industrial holdings) made the operation of this policy possible and trapped the miners in a very confined, highly competitive labour market.

Earning that necessary, vital reputation was really only possible in the one job where a man's productivity was directly measurable, the job of

miner. To learn the miner's skills meant being taken 'in the stone' by an experienced miner (often a relative) as his 'filler', i.e. filling the tubs with stone brought down by the miner.

"I was driving three years, then I went in t'ironstone, shot me own ironstone. I learnt from me father for two or three years then I took it over. I was difficult, you had to study the place up, you might have twelve feet to shot ironstone in, or fourteen feet. When you drilled a hole you had to study it up to see how it would turn out. Some didn't do that and shot it all to hell. You could give it too little powder or too much. "Barring down" was a dangerous job, skilled, you had to know what timber you had up. Both me father and me were on one pay note. Some shared it but my father always wanted more than me. We agreed to that. I got fed up with him though, he was a nasty tempered man to work with, he got flustered with the job." (Walter 'Gadge' Jackson, 75 years old, miner).

These teams, of miners and fillers, were the cutting edge of the mine's production of ironstone. They were therefore the section of the labour force that were offered the greatest incentives, and were under the least day-to-day supervision. They were however subject to informal methods of control over their work.

The incentive element was inherent in the piece-rate system of payment, sixpence (2.5 p) per ton of ironstone produced. This was paid to the miner who then paid his 'filler'. There seems to have been little conflict over the division of money; a slightly greater share of the wage would go to the miner to cover the cost of the powder used and in token of his experience and skill. The teams of related workers often divided the wage evenly or contributed the total sum to the upkeep of the household only retaining 'pocket money'. The miner could vary his work-rate according to his needs, those with large families working to produce a greater output than the single men.

"To be a good man, a man who wanted a drink of beer and a smoke, you wanted twenty tons a day for two o' you. You wanted a hundred ton a week." (George 'Togy' Winters, 75 years old, miner).

"There was no limit really, you just went to your strength and your

own ability. Ten, twelve whatever you could do in a day. Ten to twelve tubs was average, twelve was a decent living." (John 'Doddler' Tate, 67 years old, miner).

"Bull Week", the week before Christmas, became legendary for the high output of the miners who strove to earn extra for the holiday. Some respondents derided the singling out of one particular week, stating that

"It was nearly Bull Week every week with miners. You always wanted as much as you could get." (John 'Doddler' Tate, 67 years old, miner).

Apart from his skill, the major constraint on the miner's earning power was the geological state of the 'place' he was assigned to work. The hardness of the ironstone, its contamination by shale and other unwanted rocks, the amount of dust, gas or water, the condition of the roof and 'bottom' and the problem of faults and old workings all had their effect on the miner's output. Some of these problems could be alleviated by the granting of an allowance by the overman or undermanager for the poor conditions. This usually amounted to a penny (0.41p) or two pence (0.82p) per ton. The wage slips listed six of these 'considerations' for which allowance could be made (see Appendix F). The granting of an allowance was entirely up to the discretion of the mine management and its underground representatives, the overmen. The overmen also had the task of distributing miners to the various 'places' to be worked. Both these factors acted to put the overmen, local miners who had come up through the ranks, in a powerful position relative to the miner.

If they'd got owt against yer like they could make it awkward for yer...put yer in a bad place maybe. You had to talk mately with 'em like. (George 'Togy' Winters, 75 years old, miner).

The power to distribute places and grant allowances and therefore determine income, differentiated the overmen from other miners. In Cleveland there was no system akin to the 'cavilling' of the colliers of Durham and Northumberland where lots were drawn to ensure a fair allocation of hard and

easy workings.

The other method used by management to control the miners' productivity concerned the supply of 'tubs'. By restricting the flow of 'tubs' to miners in their 'places' the management could slow down the work rate and at the same time reduce labour costs. Restricting output was, of course, a technique that could be used by miners too, (at the cost of reduced wages) and it was a commonplace element of industrial action in the coalfields. In Cleveland however, I could find no record of its being used by miners to wring concessions from the owners. The reasons for this are discussed below in the broad context of union activity.

For those who wanted to escape the fluctuations of a miner's wage the option of becoming a mines deputy existed. After a course of evening classes in one of the local schools an examination was taken to obtain a deputy's certificate. The deputy's responsibility was to ensure the safety of the workings of a group of about twelve miners for which he was paid a weekly wage. This wage was generally less than could be earned by a miner and so a man quite often oscillated between the two jobs as his needs changed or as he aged.

Above the position of deputy was that of the overman, in charge of a 'district' of the mine. This responsible position was also weekly-paid but at a rate comparable to the better earnings of the miner. There would be about six overmen depending on the size of the mine. Further experience, the possession of a deputy's certificate and, no doubt, the approval of the management were the necessary qualifications to become an overman.

In the vast majority of cases the highest a local man could rise in the mine's hierarchy was the position of undermanager. To do this a more advanced examination had to be passed and then, given that there were only a restricted number of undermanagers in the area (one per mine), there might



be a considerable delay until an opportunity for employment arose. Not surprisingly very few miners attempted the undermanager's certificate.

Both the overmen and the undermanager lived in the community close to the men they directed in the everyday life of the mine. Initially these key personnel may have been allocated company housing but it would appear, from the Lingdale evidence, that their better earnings enabled them to buy their own houses which brought them physically closer to their fellow miners; however, in terms of status (as property owners) this move aligned them with the petite-bourgeoisie and mine managers. In one case, an overman invested in housing and became a landlord on a small scale. The ideological implications of the movement of local men into positions of seniority in the work hierarchy are significant. They demonstrated an apparent 'openness' in the social structure and because of their position in the community they could act as 'brokers' between the mining population and the mine management and owners. In being more closely aligned (property-owning, supervisory occupations) with the petite-bourgeoisie it can be assumed that this section of the workforce were a potential ideological counterweight to the rise of a radical class consciousness.

It is, above all, the role, background and activity of the various mine managers at Lingdale that exemplify the operation of a paternalistic ideology. The social distance maintained by the managers in the community could not as easily be maintained in the day-to-day running of the mine operations where the manager had to interact with the men, often in the process of resolving potentially disruptive disputes. What assisted the manager in upholding his status, though having to emphasise an identification with the miner and his problems, was the fact that they were outsiders and held positions not available to local men.

I cannot establish with any certainty that it was the Peases' policy to

appoint outsiders to managerial posts but nevertheless this pattern existed throughout their control of the 'Lingdale mine. It may have been the result of necessity, rather than a clear-cut element of efficient hierarchical control. The examinations for the mine manager's qualifications (and also for the undermanagers) were all composed with reference to the practice of mining in coal-mines. Any local man would therefore be at a disadvantage because of this and also would encounter difficulties in arranging for a period of training in the coal mines so that he could gain the necessary practical experience. The managers who came to Lingdale had either gained some ironstone experience in another of the Peases' mines or else, in the process of learning the quite different process of mining ironstone, relied heavily on their undermanager and overmen. The fact that they were outsiders would be a assistance in negotiations with the workforce as they would encounter no conflict of interest occasioned by kinship, friendship or familiarity.

As explained in the previous section of this chapter, the managers were identified by the workforce as 'gentlemen'. They upheld the gentlemanly ethic in the work situation, being available to discuss work-related matters (often completely by-passing the union) with the men but also regaining the appropriate degree of respect. They were seen as the owners' representative who was visited by Peases' mines agent, who regularly visited Middlesbrough to discuss matters with other mines managers and who put the owners' policy into practice, with due consideration to local factors, at the mine.

None of the managers appointed by Peases survive today but it was possible to interview two ex-managers (one of whom worked at Lingdale) who were appointed after the take-over of the East Cleveland mines by the Dorman-Long Company although they did experience work under the old mining

Companies. Both these managers are interesting because they are the only cases on record of local men becoming managers. In the course of the interviews it became clear that they had had more of a problem than their predecessors in maintaining industrial discipline. The men who had once worked alongside them had difficulty in switching from first-name terms to the term 'sir' appropriate to the manager. In the case of one of these two managers it was alleged that he hit a worker and was only saved from dismissal by the company by the action of the mines agent who transferred him temporarily out of the area. Action such as this would have been unnecessary for the non-local managers and also destructive of the gentlemanly image. It suggests however that local men had problems, because of their past links with the labour force, in adopting the same managerial image and in operating in the same way.

The above account of the mine's structure and pattern of working covers the period from the first output in 1877 to 1945. After this the work teams of miners and fillers were broken up and machine-drilling teams were formed. They would move around the mine doing the drilling preparatory to shot-firing. A team of shot-firers would follow and after them the fillers. The only workers now on piece-rates were the unskilled fillers, every other job now being paid on a weekly basis. This move was accepted by the miners without disagreement, in the way they accepted most of the changes in the mine's working. Changes of this kind were usually explained in terms of new machinery; newer, faster drills or the replacement of horse-drawn haulage by diesel locomotives. Introduction of new tools and machinery diminished the amount of hard physical labour but also enabled greater productivity; this was undoubtedly the reason for taking the miner off the piece-rate payment system. On the positive side for the miner was the fact that he had now a steady wage unaffected by geological or other difficulties. The

element that was decreased by new technology was skill, and with it a certain amount of pride in the job. New methods of firing the face demanded less skilled judgement from the worker; the automatic loaders that were introduced could not discriminate (as the miner-filler could) between pure ironstone and shale. Some of the miners interviewed blamed the new methods for the demise of the mines, particularly the contamination of ironstone with shale due to automatic loading. This was not the case however as the picking-belt enabled shale to be taken out and the increased tonnages increased the profit margin of the mine for a little longer.

New methods of working had not altered the differentiation between workers in the mine. The competitive element of the miner-filler teams wanting the best places and tonnages was divisive, as were the differences that existed between surface workers and the different underground workers (miners, fillers, leaders and drivers, haulage men, deputies, overmen). Differences between workers in terms of their skills and rewards made for difficulties in taking industrial action.<sup>44</sup> This had certainly been the experience of the coal miner who had managed to overcome these divisive hierarchies largely by the strenuous efforts of vigorous union organisers (see e.g. MacIntyre 1980). Whether the mine hierarchy was deliberately encouraged by the mineowners is difficult to establish. Whether it was or not it acted as a substantial obstacle to achieving agreement among workers about any particular course of action.

A brief example of this was related to me by Bill Ash, a company weighman at Lingdale. Bill Ash's job was to weigh the tubs as they came up

---

<sup>44</sup> From an examination of the Cleveland Mineowners' Association Joint Committee minutes it is clear that wages for each grade were negotiated separately and also that different rates would apply to different mines (Cleveland Mineowners' Association, B.S.C. records, 210/1/1-4).

from the mine, check the quality and credit the weight to that particular miner-filler team (each tub carried a numbered token that the miner attached to indicate it was his stone). To ensure that an accurate weight was being credited to the miner and that the miners were not being fined unfairly for the shale content of their tubs, the men, through the union, employed a checkweighman. During my interview with Bill I asked him how disputes were resolved between him and the checkweighman. He laughed and said that on the rare occasions this happened he just had to get up and leave his job for awhile until the checkweighman 'saw sense'. The checkweighman was very concerned not to annoy the majority of miners, who paid him. He would have annoyed them by holding up the flow of tubs, if he had any prolonged dispute over a single tub every now and again. The miners' primary aim was to maximise their earnings, and any bottleneck in the mine, natural or man-made prevented this and was resented. A key factor in this example, and indeed in all attempts to ensure that men were dealt with justly by the mining companies was the attitude and action of the union. This is analysed in detail below.

In understanding how the consciousness of Lingdale ironstone miners and their families developed it is essential to reiterate that their industry was a declining industry. Lingdale opened during an economic recession and its history is punctuated by frequent closures and periods of short-time working (see chapter four, Table IV and Appendix G). As significant as these responses to external economic factors and the industrial conflict in the coalfields were to Lingdale people in indicating their inability to control their employment, the action of the paternalistic capitalist owners was even more crucial but a lot less visible. The early importation of richer foreign ores that were cheaper to extract began to focus the attention of the owners on these sources and away from the relatively

expensive, low-grade ores of the Cleveland mines. The existence of these foreign ores became a strong feature of the owners' arguments against wage rises for Cleveland miners, but little was said about the role of Cleveland owners in the development of these sources (see e.g. C.M.A minutes Mar. 6, 1894). The impression gained is that the use of a capitalist paternalist ideology could not be stretched to resolve something which was so blatantly against the interests of the Cleveland miners. What does become part of the construction of the miners' consciousness is simply the fact that there were a number of uncontrollable factors that limited his scope for action. If militant industrial action stopped the mines then the owners and ironmasters could simply turn to foreign ores. Given the powerless state of the miner faced with these external conditions and internally divided at his place of work what possible stance, and what effect, could any trades union have? It is to this question I now turn.

**The Union and Industrial Relations.** The Cleveland Miners' Association was founded on January 13, 1872 as the shafts at Lingdale were being sunk. By the time Lingdale opened the union had become firmly established under the chairmanship of Joseph Toyn, (1838-1924). Toyn was born in Lincolnshire and his early work experience was on farms. His career in the ironstone mines took him up through the ranks to the position of overman, which he resigned after a year to resume work at the face. The only connection I can establish between Toyn and Lingdale is an application for planning permission for a house on the High Street (June 7, 1872). This indicates he was relatively affluent if he was considering land purchase and house building. Toyn's leadership as president and agent of the C.M.A. lasted for thirty-five years until 1911, and set the tone for the union for the remainder of its existence. It was Toyn who pushed for conciliation board procedures, neatly dovetailing with Sir David Dale's established practice

in Durham, and the mineowners proposals for Cleveland.

Like many of the C.M.A.'s leadership (and indeed membership) Toyn was an ardent Methodist (Primitive), lay preacher and class leader. He supported Labour representation in Parliament but felt this should be through the Liberal Party, even though the union was affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee. For nineteen years he represented Brotton on the Cleveland Board of Guardians and was a J.P. for the North Riding from 1906. He firmly supported the co-operative movement and participated as a witness before a number of Government committees inquiring into the mining industry (e.g. Royal Commission on Labour, July 1891).

Toyn in many ways complements mineowners like the Peases; the religious background, a belief in conciliation rather than conflict and the possibility of the elevation of the working classes through education and hard work (in which the trades union had a vital role) were all beliefs shared by the two sides. In part this accounts for the Peases preference for their workers to be union men; it obviously made negotiations that much easier. The stability, and along with that stability, the development of the oligarchic tendencies of the union was due in no small way to Toyn's extremely long tenure. During this tenure the union's head offices moved to Saltburn, a genteel bourgeois seaside resort developed initially by the Peases. In this was both an element of spatial and social distancing from the union members in the mines to the south. Overall there is an inescapable impression over time that the union was gradually losing prestige with the membership, who reacted with apathetic acceptance of the union's powerless state.

Wage reductions were a constant feature of union and owners' negotiations from the 1870's to 1920's. In most cases the union accepted the reductions and were suitably acknowledged for their good sense and

loyalty to the owners (e.g. C. M. A. minutes, 7 April 1902). Adding these reductions, non-payment for travelling and other 'dead' time, and fines for unclean stone, it is clear that the owners had a ready means of increasing profit margins. Simon (1980) analyses the effect of wage reductions on surplus value in conditions similar to those that existed in the Cleveland mines. The popularity of this method among owners was due to their inability to increase the length of the working day and their unwillingness to invest further in increasing the productivity of labour.

A cut in wages, whether time or piece wages, is like an absolute increase in surplus value in that productivity is not increased. A cut in wages does not revolutionise the techniques of production. A cut in wages, like absolute surplus value, does not decrease the amount of labour time necessary to produce a commodity and does not free labour for employment elsewhere (Simon 1980:49).

Often in negotiations the union would draw attention to their inferior wages and conditions when compared to the coalminers of Durham (see e.g. CMA minutes, 6 August 1892, 10 October 1895). This point can be further endorsed by accounts given by those interviewed, of attempts to employ Durham miners in Cleveland. Most of the Durham men left after short periods blaming poor conditions and the heavier nature of the work.

It is worth reiterating at this stage that the above case presents us with a clear contradiction between those exercising power (the owners) and the real interests of the excluded group (the miners). Yet the early attempts to resist and the consequent defeat presage a period of acceptance of the inequalities and those that are responsible for them.

There are relatively few documentary records of the C.M.A. left but in the minutes of the monthly executive meetings there are numerous instances where a feeling of powerlessness is conveyed, other, that is, than the acceptance of wage reductions. Read in conjunction with the minutes of the Cleveland Mineowners' Association, the C.M.A. minutes provide a detailed



Picture of the relationship between the two bodies. The following are typical examples of the negotiations between them:

i) 1877-1892: The C.M.A. asks the owners for rent reductions in company houses and lower prices for company supplied coal. Reference is made (August 6, 1892) to the miners' awareness of the owners' strength in 'coal and other works'. Rents are not to be reduced but are to be deducted from wages. A further plea leads owners to remit half of the rents owing. These pleas were occasioned by the economic depression and the Durham coal strike of 1892. The arguments of the owners largely concerned the amount of capital they had tied up in miners' housing.

ii) 1893-1894: The C.M.A. complains about rents, being forced to live in company houses, the cost of powder and the wage rates negotiated for the use of new machinery. All these complaints were noted but not acted upon by the owners. A strike over the introduction of ratchet drills effects some mines. The owners simply supply their furnaces from mines still working. The union takes no action over this.

iii) 1894-1895: The C.M.A. discusses the 'apathy and indifference' of the membership. Reference is made to the Demonstration Day (the annual outdoor meeting of the membership, a time for political speeches and union business) being used as a holiday and also that men are working longer at the face than agreed union hours.

iv) 1896: The C.M.A. and the owners agree to oppose any legislation on blasting and send a joint letter requesting that Cleveland be allowed to opt out of the Truck Act provisions.

v) 1902: In the wage negotiations the owners point to the high reputation of the mines for loyalty that was noted by the 1891-92 Labour Commission.

One of the major ways the owners impressed the miners with the extent of their industrial undertakings was the basis on which wage reductions or increases were decided. The owners argued that not enough ironstone entered the open market to enable the price it reached to be used as a basis for wage negotiations. The same was not true of pig-iron, however, and although a product somewhat removed from the miners' work and effected by quite different market conditions, it became the basis for estimating the ironstone miners' wage. The cartel operated by the ironmasters (themselves often mineowners) must have enabled some manipulation of the factors

effecting the market price of pig-iron. The Peases' output of ironstone supplied their own works at Skinningrove (The Skinningrove Iron Co. Ltd.) and other companies in which they had interests.<sup>45</sup> Pig-iron manufactured by these companies went both onto the open market and also for further processing to other Pease controlled companies (e.g. at Consett). The flow of pig-iron onto the open market, and thus its price, must have been open to some control by the Peases and their fellow ironmasters.

The union had little leverage with the owners; they were at the mercy of the conciliation process which more often than not, given the basis of calculation on pig-iron prices, was to their detriment. There was commonly a resort to a moral argument in which the owners were respectfully reminded of their paternalistic duty to their labour force. Given this gross imbalance of power it is not surprising that the union leadership built up a close, almost familiar, working relationship with the owners, as if hoping that their arguments would succeed because of the bonds that united the representatives of both sides. The messages of condolence on the death of family members of negotiators on both sides, the tributes paid to retiring members and the joint action taken on behalf of the Cleveland 'district' all convey a strong sense of this familiarity. The blatant and obvious inequalities become masked by the negotiators who develop a 'coded' language of interaction that never allows these inequalities to surface in a direct and conflict-ridden form.

---

<sup>45</sup> When Pease and Partners Ltd., went public in 1898, the holdings of the company consisted of ten collieries, three ironstone mines (Upleatham, Loftus and Lingdale), four limestone quarries and a 'large interest' in the Skinningrove Iron Company, Ltd. Connected with these assets were 2,600 workingmen's houses, 1,866 coke ovens, chemical works, firebrick works, gas works and electric lighting plant. It was also stated that "Several of the Directors...are also Directors of or Shareholders or Partners in other important companies or firms...(Prospectus for Pease and Partners, 1898.

The long term tenure of Toyn was followed by the equally lengthy tenure of Harry Dack. Dack took over as president and agent in 1911 and held that post until the merging of the union with the General and Municipal Workers' Union in 1931. Dack exemplifies both the characteristic of familiarity with the owners and a certain strain of nepotism in the union. Moore (1974:83) refers to a James Dack who was appointed by Pease and Partners as a missionary and temperance worker to the Deerness group of collieries in County Durham. In all probability this is the James Dack who prior to his religious vocation was the vice-chairman of the C.M.A. in 1877 and the father of Harry Dack. In all essentials Dack carried out the union policy initiated by Toyn; he was assisted by a long-serving general secretary, William Mansfield and both of them, with the rise of Labour politics, sought political careers (see chapter seven for details). Like Toyn, Dack was also a staunch Methodist whose tenure of office saw the union develop more rigidly into a mechanism for dealing almost solely with injury, illness and death compensation cases. The head office remained in Saltburn and the union extended its property ownership in that town to allow far greater office space and living quarters for the agent. Dack's wife entered the employment of the union as the cleaner for these premises when he became the agent (C.M.A. ledger 1906; private collection). Of greater interest ideologically is the career of Dack's son James. Rather than, as seems to have been the pattern in the last two generations of his family, enter the career of trades union official, James Dack became a mine manager. This was to end tragically with his suicide in the manager's office at Kilton mine in 1950. I would suggest that this family history points to no apparent perception of contradictions between the father's life work and the son's chosen career. Of those interviewed who mention and recall Dack's work and his son's suicide, none reported any conflict within the family or even

remarked on this odd twist in occupational biography.

The union officials through close contact and ideological predisposition had become responsive to the owners' views and as such became incorporated into the system of man-management. The process of incorporation does not totally negate the possibility of working-class action however. In their discussion of the Northumberland coalfield of the 1870's, Cousins and Davis (1974) describe union action (very similar to that seen in Cleveland) as entailing the following contradictions:

Outright oppositional policies risk the collapse of the organizational means of opposition so painstakingly built up; outright integrative policies mean the acceptance of unacceptably large cuts in pay which it is one of the main purposes of the organization to resist. Economism implies the attempt to regulate and socially control market forces; The coalowners attempt to "incorporate" and "dis-incorporate" the union according to their own economic exigencies. To the extent that the proponents of the incorporation thesis do seize upon historical events...they fail to see the double meanings inherent in their growth - the means of resistance are themselves dependent; and the means of dependence are not unconditional and can generate opposition (1974:293).

The generation of opposition may have occurred in Northumberland through the use of the political system but this was not the case in Cleveland, where it can be argued the dependent position of the union deflected working-class attention away from the political structure, because of the interchangeability of the personnel involved in the union and in the Labour Party (see chapter seven, section 1).

The inequality of power between the union and owners was a significant contributory factor to the creation of a quiescent consciousness among the miners. On numerous occasions through negotiations, wage reductions and the rapid shutdown of mines, the labour force were reminded of their powerless position in the industry. The ideological content of the owners' discourse was echoed by the union officials in their dealings with their members. Applying Lukes' and Gaventa's ideas about power's third

dimension, the attitude of the Cleveland Miners' Association can be seen as having developed as a response to a perception of the power of the owners, anticipation of their reaction and success and a calculated withdrawal from conflict with the owners. This no doubt was a reflection of the majority feeling among the miners, who therefore came to view the union as inconsequential.

The powerlessness of the union in terms of industrial action to improve conditions or pay was recognised by the labour force as was the close working relationship of union officials with the mine owners. In many ways this accounts for the apathy reported often in the C.M.A. minutes and the almost constant need for union officials to institute recruiting drives (e.g. C.M.A. minutes May 9, 1894; May 27, 1895; June 24 1896; March 9, 1903; August 3, 1904; July 27, 1908). The miners interviewed for this research had very little to say about the union, the most common response being one of indifference; some ventured a negative comment but throughout the interviewing the most positive comments were in terms of "They did what they could, I suppose."

This attitude of indifference was noted by others also, one observer looking at the position of Cleveland miners in the deep depression years of the 1920's summing it up in the following way:

A lot has been said and printed about the colliers and their dangerous calling but you don't hear much about themen who get the ironstone out of the bowels of the earth...There are now hundreds walking about doing nothing for the 'dole' which they are trying to live on. There are men who have not worked for eleven months...and yet in spite of all the hard times you hardly ever hear a grumble. The Cleveland miner is one of the easiest satisfied persons in the world, and the most generous, although he is the worst paid of any of that class of men (Mole 1922).<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> I am indebted to Tony Nicholson for drawing my attention to this observation.

The Lingdale miner, like most miners, participated in the C.M.A. through the union lodge, the local unit of the union which elected representatives to the union executive committee and organised the collection of union membership dues. The records of the Lingdale lodge, No. 21 (Rose of Summer), no longer exist but some idea of its history can be pieced together from the general union documentation. From the Union ledger we know that the lodge was in existence in February 1876 and making contributions to the union expenditure. The initial membership has been calculated<sup>47</sup> at forty-three but it is difficult to ascertain from this point what level of membership was sustained at Lingdale. This is primarily because union members could either make their contributions at their place of work or at their place of residence; often the two would not coincide. Estimates of union membership for Lingdale are given in Table VI. It is obvious from various comments made in the union records (see e.g. C.M.A. minutes: Dec. 3, 1898; March 9, 1903; Aug. 3, 1904; July 19, 1905; July 30, 1906; July 27, 1908) and from comments made by respondents that the lodge had very varied fortunes and certainly does not seem to have attained any major role in the life of the mine or the community.<sup>48</sup> The major reason for this is undoubtedly the wildly fluctuating fortunes of the Lingdale mine. The closures and short-time working would have made it extremely difficult to maintain interest and continuity in the lodge and union. The welfare role of the lodge was curtailed through lack of funds and usurped by the actions of the local bourgeoisie. During closures and short-time working

---

<sup>47</sup> This calculation was performed by dividing the total contributed by the lodge to union funds (recorded in the C.M.A. financial records) by the individual member's contribution rate. See Table VI.

<sup>48</sup> In this respect Lingdale may differ from other villages such as North Skelton where the mine was working almost continuously and the lodge developed as a 'voice' of the community (e.g. see the quote from the lodge letter book below). I am grateful to Tony Nicholson for these comparative data.

Lingdale men would attempt to find work in other local mines and those that were successful often took up the option of joining the lodge at their place of work rather than the declining lodge in Lingdale.

To judge from the more complete records of the neighbouring lodge at North Skelton, the lodge was, through the key figure of its secretary, the body that negotiated local (as opposed to district) level matters. If these matters were unresolved then they would be passed up to the executive committee and the full-time officials. It also acted on non-industrial matters as the following example shows. This excerpt from the North Skelton Lodge letter book also indicates how the ideology that guided the union officials in Saltburn also permeated down to those at a local level. The following is part of a letter from the lodge to the local squire, W.H.A. Wharton regarding the eviction of five tenants at North Skelton.

...we consider that a society with the moral standing of the Cleveland Miners' Association, and the position it has occupied for so many years as a mediator between the mineowners and workmen which has been the means of settling differences and so kept going the work in which you are so largely interested, fully entitles it at least to a hearing before you finally decide on a course of action which affects its members (North Skelton Lodge Letter Book, Sept. 24, 1904).

The evidence suggests that the Lingdale lodge never attained a solid enough base to enable it to act in this way although its first secretary, George Whitbread, did take an active role in union affairs at executive level (see e.g. C.M.A. minutes April 19, 1892; Dec. 27, 1897). The Lingdale lodge secretary primarily acted as a broker between the lodge members and the union officials, bringing forward compensation cases and any unresolved local disputes. Such disputes more often than not were settled between the union (through the lodge secretary or checkweighman) and the management without reference to any other body. It is worth reiterating that individuals considered that they could by-pass the union altogether at the

local level and see the manager personally and that this would bring a more rapid and satisfactory resolution of their problems.

"The trouble was the union men, they were frightened of him (the manager), it's as simple as that, they were wishy-washy. Union man down here was weighman, if you went to him with a complaint, 'Right, we'll have a walk over t'office.' Now you didn't go in with him, you would have to stand outside 'til he went in and, as he thought, put your case to him. But it was all cut and dried when you went in, you didn't hear what was going on. I went once, he said to me, 'You stop there while I go and 'ave a talk with him.' I said 'If you're going in, I'm going with you.' 'Oh' he said, 'there's no point in bothering with you.' 'Right' I said, 'Bugger off back to your weigh job.' After he'd gone I went straight in to see manager. We never used to bother with union, we used to go straight and see him ourselves." (Bill Dewing, 68 years old, miner).

This attitude is both a reflection of the ineffectiveness of the union and contributory to its weakness. The close relationship of the management and union officials at local level was also suggested by some respondents as the reason why, in their view, union officials tended to get the better treatment in terms of the work assigned to them. The accuracy of these statements is open to question but the fact that the question arose in the minds of these men is symptomatic of a general attitude towards the union.

In the early years of the industry the owners engaged in attempts to impose on the miners the idea that ironstone mining was largely unskilled work and could be undertaken by the simplest agricultural labourer of which there was a virtually unlimited supply. This notion was in fact contradicted by the owners' need to bring in skilled miners who passed on their skills to others when the shaft mines were sunk (Nicholson 1982). The owners' perception of the labour force as unskilled seems to have had some effect on the workforce as there were no attempts, as in the coalfields, to restrict the flow of labour into Cleveland or into the mines. The union made some attempts to compare ironstone mining with coal mining and to upgrade their pay and conditions to that of the colliers of Durham (see e.g.



C.M.A. minutes Aug. 6, 1892) but such comparisons were firmly dismissed by the owners on the grounds of the differences between the commodities and the skills needed to produce them. Thus access to a comparison with a group that would have provided (if accepted by the owners) a considerable lever in negotiations was prevented and the matter gradually faded from the business discussed between the two sides. Cleveland was effectively isolated and became a district with its own 'custom and practice'. This idea was strongly entrenched in both miners' and owners' associations to the extent that they lobbied together to get the district exempted from both the Truck Act provisions of 1883 and the New Mines Act of 1887. The argument on the former issue was that (in the case of deductions for a doctor being made from the miners' wages) no compulsion was used and deductions were optional and on the latter that the new safety measures were inappropriate to the conditions found in Cleveland. The dangers of this attitude to safety have been tragically borne by Cleveland miners down to the closure of the final mine. Observed by a mines' inspector investigating a gas explosion in the Kilton Mine in 1954, it was described in the following way:

Their (the management) apparent failure to apply the finding to whole working probably arises from the peculiar mentality of the Cleveland people - a mentality which, though difficult to describe, is of a naked light variety which has developed through the years not from unfamiliarity or inexperience with inflammable gas but the very opposite. A mentality which voluntarily replaces all naked lights with safety lamps and yet strives furiously to retain the use of a brazier two miles inbye for the purpose of shoeing horses. Much of the older labour employed has first hand experience of the lighting of blowers. The management, which is mainly the younger element, have no first hand experience but remain nevertheless the sons of their fathers (Official report into the explosion at Kilton Mine 3/5/54; private collection).

It should be added that prior to this explosion in which one man died there had been three recent previous explosions in which two were killed. Lingdale did not escape this kind of toll either; it was only after eight were killed on 3 September 1953 that the mine went over totally to safety

lamps.

The practical consciousness that upholds such values in the everyday working conditions of the labour force is constrained and moulded substantially by the powerful who shape the structure and the ideological content of work to the extent that even the loss of life is suffered without reaction. It is obvious that the work situation alone cannot produce consciousness of this type unless supported by a strong ideological process of reinforcement in the community. It is to an examination of this process that I now turn.

## **Chapter Seven: Politics, Decline and Consciousness in an East Cleveland Mining Village.**

### **1) The Petite-Bourgeoisie in the Community**

The role of the petite-bourgeoisie in Lingdale as ideological 'agents' of the mineowners and local landowners has been generally described in section (1) of chapter six but it is necessary to show precisely how this role was undertaken and by what means it was supported. The intent as in the previous section is to show both the dimensions of power in the community and how consciousness emerges shaped by this process. To examine these aspects requires the analysis not only of the social and economic structure of the community but also those cultural aspects that are often taken as stereotypical of the mining community. The main thrust of the treatment of the cultural aspects will be in the form of an analysis of the structure of the informal economy because this draws together both power and culture in an illuminating relationship that is crucial to my general argument about consciousness.

The economic importance of the mine for Lingdale's continued existence meant that there was some intrusion of the mine's hierarchical structure into the social structure of the community. This has been largely dealt with in the first section of this chapter but the spatial differentiation of the community through the initial provision of company housing for key workers had long-term implications for social differentiation in the community. To understand this requires a more detailed analysis of housing in the village and the role of property-ownership in determining status.

Lingdale never developed as a 'company town' and thus housing was never an agency of social control directly in the hands of the owners. Comparing the development of Lingdale's housing to that of the South Wales and North-East coalfields as discussed by Daunton (1980), Lingdale more closely

approached the South Wales pattern of development i.e. the cost of housing was borne largely by the wage of the miners, who either bought their houses, rented them on the open market, or in a minority of cases, paid rent to the mining company. The absence of any historical precedence for free housing or rent allowances enabled the ironstone mineowners to choose between fixed and variable costs. Some, like the Peases at New Marske, opted for the social control through housing and higher fixed costs but others opted for variable costs paying the miners a higher wage thus allowing them to take over some of the role that the owners might otherwise have been forced to bear. The late development of Lingdale saw the Peases (for reasons detailed in chapter four, section 11) switch to variable costs and a limiting of their provision of housing to key personnel only and taking over, rather than building, other housing as their needs dictated.

The location of the housing provided by the company for key personnel was on the south side of the village about 300 metres (327 yards) from the manager's house (see Map C). This established this area of the village as the better quality housing and the petite-bourgeoisie who established their businesses in the village chose this as their housing area. The close proximity of the upper part of the mine hierarchy and the shopkeepers and business people was reinforced by social interaction (see below) in the context of the community's institutions. In pointing to this general trend I would not wish to gloss over the fact that some of the petite-bourgeoisie lived in other areas of the village (largely above shop premises) and that, given the confined limits of the locale, there were no rigid social barriers to interaction between sections of the population. This is substantiated by the interview material where the responses to questions about social divisions in the community denied, in the majority of cases, their existence. With further questioning however the division between the

respectable area of Stanghow Road and other areas of the village emerged.

"Bosses lived here (Stanghow Road), deputies, undermanagers, those up at top o' tree." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

"The people who lived up there were always a bit on the high class side, they thought they were. We were the ordinary miners, and they were perhaps deputies or overmen, and they were a little bit better. They were brought up...always had money you see...in a different class. You always felt inferior, you always had that feeling of inferiority when you were talking to them. It was just something that was there you see. You were a miner's son and they were..." (Arthur Robinson, 68 years old, miner).

In itself the denial of social differences (where these obviously existed in respect to income, property-ownership, status, etc.) points up the effectiveness of the ideological message from the bourgeoisie, via their agents in the community.

The loose-knit nature of the structure of property development and ownership in Lingdale coupled with the fluctuating fortunes of the mine enabled some local people to take up the opportunities that arose to become property-owners and landlords. The qualification for this was, of course, access to the necessary finance and so it was the better-paid mine workers and the petite-bourgeoisie who gradually came to dominate the local property market. Quite substantial differences in the scale of this activity developed. The 'labour aristocracy' of the mine generally bought only small numbers of houses; e.g. four houses in Pease Street, originally built and sold to a solicitor by the builder, passed through two changes of ownership (one to a local 'gentleman' and one to a grocer) before being bought by W.W.S., an engineman at the mine in 1908; he in turn sold two of the four to R.P.G., a roadman at the mine (these were sold back to W.W.S. in 1920). (Langbaurch Borough Council: conveyancing documents).

The more substantial property dealers were largely shopkeepers and they bought large numbers of houses and, not uncommonly, whole streets; e.g. Tom Clark bought the whole of Dale Terrace (the original housing provided for

key workers) from Peases in the 1930's.

The development of property ownership in this way was a very direct demonstration of the financial power of certain sectors of the community; it differentiated them from the ordinary mineworker who became their tenant. Landlords varied in their treatment of tenants but from the comments of respondents on this matter the locally resident landlords generally were fair to their tenants while the absentee landlords (controlling only a small proportion of the housing stock) came in for criticism. There seldom appears to have been a shortage of housing and again the housing market was determined by the fortunes of the mine. There is only one instance of the Cleveland Miners' Association calling for more house-building in 1905 as production was building to a peak (C.M.A. minutes: January 1905). The fact of there usually being enough, or during closures and subsequent out-migration, a surplus of housing, may well have been sufficient for landlords to be solicitous of their tenants' welfare. They were, at the local level, acting just as the mineowners and local landowners did, paternalistically. A factor which supports this contention fuses the role of landlord to that of shopkeeper. Lingdale shopkeepers were quite agreeable to any requests from their customers for credit (according to respondents) particularly during short-time working and closures. This not only served a financial purpose of tying the customer to that particular shopkeeper, it also reinforced the image of paternalism. If the customer was also the tenant of the shopkeeper/landlord then the ideological aspect was doubly reinforced, as was the power of one party over the other. In extending credit the shopkeeper/landlord was assisting the stability of the population on whom his livelihood depended. (This strongly aligned him with the local landowner; see the discussion of the informal economy below). The relatively weak and late presence of the co-operative store in

Lingdale (see chapter four, section iii) prevented it becoming a major rival to the established shopkeepers as had been the case in coal mining regions (see e.g. Williamson 1982).

The shopkeeper/landlords formed the backbone of Lingdale's petite-bourgeoisie and significantly broadened their interaction with the working class by their participation in the religious organisations in the community. The churches and chapels of Lingdale, with the sole exception of the Salvation Army, were all led by trustees, lay preachers and committee members drawn from the petite-bourgeoisie. The three major organisations were the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Chapels and the Congregational Church, and they all had majorities on their committees drawn from a narrow range of the population. The Primitive Methodist Chapel's original list of eight trustees is dominated by five shopkeepers and businessmen. No list of the original trustees for the Wesleyan Chapel survives but it is known that the Clark family, local businessmen and landlords, dominated its running from its foundation in 1874 and a later list of trustees (1932) shows eight from Lingdale of which one was a shopkeeper, one a businessman/landlord and two who held managerial positions outside the village. The Congregational Church was different in that it was dominated by the labour aristocracy living in the Stanghow Road area of the village led by the mine's engineer (later succeeded by his son); other trustees included an influential shopkeeper and landlord. The reputation this church had for a close connection with the mine persisted until the mine's closure (see discussion in chapter four).

Robert Moore's analysis of the role of Methodism in a Durham mining community provides a useful framework for assessing its impact on the development of consciousness in Lingdale. It also provides a guide to the effect of similar doctrines such as that of the Congregationalists and the

Salvation Army (Moore 1974).

Of considerable importance for present purposes is Moore's finding that there is a considerable difference between 'official' Methodism and Methodism as an institutionalised part of the community. The social forms in which these, and other, beliefs existed in the community affected the way in which those beliefs took effect. The most important element of the social form of these beliefs in the Lingdale case is the leadership, the petite-bourgeoisie. This group could deflect any ideological content leading to conflict or submerge it under the message of Methodism in which people are encouraged to see themselves as independent of their social conditions, not in a radical sense but in the sense of "accepting deprivation as a trial of faith rather than a political challenge" (Moore 1974:8).

The dedication and discipline instilled by Methodism did not provide trades union leaders from the ranks of Lingdale miners as it did in the villages of the Deerness Valley, although as we have seen, it was a common background for the C.M.A. leadership. In its local form in Lingdale religion seems to have provided social cohesion rather than class action, the inherent mutual interests of labour and capital being the dominant theme, dovetailing with the strategy of compromise encouraged by union and owners. Although the local social form of Methodism in Lingdale was somewhat different from that encountered by Moore in Durham its effect was the same. Indeed the role of the petite-bourgeoisie in the overall context of Lingdale, its mine and the ironstone mining industry may have reinforced Methodism's effect. That effect was to inhibit the development of class consciousness and reduce class conflict. Methodist doctrine did not perceive society as divided into classes but rather divided into the saved and the damned. Any leaders produced from this ideology would tend



therefore not to pursue class interests but to emphasise cohesion and compromise (salvation of the damned through a closer association with the saved). Moore also notes (1974:123) that Methodism becomes more communal and less associational over time as links within the community develop and intertwine. In this process the Methodists become more detached from political and national issues and more parochial. As Moore states:

Men and women steeped in a religion based on the notion of individual salvation, personal responsibility and self-help do not seem to accept even mildly collectivist ideas very readily (1974:186).

Chapel going certainly became a mark of respectability in Lingdale and several respondents characterised the community as one that was divided into chapel-goers and pub-goers (echoing the saved/damned dichotomy of Methodist teaching). This sign of respectability reinforced the status of the petite-bourgeoisie, who, in some cases (largely the Wesleyans) gained a reputation as 'stand-offish' and as such the Methodists of Lingdale are to be seen as:

...relatively small, family-like groups, united by common beliefs, kinship, a shared upbringing, religious, cultural and recreational life, lived under the eye of patriarchal leaders and divided only by personal disputes. The core of this religious community is both objectively and subjectively separated from the wider community by beliefs and the ethical consequences of beliefs (Moore op.cit. p. 132).

Although the 'core' was separated in this way from the wider community this separation did not impede, in fact it may have enhanced, the effectiveness of its ideological role. Interaction whether in church, chapel, shop or as tenants provided the working class with sufficient opportunities to hear the views of the petite-bourgeoisie.

The most overtly ideological role of Lingdale's elite was in the political sphere. An examination of the membership of the local authority (Skelton and Brotton Local Board, later Skelton and Brotton Urban District

Council) shows Lingdale being represented consistently by local farmers, businessmen or shopkeepers. This record was disrupted by George Whitbread (Union Lodge Secretary) in 1898 and N. Teasdale (Union Lodge Secretary) in 1908, 1913 and 1919. Given this position of lodge secretaries in the mine hierarchy these sporadic incursions hardly amount to an alternative voice in politics. Lingdale's local representatives merged into a political body dominated by the squirearchy and agricultural lobby together with mine management. The records of the local authority between 1866 and 1932 do not list any party affiliation and until the impact of Labour politics was felt in the area it is unlikely that party politics entered the local political arena. The narrow range of backgrounds from which local representatives were elected must have ensured a consensus along the lines already encountered, i.e. the emphasis on the area and its traditions of compromise rather than conflict; this ensured the status quo in terms of power.

The most obvious threat to this came from the rise of Labour politics and the Labour Party. In coal mining areas, Labour Party organisations and enthusiasm focussed working-class consciousness on the political arena and made the representation of working people a realistic objective. It both fed on and fed the latent class consciousness of the mining population to the point that real gains could be made. The contrast with the mining area of East Cleveland is dramatic.

In the seven general elections between 1918 and 1939 the Cleveland Constituency, which included the mining villages and parts of industrial Teesside as well as the more middle-class towns of Salthurn and Redcar, only once returned a Labour candidate to Parliament (see Table VII). In an area with an overwhelming working-class majority this is both surprising and intriguing. There were twenty-eight branch parties in the constituency of which seventeen were based in communities with strong mining connections.

I would contend that the key to the explanation of political behaviour in the constituency is an understanding of the consciousness of these mining communities, in terms of the rise of the local Labour Party.

The dominant trades union affiliation to the local Labour Party was that of the Cleveland Miners' Association; so dominant was this influence that the personnel of the union who occupied full-time posts or were on the executive committee of the union were the same people who came to occupy the top positions in the local Labour Party structure. This was particularly the case with Harry Dack and his general secretary William Mansfield. Dack stood for Parliament in 1918 and 1922 and was defeated on both occasions. Mansfield stood in 1924, 1929, 1931 and 1935. He was successful in 1929 and became the area's M.P. for two and a half years before the Tory candidate won in 1931 and 1935. Mansfield was president of the constituency Labour Party for twenty-one years, between 1917 and 1938.

I have dealt with the powerless state of the C.M.A. and its decline into primarily a welfare organisation above. The apathy and indifference to the C.M.A. of the miners was, I suggest, extended to the formative period of the Labour Party to a large degree because of the knowledge that it was the same personnel involved in both organisations. The lack of success of the union was projected onto the emerging Labour Party which was struggling to establish itself as a credible political force. The local Labour Party could not, even if it wanted to, distance itself from the C.M.A. because of the financial support that it derived from that source.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> The control over party finance gave Mansfield considerable power and there is evidence to suggest that he used this power to have a full-time agent removed and that the absorption of the C.M.A. by the G.M.W.U. was connected to his continued political ambitions. A dispute was also created by the employment of Mansfield's son as a party worker (Labour Party Executive Committee minutes, 1928-1940).

Despite the problems of encouraging and maintaining support in the depression years and in a general period of decline in the mining industry the Labour Party did have some local success. For the first time in 1934 Labour had a majority in the Skelton and Brotton Urban District Council though in terms of Cleveland's representation on the North Riding County Council Labour held only seven of the eighteen seats. This success was short-lived as in 1937 Labour lost its majority on the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. with all three of the Labour candidates from Lingdale losing.

Throughout the period being discussed here the Labour Party employed, largely through financial assistance from the C.M.A., a full-time agent. This agent was someone from outside the area and his comments in the agent's annual report to the Party's executive committee are very much to the point. The comment on the 1934 local elections reports a "lack of enthusiasm shown by the people" and goes on to remark that:

It seems an anachronism that at the present time the influence of the Parson and Squire be so predominant over the minds of the people (Cleveland Division Constituency Labour Party Executive Committee minutes, March 1934).

No records survive of the Lingdale Branch Labour Party but using the Constituency A.G.M. and executive committee minutes it is possible to piece together an impression of its development and impact. There is a reference in 1928 to the Lingdale branch being 're-opened' but by October 1930 the agent again reports a request to open a branch at Lingdale. This was done in March 1931 with five pounds donated by the neighbouring Boosbeck branch party. The local party then appears to have become established as by 1932 the executive committee of the constituency party were meeting at Lingdale and local candidates were being put forward for the 1933 local elections (unsuccessfully). Fortunes ebbed so that by September, 1933, after this defeat the Lingdale branch is described as being in a 'parlous condition'.

The formation of a women's branch revived these flagging fortunes and in their meeting of November 1933 they enrolled one hundred members. Under the direction of Mrs. F. Ringrose the Lingdale Party entered a period of relative stability. Minor political challenges were seen to come from the formation of a ratepayers' association which the minutes of March 1934 describe as being made up of landlords. On the tenants' side the Party endorsed the formation of a Tenants' Protection Association in Lingdale to deal with matters arising out of raising local rents.

Assessing the size of the Lingdale Party is not possible with any degree of accuracy as the minutes do not give membership numbers. A rough guide to relative strength is gained by using the allocation fees paid by the local branches. In 1938 Lingdale was ranked third from the bottom. Mrs. Ringrose's departure from the area in 1936 led to a decline in the Lingdale Party and in July 1938 it had to be 're-organised.' The whole structure of the constituency was revised in 1945 and the formation of six local parties meant the demise of Lingdale's branch. By 1948 the A.G.M. minutes report a falling membership in Lingdale.

None of those interviewed considered that the Lingdale branch had had a significant role in the life of the community. They could recall none of the personnel involved and it was not possible to trace any of those mentioned in the Party records. The local branch's development is not dissimilar to that of the Union Lodge; both are punctuated by periods of disorganisation and apathy, neither are recalled as being a significant part of the community and those involved in them are not remembered. The local level is here the pattern that is repeated throughout the wider area of East Cleveland.

In determining which factors at the local level may have acted to influence the development of consciousness some attention must be focussed

on the formal system of education in the community.

Lingdale School was opened in the premises of the Wesleyan Chapel on the 1st October 1874. The School Board consisted of the local squire J.T. Wharton, his wife and three local farmers. Mr. C. Heslop (the first mine manager) became one of the two school managers in 1879, the other being a local farmer. The composition of the School board changed as the village developed, the local farmers being gradually replaced by local shopkeepers/landlords and occasionally the union lodge secretary (George Whitbread in 1900, N. Teasdale in 1913).

The school logbooks and the evidence from respondents indicate that the major aim of the school was to teach a basic curriculum of reading, writing, grammar and numeracy, enough to enable the children to negotiate their way around the confined local labour market. Other activities at the school were redundant in terms of the practical necessities of the life of a mining village but may well have served to reinforce a deferential response to local and national elites. I refer here to the ceaseless round of songs, history and poetry, hymns and religious teaching that conveyed the values of patriotism, the British Empire and a sense of innate conservatism in nature and social relationships.

The school and its teachers generally received favourable reports from the school-inspectors that regularly visited and tested pupils and teachers alike. The teachers themselves were drawn from the local area although headteachers characteristically came from further afield. There was a considerable turnover of teaching staff particularly in the girls' and infants' departments where the female pupil teachers and qualified staff would leave to get married. Such a turnover could not have assisted in ensuring a stable system of education and these departments are more frequently criticised by the school inspectors than the boys' department.

Four other themes that relate to other aspects of this research can be seen in the school log books: firstly there are comments about the state of the ironstone mining industry, e.g.:

- May 1877: ...a large number have left the village on account of a depression in trade.
- June 1886: The people are still leaving this place, the best of the inhabitants seem to be going from the village.
- Sept. 1886: Many of the upper boys have left school during the past six months to go to work as things are brisker and work easily obtained round about.
- May 1901: ...a few families having left the district owing to the slackness in the mining industry.

Secondly, the lack of academic success of pupils is emphasised by the recording of the only two pupils in the first thirty years of the school to obtain a scholarship to the grammar school in Middlesbrough. One of these is easily identified as the son of a shopkeeper and an ardent Primitive Methodist who later takes over the family shop. The background of the other successful pupil cannot be determined.

Thirdly, the uncertain income of the miner and the relatively costly exercise of sending children to school coupled with the availability of seasonal work on local farms meant that there were often problems over school attendance. This aspect is mentioned often in the school log books, for example:

- March 1881: ...many of the elder boys are absent being at work in the gardens.
- July 1882: ..Some of the farmers in the district employ the children when they ought to be at school.
- Oct. 1884: ..children potato picking with parents.
- Oct. 1886: ..children potato picking and brambling.

Lastly, the school was often the recipient of charitable giving by the local landowners and petite-bourgeoisie, e.g.:

- Dec. 1878-Jan. 1879: Soup and rolls distributed by Squire Wharton at the cost of 2d per week (the real cost being 9d).
- Jan. 1885: Boots distributed to needy children.
- Feb. 1885: A soup kitchen established.

April 1892:	A relief committee of Messers. Calow (draper and landlord), Coatsworth (grocer and landlord) and Sampson visits the school to distribute tickets for free dinners.
May 1912:	Free breakfasts for the children because of the coal strike and stoppage of work at the mine.

The school served to reinforce certain themes of the paternalist ideology and shaped the consciousness of the working class. As Williamson states in his account of a Northumberland mining village at the turn of the century:

(Education) embodied massively dominant assumptions about the status of working-class people, conceiving no other role for them than that of subordinate workers (Williamson 1982:26).

In order to complete this section I turn now to an analysis of the informal economy in the community.<sup>50</sup> The attempt here is to show how this apparently free and unconstrained part of the life of Lingdale's inhabitants has a structure and code of involvement determined by those with power. In the course of this analysis I will also deal with certain of the cultural aspects of the ironstone mining community.

The informal economy in its various manifestations has generally either been seen as an alternative form of work for those not required in the formal economy or as a temporary feature heavily dependent on the dominant

---

<sup>50</sup> A fuller analysis of the structuring of the informal economy in East Cleveland mining villages will be found in Cornish (1982) and a consideration of both historical and contemporary issues in Cornish (1984b). Perhaps the best guide to the work in this field is provided by the Bibliographies on Local Labour Markets and the Informal Economy, Laite, J., (ed) produced by the S.S.R.C. (1982) as the result of two workshops held in 1980. In using the term 'the informal economy' to cover areas that have been labelled in other ways by other researchers it should be noted that in East Cleveland as elsewhere people's behaviour does not fit easily into ideal types, thus there are elements of the informal economy in East Cleveland that are part of the hidden or part of the irregular economy.



market economy, which provides a means of survival for those on the periphery of the formal economy.

I will be concerned with the latter view of the informal economy but prior to any discussion of this it may be of use to offer some guidance as to what is entailed in the notion of the informal economy.

The informal economy involves the production, trading and consumption of goods and services for cash, social rewards or other goods and services. It is 'unofficial' in the sense that it is not part of the state accounting system. Activities in the informal economy are small-scale, locally-based and carried out, in general, on a part-time basis. Under this broad description further sub-divisions can be made, for example, activities which are illegal have been labelled as the 'hidden', 'underground' or 'secondary' economy. The term 'social economy' (also called the domestic, household, communal, alternative or ghetto economy) has been used to cover such activities as barter, self-help and housework. For present purposes the generic term, the informal economy will be used throughout.

Some of the current work, notably that of Gershuny (1978, 1979a,b) Urry (1981a) and Pahl (1980) deals with the relationship of the informal economy to the development of the formal economy but this is mostly at the national or regional level and there is very little work dealing with this relationship at a more local level. Another feature of the contemporary writing on the informal economy is the lack of any historical perspective.<sup>51</sup> It is difficult to escape the impression that the informal economy is really a recent phenomenon with no historical precedents. Admittedly, there are features of the modern informal economy that are

---

<sup>51</sup> South (1980) makes a plea for comparative historical studies of the informal economy and notes the paucity of historical work in this area: (continued)

unprecedented (e.g. the widespread availability of domestic machinery) but recognition of the occurrence of the informal economy in the past and analysis of its operation may illuminate some features of the present informal economy and the context in which it operates. Further, the presence of a flourishing informal economy may well be a factor that should be considered when attempting to fully analyse and explain the social characteristics of any given population. This theme has been taken up in a contemporary context by Ditton and Brown (1981) in their attempt to explain why the deprived are not more dissatisfied with their lot, and it is one of the aspects considered in this paper.

Recent writers in paying little more than passing notice to historical accounts of the informal economy, consign the contribution of historians to the fate of being an interesting curiosity of no current relevance. It will be argued here that in ignoring the historical development of the informal economy in particular local settings there is the very great danger of overlooking factors that have importance in that they now contribute to the present-day outlook, attitude and actions of the locality's population.

The existence of a dual economy in Britain during the period of the industrial revolution and afterwards has been noted by some historians (e.g. Samuel 1971, Anderson 1971). During this period the informal economy was used as a form of double-banking, an insurance against the low-levels

---

51 (continued) "Certainly the contemporary influences on the composition of the industrial and occupational mix of local labour markets are of central importance, but the additional development of comparative historical studies - 'then and now' - studies within and between areas, (are important)...especially in the case of those markets which have been dominated by a single now declining industry. The culture of such specific local labour markets carries a historical legacy which whilst obviously limiting generalisability may, nevertheless, offer a great deal of insight about how to assist those most severely affected by the present conditions of crisis - primarily, working-class communities" (South 1980:80).

and uncertainties of pay, or on a seasonal basis to fall back on when wage labour gave out (Samuel 1971:236). In chronicling the life of the villagers of Quarry, Samuel gives some impression of the rich variety of ways in which the villagers 'made ends meet.' Summertime meant a plentiful supply of produce from gardens and allotments as well as increased opportunities for wage labour, especially building and construction work. "Moonlighting" was common, mowing being a popular way of making an 'extra bob or two' (*ibid*, 184). Pigs were much prized possessions. Kept close to the cottages, they were used for the families' own needs, although sometimes exchanged for essentials or in some cases when more than one was kept they could even generate enough income to pay for a house (*ibid*, 199). Supplementary income was generated through laundry work and 'totting', including selling briars, straw and firewood, either to other villagers or in the nearest town. Ancient rights to woodland and wasteland were exercised to acquire fuel. Poaching and the gathering of wild produce (mushrooms, blackberries, watercress, etc.) were used both to supplement the diet and in some cases sold to supplement the cash income (*ibid*. 183-227). Samuel notes,

The household was to some extent self-supporting - production and consumption so far from being separated went hand in hand together in the day by day necessities of subsistence (*ibid*. 207)

In a different context Anderson records that as Lancashire hand-loom weavers became destitute, because of the introduction of machinery, they relied increasingly on the tiny farms which had previously only supplied supplementary income (Anderson 1971:22).

Such accounts are interesting in themselves but do not go very far in detailing the relationship between the formal and informal economies and the consequences of the existence of a flourishing informal economy for the social life of the community. In short, these are not, nor are they intended to be, sociological accounts of the population's involvement in

the informal economy and the results of that involvement.

What provides the basis for an effective informal economy is accurately described by Bulmer;

...a prevalence of communal social relationships among miners and their families which are multiplex in form. The social tie of work, leisure, family, neighbourhood and friendship overlap to form close-knit and interlocking locally-based collectivities of actors (1975:87-88).

Such relationships provide a sound basis for mutual aid in times of need and are, I would contend, extremely well endowed to develop and exploit the informal economy. Involvement of this kind is locality-based and access to the relationships essential to the successful use of the informal economy is limited to those who can claim membership of these local social networks.

For Lingdale, and other East Cleveland communities, there are three features which need to be considered in any discussion of the informal economy. These are: 1) the separation between mine owners and landowners; 2) the lack of any significant emigration when mines closed for long periods;<sup>52</sup> 3) the conspicuous lack of militancy and a long-standing conciliatory stance by the miners' union.

These last two features can be explained, I believe, by the existence of an effective informal economy. It is not that the informal economy wholly explains these features but such features are certainly to be partially understood against the background of the informal economy. The structure of the informal economy is to a certain degree decided by the activities of

---

<sup>52</sup> It is impossible to get more than a superficial impression of the rates of out-migration during closures. When respondents were asked about this they gave various estimates, the highest being 25% of the population. The lower status and pay of Cleveland miners working in other areas (chiefly South Yorkshire) meant that most returned when the ironstone mines reopened, some having left their families in Cleveland in the meantime.

the landowners and the mineowners. Before providing a fuller explanation of these points let me give an illustration of some informal economy activity which involves both the mining population and, indirectly but crucially, the landowning elite. This account was reported by Jack Cuthbert, a 75 year old miner whose father, an ex-miner who retired through injury, was responsible for the day-to-day running of the Miners' Institute in the community. Jack describes how, as a young man in his late teens he saw and spoke to a miner called Charlie Treen, who lodged in the village.

He used to like a bit of ranging with the dogs did Charlie, used to do a bit of rabbiting on the quiet, 'trespass in pursuit of game' you know. I said, 'Hello, Charlie mate where you going today mate?' 'Nay,' he said, 'I've been locked up at Kilton.' I said, 'What way?' He said, 'By God, I've been rough-handled.' I said, 'What's been the matter mate?' He said, 'They've had me locked away up...in Kilton lock-up, the gamekeepers there, they've had me all night trying to squeeze out of me who me mates were.'

He was getting over a fence ahead of his mates when these two gamekeepers came out agin a black hut and they grabbed him but the other two fellers that had the dogs...run and these two gamekeepers set their Airedale, at that time Airedales, after this Tom Harris and Mick Gill. This Tom Harris was a vicious sort of fellow, he said 'keep running Mick, I'll attend to this b\_\_\_\_.' And he stopped and he grabbed this Airedale dog and he twiddled it round two or three times with collar and he booted it behind in legs. Ee, well it ruined his dog. Well that gamekeeper when he saw that he was determined to find out who this Tom Harris was, and he thought Charlie Treen was his mate and that's why he kept him there. He wanted him to divulge who this feller was because he'd crippled his dog. Charlie wouldn't tell and they given Charlie a rough do.

When I went back t'Institute, I said, 'There's Charlie Treen out there Dad. He'd like to see yer.' So Father went out and when Father came back Father was white with passion....Father was white with passion. He said, 'To think that men would do that with young fellers, get them on their own. I'll see about this.' So he asked me to look after the institute 'til ten o'clock and Father took Charlie, walked up, Father took Charlie to Skelton Castle, had an appointment. And them gamekeepers were shifted.

At first glance this story appears odd - why should the local squire and landowner, who was also a local magistrate, move these gamekeepers who had after all only done the job they were paid to do? An explanation of this behaviour can be suggested by a consideration of the position of landowners

gaining royalties from mining on their land and, to a lesser extent, the position of the mineowners.

The large landowners in East Cleveland were undoubtedly making substantial profits from the mining on their land. Six pence per ton was the rate of royalties easily recalled by the miners because it was precisely the amount they were paid for the hard labour of getting the stone to the pit-head. Returns from mining royalties would have easily outstripped the returns from the somewhat depressed agriculture in East Cleveland. The threat to these royalties would come from mine closures and strikes, which could have been prolonged if during such periods without work the labour force moved away and a new labour force had to be recruited. With little or no experience of industry and with a less profitable enterprise to fall back on, it is not surprising that landowners acted in the conciliatory manner illustrated by Jack's story. It would not be rational to increase the hardship already being endured by the labour force by limiting the opportunities available in the informal economy, in this case the poaching of rabbits and hares. The engendering of conflict between landowner and miners would benefit neither side. One depended on a stable, docile labour force for his royalties; the other depended on access to game and land when work in the mines was not available. The paternalism of the Victorian landowner, once focussed on the agricultural working class, was easily transferrable to the new industrial working class.

Miners interviewed recall the provision of soup kitchens (this also involved local shopkeepers), the marking of trees by the landowner's forester so that miners could use them for fuel, as well as the more obvious provision of land for communal buildings (including Jack's father's Institute) and allotments. Behaviour of this sort alleviated hardship and promoted the image of a community looked after and administered to by a

benevolent squire.

Some of this attitude, particularly with respect to the informal economy, seems to have permeated down to the local policemen in the villages. Several miners recalled how the local policeman always made sure he was well away from areas where local men might be doing a night's poaching. In return he was often included in the poacher's round the following morning. He would be left a pair of rabbits, or a hare, in some pre-arranged place.

In terms of importance of its contribution, the allotment was above other elements in the informal economy. The provision of land under the Allotment Act of 1887 has been seen by historians as an important means of institutionalising paternalism and mollifying a restive population. It gave the labourer added food to tide him over periods with little or no cash income, it kept him working in the evenings and away from the pub, it could earn him extra money and it awakened an interest in agricultural matters (Roberts 1979). It might also be added that with allotments the wage of the labourer might be kept lower as he could now provide a certain proportion of his food. The allotment was not granted free of charge however, and in East Cleveland provision was made for 'garden rents' to be deducted from the miners' wages.

The Allotment Act of 1887 was discussed by the Cleveland Mineowners' Association on 15th November 1887 and it was noted that the mineowners as ratepayers, 'might find it necessary to watch what was being done in this question' (Cleveland Mineowners' Association minutes 15/11/87). More interestingly on the 8th December 1887 the conclusion was that '...there did not appear to be much difficulty in the workmen at the Cleveland mines getting suitable allotments on reasonable terms without the necessity for the intervention of the Sanitary Authority - the matter therefore dropped.'

(Cleveland Mineowners Association minutes 8/12/87). The land for allotments was provided by the local landowners and thus the intervention of a third body, the Sanitary Authority, was avoided. The landowners and the mineowners could therefore maintain their image of looking after the welfare of their labour force and avoid the risk of other groups taking any role in the mining communities.

The mineowners had a less obvious role in structuring the informal economy although occasionally they acted in concert with the landowners in providing communal buildings. To the mineowner the mines represented only a small part of large industrial holdings. Certainly it was a part they could manage to survive without from time to time, and no opportunity was lost to impress this on the miners' union. It appeared more profitable to exploit labour power than machines in the process of ironstone mining because it had been more plentiful, and therefore cheaper than capital. Given this overall perception it would not be surprising for the mineowners to take little interest in what happened to the labour force when mines closed. They could not be persuaded to lower rents for the houses they provided in some of the communities during mine closures in the 1880's and again in 1892, (Cleveland Miners' Association minutes). They did play a minor role in the provision of allotments in that the small number of houses they built did tend to come with 'garden attached and manure found', but the cost of manure was yet another deduction on the miner's wage slip (Cleveland Mineowners' Association Minutes and C.M.A. minutes).

In the sphere of influence where they dominated, the mine, the owners left little room for informal economy activity. In 1874 they instructed managers to stop men taking firewood home from the mine to be sold, which implied that a certain amount could be taken for the miner's own use. The practice of taking wood from the mine continued until the mines closed and



one miner recalled how it was impossible for anyone to sit next to a miner who was going home from work on the 'bus. Inside the bottom of his jacket he would have sewn a 'clog' pocket; this would be filled with wood (generally pieces of pit props) the effect of which was to make him rather rotund, taking up the whole of one seat on the 'bus. Obviously men leaving work carrying this amount of wood could be easily detected but they do not appear to have been stopped. This "indulgency pattern" (Gouldner 1954) was part of the local mine management's strategy of control; it was something they could stop but they chose not to. This was observed by the men who not only did therefore not abuse this 'allowance' but took it as indicative of the goodwill of the management. Both sides therefore gained from the pattern.

You used to cut a clog off and bring it home like. They knew about it and the managers themselves used to get loads. They used to wait at pit top and take your clogs off you, so they had a load without sawing them. They knew they were going out like, deputies an' all of 'em, everybody did it. Only time I can remember, at Christmas time, you used to get a Christmas clog." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

What choices were there for the miner whose access, for whatever reason, to formal employment was barred? The first choice was obviously to stay or to move. There was little opportunity for other kinds of employment if the mines closed. Agriculture had few openings and the work was poorly paid in comparison to mining. The iron and steelworks on Teesside and at nearby Skinningrove were part of the same integrated production process as the mines and often part of the same company that owned the mine, and here the miners who came looking for work were refused on the ground that they would be needed when the mines opened up again.

Some miners and their families did move of course, mainly to the

coalmines of South Yorkshire.<sup>53</sup> The majority stayed persuaded perhaps by the lack of jobs elsewhere during periods of economic decline, by the lack of houses cheap enough to live in and by the lack of money to pay for the transportation of their families and belongings. Equally they might balance on the side of staying the possibility that the mines would re-open in the near future, that they could depend on others in their community and that there were ways of making ends meet that could alleviate the depths of poverty and despair.

Making ends meet meant access to, and participation in, the informal economy. The allotment, which had always been part of the daily round of the miner's life, assumed greater importance. Where once he finished his shift, had a meal and went to his garden (or alternatively, as I have been told many times, had his meal brought to the gardens) he could now spend more time producing the family's food, exchanging or selling any surplus produce. The pig kept by many a mining family was now the source of most, if not all of the family's meat. Poaching supplemented the diet and the seasonal gathering of wild fruit for preserving became an important activity. The school log books of the Lingdale school note the absence of children in September because their families had gone brambling. No leisurely outing was without its economic side. A walk over the moors would involve the picking of bilberries, an outing to the seaside for a mother and children would involve long hours of shellfish collecting. The wife of one miner described to me how she and her mother, brothers and sisters walked to the coast, filled a pillow case with winkles and then one of them would

---

53 There is some evidence from respondents' statements to suggest that Peases actually suggested to some miners that they move to Thurnscoe in South Yorkshire. Peases owned the colliery there and their action enabled them to enforce their paternalistic image whilst keeping a supply of trained ironstone miners under their employment.

bring it back on the train while the others walked back.

Those with some skill or other would produce goods for sale to those still in work. Jack, whose account is given above, made wooden steps for sale and produced fretwork decoration for radios. These were sold from door to door, mostly to those employed at the Skinninggrove works, by the local authority or on a maintenance basis at the mine.

A characteristic that seems essential for the survival of community stability and solidarity is that few, if any individuals are left out of the informal economy. In particular the ill or elderly or widows had their allotments worked for them. Jack in fact worked a garden for his brother's widow and children and eventually married her. Many instances of this kind of mutual aid are recalled by those interviewed and are often mentioned in connection with the distaste of going to obtain any form of parish relief or unemployment benefit. There was certainly a pride in looking after oneself and an objection to the close questioning received when financial assistance was sought.

This informal economy activity was supported in a number of indirect ways. The occupational culture of these mining communities encompasses a number of competitive events; the flower and vegetable show, pigeon racing, whippet racing. Some of these events would serve to focus interest on the quality of allotment produce and the expertise needed to grow adequate produce and on the finer points of a fast dog. In doing this these events would support and encourage informal economy activity. The sense of competition would also provide a source of autonomy, satisfaction and reputation not easily available in times of unemployment. The schools in the area, at least during the early years of this decade of this century, also included gardening in their curriculum. This points to it being viewed as having practical relevance and its categorisation as a non-leisure

activity.

The very obvious point to be drawn from the above account of the informal economy is that it was quite possible during periods of no formal employment for the mining population of East Cleveland to survive in their communities without reliance on outside help and with no serious thoughts of moving elsewhere. It was certainly not the case in East Cleveland that,

The denial of a regularly consistent right to work was a denial of the means of subsistence upon which families depended for their existence (Allen 1981:15).

The structure of the informal economy was partially determined by the paternalistic attitudes of the local landowners in allowing a certain degree of access to the land and its products and to a much lesser extent by the mine management in turning a blind eye to pilfering from the mine, and the mine owners in providing allotments with company houses. It must be acknowledged however that the provision of these elements of an informal economy would have been ineffective without the existence and maintenance of a pool of rural skills among this new industrial population.

I have made reference to the motivation of landowners who were concerned to ensure that the labour force remained static, in their communities and ready to resume work when economic conditions improved. This motivation was disguised under a thick layer of paternalism but served the purpose of adding to a dominant ideology of the landowners and mineowners working together with the labour force for their mutual benefit. Part of this imagery, which is consistently expressed by the miners that were interviewed in this research, is reinforced by the knowledge that even the seemingly autonomous world of the allotment and of poaching has parameters drawn by those elites that controlled the world of work in the formal economy. Whilst agreeing with Ditton and Brown (1981) that informal economy activity supports rather than undermines the status quo, it is

difficult to see how the 'invisible income' received by East Cleveland miners would create subjective feelings of 'fantasy equality' although it undoubtedly did exacerbate real, objective inequality.

#### **iv) Social Change: Industrial Decline and Consciousness**

The preceding sections and the material in Chapter four have all dealt with Lingdale during a relatively gradual period of decline in ironstone mining (see Tables III and IV, Diagram I and Appendix G), between 1877 and 1939. In this period the social structure has experienced relatively few changes, the most significant for present purposes being the rise of the petite-bourgeoisie. The changes that took place appear as smooth transitions of personnel into essentially the same sectors of the social structure. The rise of Labour politics and the decline of Liberalism left the community virtually unscathed.

It was in the immediate pre-Second World War period that the pace of change quickened and with it the possibilities of a wakening class consciousness among the population. The major changes that held such possibilities can be summarised as follows: the establishment of a state controlled system of welfare provision that loosened the hold of the local bourgeoisie; the growth of national mass media, initially newspapers and radio, later television, which made available to all of the population an alternative legitimating ideology not locally-based and finally, a seemingly insignificant change but having a tremendous impact on relatively isolated communities like Lingdale, the increasing density of the public transport network. It was through the increasing availability of 'buses, that cheap travel and daily commuting to Teesside became a realistic possibility for Lingdale's workers.

Ironstone mining's decline continued after the period of increased production induced by the Second World War. The seven mines operating in

1936 continued until 1945 but closures began in 1949, albeit at a very gradual rate, down to the last closure in 1964. This slow rate of closure considerably lessened the impact on the communities (see Appendix F). Lingdale's closure in 1962 was expected and the community had been prepared by the series of closures up to that date. Those miners not near retirement were found jobs on Teesside by the mineowners which were then Dorman-Long and Company. The shedding of labour from the mines had been rather fortuitously accompanied by the post-war expansion of the Imperial Chemical Industries (I.C.I.) at Wilton on Teesside. Many of those who left the mines found work at Wilton.

The local miner did not experience much change in the nature or structure of his occupation in the years after 1945 and before closure but a major change had taken place, the transition from paternalist capitalism to corporate capitalism. In 1948 Pease and Partners, probably as a financial tactic prior to nationalism, formed a new company: Pease and Partners Lingdale Ironstone Mines Ltd. The only shareholders were Pease and Partners. In 1951 they offered the mine for sale to Dorman-Long and Company who declined to buy. After a short period of nationalisation the mine did however pass into the hands of Dorman-Long<sup>54</sup> in 1952, who operated it, and all the other Cleveland mines, until closure. Dorman-Long introduced some new technology to boost production (automatic loaders and diesel locomotives) but this was not enough to make the mines profitable, although output was increased substantially.

The transition from mining to working for a company like I.C.I. was

---

<sup>54</sup> Dorman-Long became the dominant company not only in ironstone but also in iron and steel manufacture on Teesside. On nationalisation some sections were absorbed into the British Steel Corporation whilst others became wholly-owned subsidiaries. By this time the mines were closed. In 1982 Redpath Dorman Long was acquired by the Trafalgar House group for ten million pounds.

remarkably easy, to judge from respondents' comments. They found the work easy compared to mining and again described their employers as 'gentlemen'. It is impossible to establish whether I.C.I. had a policy of recruiting Cleveland miners but there certainly is enough evidence from respondents' statements to show that I.C.I. managers informally encouraged former miners to come to Wilton. Respondents claimed this was because of the reputation of the 'woolybacks'<sup>55</sup> for hard work.

"Manager down there said if there's any more miners out of work fetch 'em down here, I'll sack some of these. He would set 'em on from here, so we passed his test. Miners were used to hard work, that was hard work but it was nothing to down an ironstone mine. Coal isn't either." (Ernest Bell, 84 years old, miner).

"I did more work in three months down Lingdale mine than I did in the last fourteen years since the mine finished...Only thing 'townies' got against you, they could scrounge around all day long, they'd do anything rather than work. We were that used to hard work that they used to say, 'come one, get sat down.'" (Arthur Robinson 68 years old, miner).

It may well also have been due to their reputation as a non-militant and quiescent workforce. I.C.I. certainly operated a paternalistic policy towards its workers in terms of health, welfare and leisure provision, bonus and incentives and opportunities for promotion. The nature of the work had certainly changed for the miner, largely for the better, but the ideological structure of his work had not altered to any great extent.

"I went down to Wilton (ICI) on spec like...I got a job in t' polythene warehouse, I was in there five year and I got a job, leading hand, in there. It was 'play-work' down there to what we'd been used to. Bosses were alright, I never 'ad to bother with them. A lot went down there from the mines. Bosses said to me, 'Where have you been working?' I said, 'I've had twenty years in t'mines'. 'That's alright', he said, 'you can't beat miners.'" (Billy Hutchcraft, 66 years old, miner).

---

<sup>55</sup> Various explanations are given for this term, from the practical suggestion that the inhabitants of the southern rural fringe of Teesside once used to wear sheepskins on their backs to the more disparaging notion that these rural inhabitants were sheeplike in their behaviour. In both cases the term is used to denote rusticity and simple-mindedness.

The increased affluence of the commuting workforce gave access to private transport and a whole range of leisure opportunities and other employment, not previously available. Parallel to this was an increasingly privatised existence, encouraged by the advent of television, and a demand for a better standard of housing than that existing in Lingdale.

The impact of this on the institutional and social structure of the community was very considerable. There was a rapid decline in the congregations of the churches and chapels whose appeal as social focii for the community could no longer be sustained. The secularisation of the society was very much in evidence in Lingdale as one by one the chapels closed. A similar fate befell the Miners' Institute, again a social centre for the community but already in decline due to the success of the Workingmen's Club. The Institute became a place for the youth club and the elderly peoples' bingo sessions.

Perhaps the most vivid illustration of the impact of the decline of mining and the rise of the community workforce is in terms of the informal economy. It was now no longer possible, because of longer journeys to work and a more disruptive shift system, to put in the necessary hours on the allotment. The advent of the Welfare State and changing attitudes to receiving state benefits meant that such informal economy activity was less crucial, and thus these activities declined and took on more of an appearance of a leisurely pastime.

More importantly the social networks<sup>56</sup> that aided the effective

---

<sup>56</sup> The nature and development of the social networks necessary for the full and effective functioning of the informal economy seems an under-researched area and I feel sure that social networks analysis would provide some extremely interesting data on the form and content of relationships in the informal economy.



functioning of the informal economy had been severely ruptured by the closure of the mines, by the deterioration of the housing stock in the communities and the consequent movement of population. Although the networks still operated they did so on a much reduced level. Access to these networks for newcomers re-housed in the few new housing areas in East Cleveland has not been easy, and with the high levels of unemployment from the late seventies to the present day it has been this group that relies on state welfare agencies the most and exhibits most symptoms of stress.

The stable day-to-day existence of the present day unemployed in these communities is now allowing some resurgence of the informal economy which is of the same kind as described here. Some new elements have been incorporated (e.g. car repairing and a much broader range of do-it-yourself activities) but the viability of these activities in the informal economy will depend, as in the past, on the development of social networks that foster exchanges of goods and services.

Accompanying the changes described above has been, as might be expected, the withdrawal from leading positions in the community of the petite-bourgeoisie. The combination of the declining fortunes of the mine and of the affluence of the population, and the transition to a commuting population with access to private transport, led to decreasing profits for local shops and businesses. Many of those shopkeepers who had also been landlords withdrew from the housing market also, either by selling houses to private individuals or by selling to absentee landlords. The proportion of privately-rented houses in Lingdale fell but those remaining in privately-rented accommodation faced deteriorating conditions. For these reasons many of the petite-bourgeoisie left the village, as did those who no longer could find suitable housing in good condition. This movement further disrupted the social networks that had enabled the institutional

structure of the community to function effectively.

The vacuum left by the petite-bourgeoisie has been largely filled by the State at both a local and central level. The key decisions about housing, health, planning and education are now made on Teesside by the district council on which Lingdale has two representatives whose ward covers several other communities. A commonly expressed feeling of Lingdale people is a sense of remoteness from the decision-making individuals. This has been heightened in the seventies and eighties with the key industries of steel and chemicals shedding labour and the consequent high unemployment rates. If any shred of paternalism persists it is in the form of financial grants from government, both local and central. The most recent examples of this have been the provision of a new community centre through an urban aid grant and the total refurbishing of the Miner's Institute by the County Council. In both cases the control of the buildings involved rests ultimately with the local authorities. Despite this sense of remoteness Lingdale is more solidly supportive of the Labour Party than it has been in the past. This change has been brought about not only by the severing of the link between the Labour Party and the C.M.A. leadership but most emphatically by the success of the Labour Party in winning national elections, forming governments and demonstrating that they can (symbolically at least) represent the working class. This, like the majority of changes discussed above, has derived from influences from outside the community; very little change has been generated from within the community and this reflects the stability of consciousness and of the power field within which consciousness is created.

For the working class in Lingdale very little has changed fundamentally in terms of their powerlessness. There is, as stated above, a means of influence through the support of the Labour Party but this has not proved to

have achieved any tangible result at the local level. The knowledge of a voice in national affairs is perhaps too remote an idea to affect, in any sense of promoting action, a locally-based relatively powerless consciousness.

At the local level the world of employment (for those that are employed) has merely changed its spatial location; the employers and the unions are even more removed from the community than they were in the past. The powerless state of a community like Lingdale in terms of influencing the industrial structure, is similar across the region. Attempts to re-organise the region's economy under the influence of state initiatives have been unsuccessful:

The development areas of 1978 contain all the special areas of 1934 and in spite of the Regional policy, the assisted regions are still characterised by above average unemployment, below average incomes and migration loss (Mackay 1978).

The much vaunted advantage of a 'pool of labour' created by the run-down of the region's traditional industries is lost when all regions can claim the same advantage. Urry however (1981b:464) emphasises how changes in contemporary capitalism heightened the economic, social and political significance of locality. In the context of Cleveland and the North East this can be clearly seen as determined by the continuing external control exercised by the key industries whether multi-national or nationalised. In Cleveland the attitude to labour on the part of both I.C.I. and the British Steel Corporation is all but indistinguishable. The growth of State expenditure and to a lesser extent employment again represents external control but is dependent not on market forces but on the ability of localities to affect the allocation apparatus of the State. If, as has been indicated in the case-study, this ability never develops or develops in a weak form, then little more than is necessary to maintain stability will be

allocated by the State. The increasingly footloose nature of capital in a sense creates a power vacuum in the peripheral region, a vacuum not readily or effectively filled by a population in which powerlessness has been nurtured.

## Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The focus of the research presented in this dissertation has been the response of a limited population grouping, the East Cleveland community of Lingdale, to a social structure created and changed by them and by other groups external to the community. The community level of analysis was sufficiently bounded in both time and space to enable an attempt at the delimitation of the major factors constraining action and producing, through that constraint, a consciousness that is quiescent.

Throughout the presentation of data and in the interpretation of that data there is unavoidably an emphasis on economic relationships and the way in which these relationships become, both in the workplace and in the community, moulded into social relationships. The effect of this domination is to retain in the hands of the economically powerful the returns gained from their domination. The most efficient means to attain this commanding position are those which are relatively low in costs, both social and economic, to the dominant group. The research presented here has shown in one instance how that process can be managed so as to maintain hegemonic foundations from the past and create new hegemonic structures to meet changed circumstances. The subordinate population, through its interaction with such structures, develops an ideology which in essence contributes to their subordination. The task of the dominant is to consistently manage these structures and the ideology created so as to efficiently remain dominant. There are two threats to be dealt with by the dominant; the incursion and spread of ideology from 'outside' that may contradict the status quo and transform dependent relationships into antagonistic ones and secondly the management of contradictions and tensions created by the continued asymmetry of the economic and social relationships in the community and beyond.

This 'dialectic of control' (Giddens 1979:149) involves power

relationships that are reciprocal. The mineowners and landowners need the labour of the miner, the miner and his family need the opportunity to sell their labour to the owners (or so they believe). The 'dialectic of control' is the process by which this reciprocation, which manifestly serves the needs of one group to the detriment of the other, is re-formulated in an ideology to emphasise a partnership approaching equality. The strategy of the owners has been shown to aim to control through the organisation of work and the community and to provide those structures that control and manage, disguised in an ideological discourse that enables an unproblematic, practical consciousness to develop rather than a class consciousness.

The structure of the mine is essentially a structure of control. Power is used here to prevent, through the divisive means of the organisation of production and payment, the collective response of the workforce. The hiving off of workers by the creation of supervisory grades and an elite of skilled, key workers, in total a 'labour aristocracy' served the twofold purpose of incorporating the potential leaders among the workers and graphically demonstrating the tangible, material rewards of that incorporation, seemingly open to all workers. Such techniques are not, of course, applied to a workforce that is devoid of a past and the research emphasises the effectiveness of this management strategy on a workforce so recently transformed from deferential, isolated rural workers to an industrial proletariat.

A thorough explanation of the acceptance of these techniques of control has to move beyond the working conditions themselves and look at the supporting system of ideas and beliefs about that work. It is here that I see the notion of decline being fundamental to an understanding of the consciousness of Lingdale miners and the remaining members of the community. It is around the belief in the decline of ironstone mining that the other possibility for the creation of a class consciousness founders.

The role of trades unions and their leaders has been crucial to the mobilisation of class-based political and industrial activity in mining areas (see Allen 1981). In Cleveland, however, the Miners' Association never developed in a climate of industrial conflict in which it could point to tangible gains from the owners. The nature of the owners' repeated victories over the miners was not in terms of strikes (there were too few) but in their many successful negotiations to obtain wage reductions and to retain the particular organisation of work that gave them such effective control over the emergence of collective action. The union's interaction with the owners is characterised by an increasingly calculated withdrawal in anticipation of the owners' power to close down or limit production and import foreign ores. The union leadership, in accepting the premise of the oft-repeated owners' argument about the vulnerability of the Cleveland mines, can be seen to be acting perfectly rationally. It remains doubtful that any gains could be made from a militant posture on the part of the C.M.A. But such a stance was rendered more than unlikely by the ideological climate manufactured and maintained by the owners in their contact with the union. It is in this context that Gaventa's definition of the power relationship is most apposite (see chapter two). The union's response to the situation confronting them is a product of their own inability to overcome the 'dialectic of control' in the work place and the power of the owners to maintain that control and to manipulate the flow of information with respect to prices, competition, the state of the pig-iron market and other relevant economic indicators. The longer the owners retained this power unchallenged the more dominant they become and *ipso facto* the weaker the union. Ultimately the union becomes largely symbolic in importance indicating the owners' tolerance and benefitting the miner in terms of basic welfare provision only.

Consideration of the structures and ideological content involved in the

ironstone mining industry's decline does not in itself provide a total explanation of the development of consciousness, although it focusses the further gathering of data from areas of life outside of work. The sensitivity created by the analysis of the mining component of the research is in the direction of identifying the means by which the strategy employed by the owners was reinforced or otherwise by the experience of living in the community.

The major findings of the research in this respect involve the role of the petite-bourgeoisie. The possibility of the upholding of an industrial paternalist ideology by agents has been raised by Norris (see chapter six, section 11) and is confirmed as an effective means of control in this research. The Peases managed an increasingly complex industrial conglomerate through this means, relying both on the formal chain of command existing in the mines, quarries and ironworks themselves, i.e. the locally-based management; and the ideological leanings complementing that of the bourgeois owners of the means of production. Although more often than not physically removed from the sources of their wealth the Peases periodically, and most necessarily, performed their paternalistic gift-giving, a potent symbolic act denoting differentiation, identification and expectation of reciprocation.

The dynamics of the transmission of ideology to the working class by the petite-bourgeoisie took place in the institutional structure of the community. The sources of power that ensured that these amplified echoes from the bourgeois owners were listened to consisted of control over housing, commerce, education and religious observance. The network of control extended both across the community and, through the virtual monopoly of political representation, out to regional and national levels. In this latter capacity the petite-bourgeoisie acted as 'ideological brokers' for the community, filtering and interpreting the significance of



outside events. This, in conjunction with the apathetic indifference of the working class to the union leadership who sought political office, effectively sealed an avenue for the development of consciousness through political involvement.

The potential of religious belief to underpin social change has been axiomatic in sociology since Weber's contribution on protestantism and the rise of capitalism. In the case of the British industrial revolution however, the orthodox view of both historians and sociologists has been that religious beliefs, primarily Methodism, were responsible for the lack of revolutionary upheaval. In particular Moore (1974) in his 'local' analysis of the role of Methodism in mining communities indicates how the local interpretation of Methodism is the determining factor decisive for the development of class consciousness. The influence of religion in Durham mining villages was seen in the way it acted as a training ground for trades union leaders who, having received the skills of public oratory and a disciplined organisational approach through a Methodist socialisation, then proceeded to create effective trades union opposition. Although Moore skillfully indicates how this occurs in the Deerness Valley his analysis is incomplete because it does not effectively deal with the limiting conditions of power relationships within which consciousness emerges. He does not, for example, see the way in which trades union success (itself determined by specific economic factors) is crucial for the development of a basis for future action.

The value of the Lingdale material in this respect is that, in dealing with communities not dissimilar to those in the Deerness Valley and under the same system of paternalist control, the mechanism of variability in response is indicated; i.e. given little trades-union success, an entrenched powerless union leadership and a community encapsulated in petit bourgeois control then religion can only be a means of social control

emphasising social cohesion rather than solidarity and radical change.

The pervasive nature of petit bourgeois control in Lingdale enhanced in its effectiveness by the isolated nature and small size of the community extended through all the major institutions in the community and thus it was an effective means of maintaining the dominance of the paternalist ideology and limiting the development of class consciousness.

There is a danger, in emphasising the efficiency of such control, of creating the impression of a totally contrained, apathetic and lifeless working class. This would be a mistaken impression because within the bounds set by the elite, both within and outside the community, the working class managed to derive certain sources of satisfaction whilst accepting the stringencies of their existence. To examine these areas of life primarily means looking at those elements of the mining community not headed by petit bourgeois leaders. These aspects have come to predominate in the popular image of the mining community. The brass-band, leek shows, flower shows, pigeon racing, whippet racing and the miners' institute and the club are all examples of activities not intruded into on any regular basis by the petite-bourgeoisie. They are all however dealing with leisure and are if anything 'escape attempts' from the harsh realities of mining. In distancing the individual from work these institutions could not have been effective as means of counteracting the dominant ideology or fostering class consciousness. As the research indicates, the competitive element of many activities in mining communities along with the practical skills instilled served to better equip the population to exploit the informal economy when the formal economy restricted, or closed-down completely, opportunities for earning a living. This apparently unconstrained area of activity was not left untouched by the elite. The structuring of opportunities in the informal economy indicates that the control was present and could be used to further the stability of the labour force.

Throughout the presentation of the findings of the research numerous references have been made to the temporal and spatial parameters of social activity. In order that time-space relations can be clearly determined as impinging on the development of power and consciousness in the case-study my intention now is to draw together those aspects of the research where time-space relations are crucial.

It is apparent that fewer changes have taken place in the spatial relationships within the community, and of the community with the outside world, than changes have occurred in terms of historical development. Two issues must be emphasised with respect to space: isolation of the community and its dependency on the neighbouring urban-industrial area of Teesside. The isolation impinges on social activity in a number of ways indicated in the case material, but particularly it has assisted the elites in their management of ideological input to the community. The community's opportunities to communicate and associate with other working-class people were limited and the comparison of their relative deprivation (if indeed such a need ever occurred) would have been difficult to sustain. The nature of dependency as expressed in spatial terms refers to the location of the market for the commodity produced by the workforce. The problematic of the centre-periphery dichotomy is the accurate location (in time and space) of the centres. There were certainly times when Teesside was a centre and this may well have had some consequences for outlying communities like Lingdale. The uncertainties of an export-based local economy however act to make the periods of centrality rather short-lived. It is this constant ebb and flow of economic fortunes that is exploited by the elite and is so detrimental to subordinate classes. If the community of Lingdale is related to the regional economy of the North-East it can be seen, in general terms, to be typical of the region, suffering the problems of a declining nineteenth century industry and remote from the financial and political centres of

power.

This spatial dimension has to be understood together with the pattern of historical development for, in distinguishing Lingdale from other North-East communities it is the particular pattern of development that specifically constrains social activity to produce a local outcome, and thus comes to differentiate Lingdale from the other North-East, and in detail from other East Cleveland, communities. One difficulty faced in the dissertation was that of discussing and analysing time-space relations as separate entities when, in effect, they act in concert and should be characterised in this way.

The temporal factors of importance in the case-study have been described in detail in the context of power and consciousness in the community, but in summary form an impression of their cumulative effect may be gained. I refer here to the historical origins of the workforce as rural workers and miners from declining mining areas; the Quaker origins of the owners and their experience of paternalism and conciliation in industrial relations, and of the development of mining ventures. Critical for an understanding of Lingdale's creation and growth is the transition of the Peases from Quaker, paternalistic industrialists to corporate capitalists. Lingdale developed at the end of the former phase and the beginning of the latter. Hence, the role of ideological agents becomes more necessary to the sustenance of a paternalistic ideology. In terms of ironstone mining itself it should be noted that Lingdale developed just as the boom years were coming to a close, the risks of investment in community infrastructure were therefore too great and the breach left by the owners was filled by the local landowners and the petite-bourgeoisie. These groups acted out a role supportive of the mineowners, for their economic survival was intimately bound up with the fortunes of mining.

The historical pattern for the greater part of Lingdale's existence has

been made up of period of hard physical effort in a dangerous occupation frequently interspersed with long intervals of short-time working or mine closures. The cumulative effect of this experience, built onto the past was to inculcate in the population beliefs about their powerlessness and the improvement of their lot only through cooperation and compliance with powerful groups.

The intersection of time and space as delimited above are mobilised as key features of the structuration of class relationships in Lingdale. They are integral features of the process by which social groupings highly constrained with respect to social and occupational mobility and entrenched over a period of several generations in a common life experience develop a consciousness shaped by the actions of groups not similarly constrained and in whose interest it is to ensure that these constraints on mobility (and hence the possibility of class consciousness emerging) are maintained for as long as possible. Transposing Giddens'(1980:110) ideas about the establishment of a 'class principle' as a mode of structuration in society to the case-study community, I must conclude that in Lingdale there is no strong adherence to a 'class principle' on the level of subjective experience because the strongly expressed recognition of such a principle would demand class consciousness as a pre-condition. The management 'problem' for the dominant group is to sustain a 'class awareness' entailing the denial of the existence of the reality of classes and therefore not to appear to adhere to a 'class principle' as a mode of structuration. Objectively however, and with the benefit of a perspective not restrained by the power operating on those living in the community, it must be concluded that the process of structuration encountered in the community was simply a local example of the structuration generic to capitalist society.

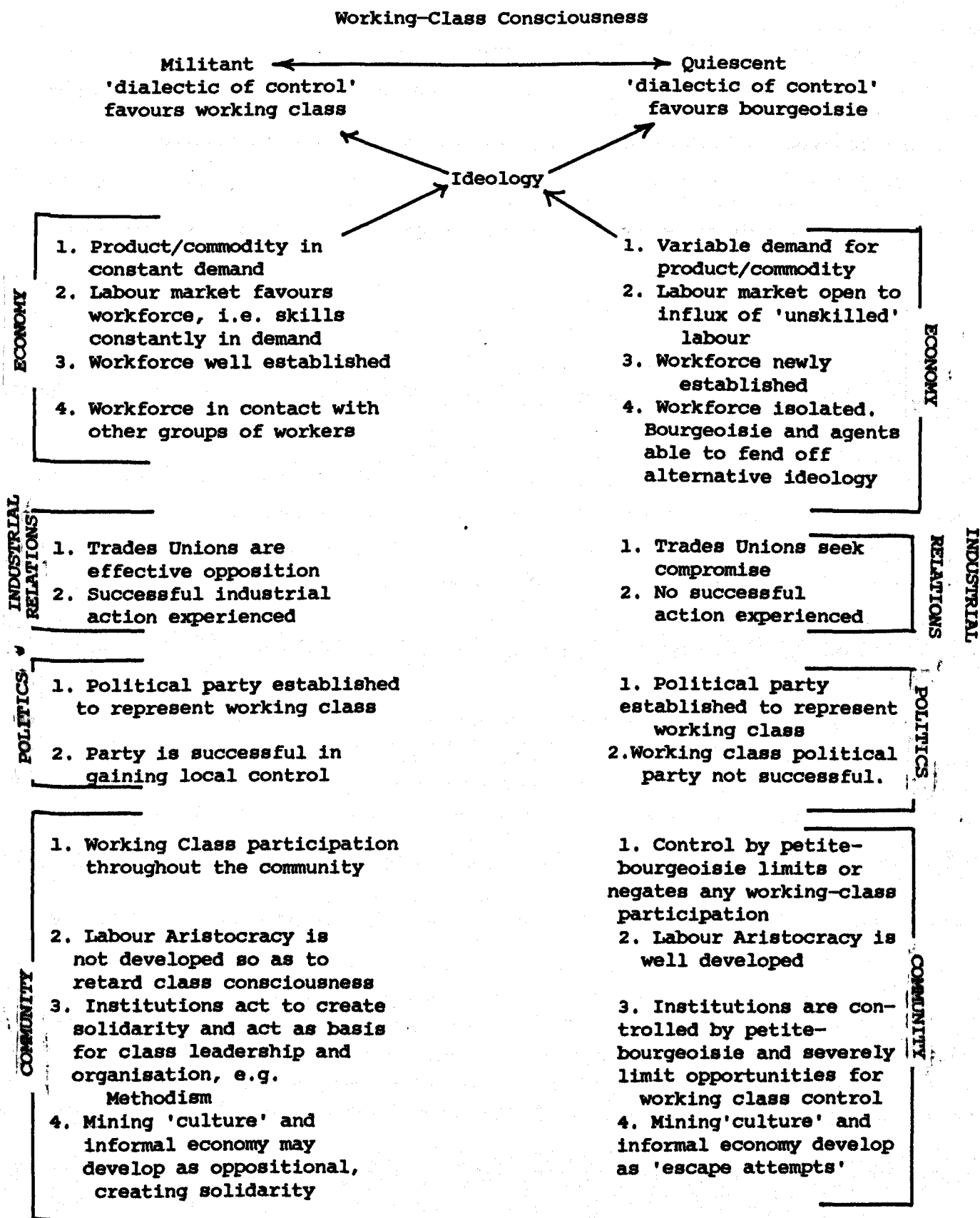
The conclusions reached in this research have only been possible

through a gathering of data in the form of life histories that in themselves are products of the processes that the research seeks to explain. They are then rooted in the 'real' social experience of life in the community and in their telling the dimension of time is integrated with social experience. The broader perspective referred to above is introduced largely by the researching of data from documentary resources in which Lingdale is more often than not a marginal concern.

I have attempted to represent the major factors that distinguish Lingdale from other mining communities (or at least those that have been studied) in Diagram III. This schematic representation is a heuristic device that encapsulates the major features of the development of consciousness which are illustrated in depth in this study. The Lingdale study challenges the stereotype of the militant mining community and has implications for the understanding of consciousness in the wider industrial society.

The process of structuration experienced under conditions of industrial decline has been relatively short-lived and encompasses the sixty-eight years from 1877 to 1945. I have made only passing references to the changes occurring since 1945 since these have not been the primary focus of the research. The references made however are to be taken as exploratory guidelines for future research. They are indicative of the notion that contemporary society is made and re-made by individuals who are striving to make a future out of the past but they may be constrained by that past if there are only superficial changes in the contemporary structure and use of power.

There is no doubt a temptation to designate the analysis presented in this dissertation as both historical and spatially specific, not generalisable to the present or to other communities. I would refute such a designation and suggest that if the relationships of action and structure



**Diagram III: Graphic representation of major features decisive in the moulding of working-class consciousness in mining communities**

presented here are understood as a process in time, although not bound by time, then comparisons can be made and generalisations are possible. As such the dissertation stands as an attempt to operationalise some of the class analysis, the refinements of the concept of power and the consideration of time and space found in contemporary sociological theorising.



## **Appendix A. Problems and Methods of Data Collection.**

The key issue in research of the kind described in this dissertation is quite simply that the researcher is seeking to investigate and account for things that are not directly observable (class consciousness, ideology). In order to make statements about the development of these characteristics in the population being researched there is no other option but to make inferences from the recorded statements of some of this population, from observations by others (largely in the past) and from the researcher's own observations. There are a number of problems inherent in this process and in order to substantiate the methods used in the research it is necessary to describe the problems encountered and the steps taken to minimise inaccuracies in both data collection and inferences from such data.

Two distinct, but related methods of data collection were employed in the study. The bulk of the data consists of oral testimony collected in extended interviews from elderly residents of the case-study community, Lingdale, and also from others who have been closely connected with the community but now no longer maintain their connections (e.g. mine managers). The material collected in these interviews covered periods of sixty years or more and was collected with the purpose of providing data on social and institutional change in the community, attitudes and feelings about such change and orthodox personal data (date and place of birth, occupation, residence, etc.) from each of those interviewed. (The broad outline of areas covered in interviews which acted as a guide, not a rigid schedule, is provided in Appendix B).

The second source of data was documentary and statistical in nature and included census data, mining statistics, local newspapers, and many varied documentary sources provided by those interviewed and consulted in local

archives. The organisational framework used in the sifting of this data was quite simply that it had to relate to Lingdale, the mine, mineowners, miner's union, local landowners or any of the organisations to be found in the village over the past one hundred years (school, chapels and churches, leisure groupings, shops, etc.). This kind of data often was of assistance in providing an external, outsider's perception of the community and its activities which could be compared to the accounts given by those interviewed.

1) Oral Evidence, a justification.

In collecting oral testimony from the elderly with respect to a time period other than the recent past the study used a method similar in many respects to that employed by historians and much discussed by them, the method of oral history. The rationale for concentrating on this particular body of data is threefold. Firstly, in obtaining a developmental account of Lingdale from Lingdale people it was obviously necessary to construct a sample from those persons who had experienced as much of the process of development as possible, i.e. the elderly, people of about sixty years of age and older. Secondly, given the overall paucity of data on this small community and the overwhelming influence of external commentators and administrators, it was thought essential that the view of those that had actually experienced change in the community be obtained. Lastly, in researching the development of consciousness one has to attempt to "interrogate" that consciousness by eliciting statements of those being researched.

There has been comparatively little discussion of the value and place of oral evidence, particularly when the evidence concerns long periods of

time, in sociology, contrasted to history<sup>57</sup>. Given that a considerable part of this study depends on such evidence it is necessary to review recent findings and applications of this unique data source. Here oral history will be simply viewed as one category of oral evidence, its chief characteristic feature being its focus on the further reaches of living human memory. As such it includes all the four categories of recorded speech that Ennew (1979) describes, i.e. oral literature, oral testimony, speech and utterance; the emphasis in this study being on oral testimony rather than other categories.

The background to any assessment of this kind of oral evidence is, once again, the much larger issue of the relationship between sociology and history.

The relationship between sociology and history is often seen in terms of producers and consumers. Theoretical sociologists are concerned with theorising; - historians are concerned with particular aspects of the past. Historians in pursuit of their concerns, may make use of theories developed by other disciplines such as sociology, but they do not take an interest in theorising. In other words, this view holds that historians consume theories which are produced by theoretical social scientists, among them sociologists (Hay, C. 1980:1).

This view, resting on a distinction between nomothetic and idiographic approaches, may not, as Hay goes on to indicate, be entirely accurate. A great deal depends on the account of theory being used in this argument, an account which misrepresents what some historians do (Hay 1980).

A similar perspective can be developed with respect to methodological concerns, in particular the use of oral evidence.

In reading the work of recent contributors to the debate on the relationship between sociology and history it is striking how seldom

---

57 Recent exceptions to this include Thompson (1978), Bertaux (1981) and Plummer (1983). The latter discusses the use of 'human documents' in sociological research and is not simply concerned with oral history.

notions of professional boundaries, autonomy and identity are raised. It would appear that historians feel threatened by the encroachment of sociologists and their methods into their academic territory. Such feelings come couched in terms of criticism of the state of historical work in Britain. A vacuum has been created by a "narrowly political and constitutional historiography" (Samuel and Stedman-Jones, 1976:7). Sociological theory offered one means of filling the vacuum and was welcomed, but not wholeheartedly:

...the present relationship is an unhealthy one....It leaves the historian in a position of abject dependency, craving recognition and taking theoretical propositions on trust. It does not engage the historian in the development of theoretical work, but simply in passive acceptance of categories derived from elsewhere (Samuel and Stedman Jones, op.cit.).

The sociologists interested in historical approaches have not voiced similar feelings when discussing historians developing theory. Rather the opposite, the fruitful development of theory by historians has been welcomed. Dyos, Briggs, Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson among others are now fully accepted into the realm of sociological discourse. Bulmer (1974) partly explains this distrust on the part of historians as an institutional problem engendered by the late development of sociology in Britain.<sup>58</sup> Yet, when a comparison is made between interdisciplinary research and the 'pure' historical work that historians themselves debate, some points of similarity emerge. As Gittins (1979:83) points out, the philosophical deadlock between positivist and phenomenological or interpretive approaches

---

58 Other useful contributions to the debate on the relationship between sociology and history are: Lipset and Hofstadter (1968), Berkhofer (1969) and Burke (1980). In considering the relationship of social anthropology to history the work of Evans-Pritchard (1962) is useful. The view held in this dissertation is however that much of this debate is arid and meaningless because history and sociology have the same project, the explanation of structure and action (see Introduction, p. 3-4).

to social science is still reflected in attitudes to, and criticisms of, both quantitative and qualitative methods. It would take an account of the development of oral history research in relation to developments in social science in general to show why it is necessary to critically discuss the methodological aspects of this approach. In general the criticism has been in the direction of the reliability of such data and the defence has been in terms of the uniquely informative nature of the data. Both of these issues will be addressed below following a brief outline of the theoretical justification for the collection and use of such data.

At the very core of life documents is their subject matter; the continuous, lived flow of historically-situated phenomenal experience, with all the ambiguity, variability, malleability and even uniqueness that such experience usually implies...whatever may be of interest to the sociologist, one pivotal perspective which should always be entertained is that of the participant's experience itself (Plummer 1983:65).

Such a position has a long and respectable pedigree in the social sciences. It is connected with the development of an anti-positivist position in sociology and to the philosophical debates about the nature of our understanding of society. It can be asserted that Weber more than anyone else championed the cause of an interpretive approach to sociological research, a cause that has been carried through to the more contemporary phenomenological and hermeneutic sociologists via the anti-positivist tradition of the Chicago School. Both Thompson (1978) and Plummer (1983) list and discuss those established modern sociologists that have both used and relied on oral testimony.

Oral testimony that deals with change over relatively long periods (an individual's lifetime) opens up the question of consciousness and subjectivity and focuses on the problem of agency in history, the ways in which change comes into being and involves the individual. In doing so there is less of a tendency to impose a false order and rationality upon

experiences. The inconsistency and contradictions of individuals' lives are illustrated in the testimony which proves more difficult for the researcher to generalise about or gloss over. Williamson (1982a) amplifies this point by quoting from the editorial comment of the Ruskin History Workshop:

Historians have often by-passed questions of subjectivity and consciousness, because they elude the conventional categories of historical analysis - they are not 'things' or 'facts'; understanding them involves exploring relationships between different phenomena rather than collecting data. Too often, marxists have relied on a rationalistic, almost utilitarian notion of 'self-interest' which allows no space at all for the contradictions of individual or class experience and the ways in which it is perceived. How do we account, for example, for the way in which pride in skill comes into conflict with the understanding the worker may hold, or the reality which may be experienced, of being exploited at work? For oral historians, these most recent developments in the methodology suggest that the potential exists for a more speculative and analytical approach to the evidence. For marxists, conversely, they show that theoretical categories and questions can be transformed in the light of a critical interpretation of the evidence implicitly questioning the world historical view which treats class-consciousness as pre-given and unproblematic, they allow for a more complex and in the end hopefully, more realistic, understanding of what the components of class-consciousness are (History Workshop, 1979, quoted by Williamson 1982a:10).

In assessing change over time, both in the individual and in the social structure, the research focus is a dual one, moving between the account given by the individual and the social history of his or her lifespan. In the accounts given by Lingdale people the absence of references to the 'outside' events that constitute social history was marked, yet this has to be taken as the temporal context in which these accounts were developed. (The importance of this absence is discussed below, see p. 269).

The orientation of the "reading" of oral evidence by sociologists and historians is different. The historian, more often than not, is seeking an actual origin for the testimony and is concerned to test for the coherence of oral evidence with other data. The sociologist is more interested in the

discrepancies that occur between oral evidence and other data; such discrepancies alert the sociologist to ideological sources. The oral testimony is heard as an ideological product used as an indicator of ideological structures (Ennew 1979).

This impasse may, to some extent, be solved through the sharing of evidence derived from oral sources in both historical and sociological research. The historian now uses those still living to report on the past. In so doing he now travels into an area of methodological problems familiar to the sociologist. The oral historian and the sociologist would both no doubt agree that, for example, studies of working-class life should rely to the greatest degree possible on direct accounts of the life experience of workers. And sociologist and historian would both now want to move beyond this form of data to structural analysis.

There is no necessary disjunction between the particular and the general: on the contrary there is - or ought to be - a dialectical interplay between them....We need to know how class relationships were mediated in the workplace if we are to understand why they held -as binary oppositions - in the society as a whole. The same is true of moral discipline and social control; they are generated from within as well as imposed from without (Samuel 1975:xix).

Beyond this laudable plan however the oral historians have striven to develop an ethos, identity and mystique about oral history that is at times evangelical in tone. Oral history becomes the means of "democratising" history; its object is to change the practice of historical research, and enable a break from narrow, professional concerns to be made. This can be illustrated, in one respect, by reference to Paul Thompson's discussion of evidence (Thompson 1978:131) where he points out that respondents do not perceive events in the same way as professional historians; calendar years are of less significance than everyday experience. The professional historian imposes the significance of great events and important dates.

Oral history reasserts the views of subordinate groups against the hegemony endemic in the received and accepted view of a society's past.

One striking difference characterises oral evidence when it is compared with more orthodox data: if stored on tape it is as close to totally encapsulating the actual utterance of the respondent as we can presently get. (Further advances in this respect may well be made with the wider use of film or videotape in sociological research). Thus it enables other researchers to use this record rather than having to rely on a transcript or other more filtered accounts of what the respondent actually said. The nuances of the respondent's account are there to be interpreted, they do not disappear as they do in the polished results derived from other kinds of data. The recording persists as an additional means of assessing any degree of bias imposed by the respondent or the researcher. It is indeed a means of bringing people back into the centre of the research process. In doing this it may act to improve theoretical formulations by focusing attention on sub-cultural groups which have been the object of previous research rather than the subject. An example here is provided by the work done on mining communities in Britain. Without the accounts provided by Moore (1974) and Colls (1977) and to a lesser extent Bulmer (1978), plus the work of historians like Douglass (1977) and the writers of the collection edited by Harrison (1978) a very one-sided picture of the miner as a modern, rational worker, the archetypal proletarian, may well have emerged. Certainly writers enmeshed in major theoretical frameworks, such as Marxism, might well avoid this kind of evidence and thus produce a one-dimensional image of the miner.<sup>59</sup> Oral evidence can be seen as filling

---

<sup>59</sup> The work of Allen (1981) tends to be in this direction and therefore, as recent events in the coalfield have shown, is at odds with the reality of the ordinary miner's perception of his position and prospects.



gaps in major theoretical perspectives; for example, the gap between the abstractions of a political economy of work and the reality of the worker's everyday life in a community possessed of a particular sub-culture. The miner perhaps only portrayed as a chapel-going union member is given a more dynamic dimension as it is heard how he related to these roles among others. Oral evidence is a means by which the gaps between the various levels of social reality are bridged. Individuals have, in their lifetimes, negotiated these levels and surely this must be the place to begin the research, with them, not with some ubiquitous abstraction that outwardly has extraordinary explanatory power.

Some other minor advantages deserve mention. The fact that often those who depend on extended interviews use only small samples has the advantage that more control is possible over the ways in which the interviews are conducted. As Thompson puts it,

It is a well known defect of large-scale operations that although they can encompass a much wider range of possible explanations and sources, they cannot be subjected to such subtle control and modification. They set out from an established research design, team work is organised on that basis, time is finite and the fieldwork must be completed well before the first draft of the final report is written. Yet once the analysis of the fieldwork is started it becomes clear that much of the material is of little interest, but if only that particular area had been more deeply explored...The individual historian will not be satisfied without that further research (Thompson 1978:216).

Bell and Newby in their collection of accounts of sociological research also make the same general point (Bell and Newby 1977).

The use of elderly respondents may also be an advantage in that use can be made of the generation gap. A young researcher may get a lot of information from an elderly respondent that members of the respondent's own generation do not get. This assumes that in some respondents there is a need to pass on their perspective on the past and its lessons.

## ii) Oral History: From Memory to Documentary Data.

In seeking to defend their method oral historians and others relying on 'human documents' have expended a good deal of effort in probing the weaknesses of the evidence it produces and suggesting improvements in research technique (see e.g. Bertaux 1981, Plummer 1983). These arguments and suggestions are discussed here and provide the background to the account of the methodological issues raised in the research in Lingdale (section iv, this chapter).

In endeavouring to collect data related to the changes which have occurred in the community the researcher had to rely on elderly respondents. Certain problems therefore emerge related to the reliability of the respondents' memories. It needs to be stressed that this is an issue affecting the collection of all oral evidence, the additional question for those researching the past being the likely effect of aging on the accuracy of the memory. Sociologists have generally passed this question by, merely stating that memory is a variable affecting the accessibility of the required information to the respondent (for a typical example of this see Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979:70). Yet research on the question of aging and memory is being carried out and deserves attention. Thompson (1978) collates the results of this research in a manner that gives direction to attempts to minimise errors in recorded data from elderly respondents. He emphasises that it is essential to know how the forgetting of information stored in the memory might affect research that depends on oral sources. Forgetting is a continuous process that occurs with both the respondent recalling the past and the witness of present-day events. Evidence indicates that the initial memory loss is the most drastic but loss of recall over a short period does not mean that this is a continuous process such that eventually most memories of a particular event are discarded.

After the initial forgetting what is remembered remains stable for long periods of time. In terms of accuracy, the details of practical matters are remembered more accurately than recollections of past attitudes. As with the contemporary witness important variables here are comprehension and interest. Accurate recall is much more certain when it coincides with social interest and need. The astute researcher can focus attention on issues of interest to the respondent if sufficient background material has been researched beforehand, e.g. a basic knowledge of the working methods in the ironstone mines, of the terminology employed, etc., is essential when interviewing miners. It indicates a real interest and stimulates the flow of information. What the respondent considers of interest and what the researcher requires may happily coincide. If they do not then this in itself provides another perspective on the different perceptions of professional groups of researchers and those that they research.

Changes in the power of recall with increasing age is also well-researched. After the age of eleven, and especially after the age of thirty, the immediate memory beings to show a progressive decline. The total memory store increases but this appears to decrease the power of immediate memory. For the average group tested, a decline of memory sets in by the age of thirty and continues very slowly, but is never very drastic until either senility or terminal illness occurs. The last stage of the evolution of memory usually follows an event which signifies the beginning of the end of life, e.g. the death of a partner, retirement, or some disability associated with increasing age. This stage is called "life review" by psychologists and gerontologists and entails the emergence of memories, an active desire to remember and an attitude indicative of the feeling that life has been completed and what has been achieved can be assessed. This, from the researcher's point of view, represents some

compensation for the selectivity of the recall process. It is suggested that there is an increased willingness to remember, and often a diminished concern with abiding by the dominant social norms. Hence bias from both repression and distortion should be less problematical, for both the researcher and the respondent.

Despite these reassuring findings an awareness is necessary about the validity of what is selected for recall. Thompson points out that what is actually recalled is dependent on the respondent's interpretation of what actually went on, the social norms that existed then, at the time of the event(s) and the social norms that exist at the time of the recall (Thompson 1973). Other distortions may occur as Baddeley (1979) reports, because of the respondent's prior beliefs there is a tendency to report what is more plausible, rather than what actually occurred. Leading questions, emotive material and the expression of the recall in conventional terms must all be recognised as causes of distortion. No doubt a researcher with some knowledge of the direction of social change, particularly as far as attitudes are concerned, during the respondent's lifespan, could make an assessment of possible bias. The fact that certain choices are favoured in the recall is however data in itself, as is memory failure on occasions, e.g. as a measure of political interest (Baddeley 1979). Important variables here are the location, and changes in the location, of the respondent in time and space. The researcher must seek to analyse where the account given is "coming from" and how the respondent got there. This involves a process of establishing how the circumstances of the respondent have been interpreted by him to produce this particular account. Cicourel (1972:150-154) notes that in an interview there are two ethnographic contexts, the one employed by the researcher and the one employed by the respondent. The latter is composed of the individual's life history and

cultural milieu together with a concept of self. In this ethnographic context the respondent decides what he is going to say and its meaning. It is essential for the researcher to learn the ethnographic context of the respondent in order to accurately assess the direction and strength of distortion in the recall process.<sup>60</sup>

One area that seems to have received little attention from the historians but now has a voluminous literature in sociology and anthropology is that of myth, symbol and imagery. For the most part the accounts collected by oral historians have not been subjected to any analysis which distills and assesses images and symbols. It would appear that most historians are content to collect the quaint customs and folklore of the respondents, seldom moving beyond a descriptive level. Much the same can be said about the recording of myths. These are often taken to be fallacious history and therefore of little value. It is surprising that given the historian's expertise in cross-checking verbal accounts and documentary evidence that few questions appear to be raised about the origins and purposes of myths that are created and used within a population. Certainly an analysis of the type undertaken by Damer (1974) in the field of urban sociology, which to a certain extent depended on both oral evidence and historical research, would be a valuable addition to the more orthodox analyses currently employed.

In essence the point being made here is that actual accounts provided

---

60 The mathematician-philosopher Poincare concluded that the axioms of geometry are *conventions*, and our choice among all possible conventions is guided by experimental facts, but it remains free and is limited only by the necessity of avoiding all contradiction. Similarly the meaning of oral testimony is conventional; the particular conventions that operate in a community are chosen through experimentation, convenience, advantage and harmony with a particular world view. An intriguing discussion of Poincare is to be found in Pirsig (1974).

by respondents are not necessarily going to be accurate with respect to the reporting of events or details but the statements provided all carry a meaning. The account is 'true' for the individual but it is an account composed of historical memory, local myths and personal experience; it is not designed as a neat means of communicating historical data.

An example of this from the accounts given of mining deals with mine accidents. When given these accounts (often of the same accident by different respondents) I had no means of verifying them as a reliable history of events or of reconciling contradictory descriptions of the same accident. What was taken from such accounts were the perceptions they contained about the attitude of the respondent to mine management, overmen, company doctors, coroners and their fellow miners. These perceptions were contained in the narrative itself, and although these narratives had inconsistencies with respect detail, they were remarkably consistent with respect to the reported attitudes of actors in the narrative.

Does this warping of experience in the narrative indicate anything to the researcher? The use of such mechanisms to define group boundaries, explain the past and understand the present is a crucial component of the development of ideology. The ideological is intertwined with the personal and tangible experience; it provides a structuring of meaning reflecting the dominant ideological categories of a particular time and place. It is important to grasp that part of this structuring of meaning includes "structured silence" (Passerini 1979), i.e. the silent response or muted response from respondents; what they do not say can be as important as what they do say. The "silence" may reveal a great deal.

Two instances of this occur in my own research. Firstly, there was the very muted response, interspersed with many long pauses, to questioning about the miners' union and industrial action. Secondly, there was the

almost total absence, despite opportunities occurring in the questioning, of statements about the status and role of women in the community. Both of these are very revealing silences and the research attempts to explain why so little is said about these two aspects of the community's experience.

### iii) Problems of Sampling.

A key area of discussion in sociological approaches to survey methodology concerns the representativeness of the data collected. Given that oral historians are predominantly interested in the elderly a problem over representativeness, not generally encountered by the sociologist, emerges. Death does not occur in a random way; those that survive are not a cross-section of the population. There is no way of constructing a sampling frame to achieve a representative sample without discovering distortions due to migration or differential mortality. Thompson (1975) has attempted to overcome these problems for a large research project by designing a quota sample based on the 1911 census, but admits to certain difficulties in obtaining material from the "socially invisible". The vast majority of the research projects that rely on oral evidence are somewhat smaller in scale and might cope with the problems of representativeness by scaling down the quota sample to suit the particular population being researched, i.e. the quotas being sought represent the major categories amongst the population being studied. (For a description of the sampling methods employed in this study see the following section of this chapter).

Other factors need to be considered in conjunction with notions of representativeness. Not all of those in the sample will prove to be able interviewees, as one might expect with a group of the elderly. Some will repress their true feelings on sensitive issues whilst others will be forthcoming over a range of issues that may be of no particular interest to

the researcher. Many respondents will suggest others they know of who will have a specialised knowledge of some topic or other; and these people should be considered, indeed may have to be considered, for incorporation into the sample. Given that the large amount of time necessary for the collection of oral evidence means that samples are usually small it is incumbent on the researcher to get the best possible results from those who consent to be interviewed. A further suggestion from Thompson favours the use of Glaser and Strauss' notion of "theoretical sampling" (Thompson 1973; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Here the tactics are decided by the nature of the problem under investigation and the means available to collect the information. Several possibilities arise: the use of personal groups, "snowballing", a community stratified sample and quota samples. Whichever tactical method is adopted it seems clear that statements must be made about how the population being studied is perceived by the researcher, what categories emerge (if any) and what steps to ensure that individuals representative of these categories have been included. (These questions are dealt with for the population encompassed by this study in the following section of this chapter). It may be that in filling the quotas use can be made of personal networks and groups, although this will naturally vary according to the nature of the problem being researched. The greatest danger is that those being interviewed are self-selected.

In considering how the researcher describes and categorises those he interviews it would appear fundamental that some stress be placed on an adequate description of the respondent's social and physical context. In order to allow others to make some assessment of the accuracy of the respondent's perception of events it is necessary to know not only his social context in time but also in space, both in the past and at the time of the interview. Changes with respect to the context of the respondent may



well affect the account that is given of the past. Those who are downwardly socially mobile, for example, may exaggerate their former well-being. Oral historians are prone to noting that respondents will be more forthcoming in the comfort of their own home, but if the immediate environment of that home has been transformed from a comfortable, working-class neighbourhood to an inner city slum then this transformation must be taken into account as possibly affecting the statements and attitudes of the respondent. Some acknowledgement must be made that the social context of those being interviewed is not, and has not been, static. The direction of change and its effect on the individual may have a powerful effect on the reconstruction of the past.

In the case-study the effect of two developments, one twenty years ago and one on-going at the time of the research, could possibly have affected statements and attitudes made by respondents. The closure of the mine in 1962 had its greatest effect on those employed at the mine but there was also a general feeling of loss in the community as a whole. Most respondents date major changes in the community to the Second World War, but those who had close connections with the mine tended to emphasise its closure as the watershed in the community's affairs. Within this latter group there were differences according to how the individual had been treated by the mining company. Those who were comparatively well-treated, i.e. found other jobs in the steelworks on Teesside or at Skinningrove, felt the loss of the mine less deeply, whilst those who had difficulty finding or adjusting to jobs outside the community emphasised the effect of closure more strongly.

The more recent development affecting respondents' statements has been the demolition of the older housing in the narrow terraced rows leading off from the High Street. As the interviewing phase of the research proceeded,

a number of respondents were interviewed in their new council flats or houses, shortly after they had moved from the older housing. This group tended to emphasise the strong feeling of neighbourliness found in the terraced streets and the isolation ("people don't speak to you here"), of the new houses.

#### iv) Problems of the Extended Interview.

In the collection of all oral evidence differences in style between interviewers may introduce some variance and the problem of minimising this in the kind of extended interviews common in oral history and some sociological work must not put at risk the relationship formed between the researcher and the respondent. No doubt most relationships formed during research would be endangered by an overly rigid sequence of questions put in a completely standardised form, but the oral historian in developing a professional identity closely related to interviewing skills places great emphasis on the maintenance of the interview relationship. The material gathered where less attention is paid to a standard set of questions is less strictly comparable but this need not be too great a handicap if compensation is gained through close relationships with the respondents so that subsequent visits are possible. As long as, over time, the same areas of the study are covered in all interviews the internal coherence of the information gathered can be assessed through comparison with other interviews and data sources.

The art of interviewing has long been part of the broader spectrum of survey research in sociology and elsewhere. The oral historian who depends on the extended interview concentrates on this single aspect and tends to relegate other concerns. A major consideration is the maintenance and enhancement of the interview relationship. The maintenance of the respondent's motivational level is perhaps less of a problem for the oral

historian as the elderly in modern society are often isolated and the contact with the interviewer is highly valued. But this has its dangers; the risk is that the respondent may be tempted to elaborate or distort his answers in order to prolong the interview relationship. The only successful way to deal with this happening is to have the ability to cross-check.

Throughout the development of the interview relationship the researcher gains knowledge of what kinds of questions may be difficult for the respondent to answer. At one level this is a question of understanding, and can be overcome by careful rephrasing of the question. Such rephrasing may require the introduction of one or more terms familiar to the respondent (e.g. technical terms from the respondent's place of work, regional or local terms or phrases). Knowledge of questions that cause difficulties at the level of understanding may be usefully gained in a series of preliminary interviews.<sup>\*61</sup> The more difficult problem to overcome is where knowledge is repressed. This may be because the information required involves some kind of emotional stress or because the respondent cannot answer in the manner required. No doubt, given time and a sensitive approach on the part of the interviewer such repressed areas can be probed. The aims of the research however, could never justify causing distress to elderly respondents and the researcher may just have to be content in noting that such data are not available to him through interviews. The only example of this encountered among those interviewed in this research had to do with injury and death, largely in the mine, where a close friend or relative of

---

61 In this study a series of twenty preliminary extended interviews was carried out in the villages surrounding Lingdale during June and July of 1980. These villages are very similar to Lingdale in both development and social structure.

the interviewee was the victim. This was not uniform however and a number of those interviewed described the most horrific accidents in graphic detail. One further case of repression is worth noting; it occurred in the interview with Jack Ash, one of the managers of the Lingdale mine and a man who, quite exceptionally, had worked his way up from miner to manager. When questioned about working conditions and safety (aspects he would have experienced from both sides of the management divide) he had some difficulty in replying and would make only short, non-committal statements. (The role of management, particularly the role of Jack Ash (see chapter six), is discussed below in chapters four and five.

Much of what has been stated so far obviously involves ethical issues, some of which are currently under discussion by sociologists (e.g. Homan (1980)). Complete openness on the part of the researcher is crucial at all stages. The possible publication of the transcripts, or portions of them, should be mentioned from the beginning of the involvement of the respondents, and the respondents clearly told that restrictions may be placed on the material. Obtaining written permission for the use of the interview material seems to be the best way around these problems but it does not overcome the risk of libel or slander completely. A dispute over these issues may well tie the researcher's hands for some time. It is always important to carefully consider what the effect will be of the publication of identifiable statements on those who will continue to live in the community which, in all probability, the researcher will leave. Apart from creating local scandal and gossip and perhaps making future research difficult, the careless researcher may cause distress to elderly respondents. The usual means of attempting to minimise problems of this kind has been taken in this dissertation, that is, the use of pseudonyms for the respondents and those mentioned in the interview material.

Many of the ethical considerations are rooted in the fact that elderly individuals are those providing the data. Often these same respondents are from the working class and may well be deferential to the researcher, who they see as representing powerful, but unfamiliar groups. These characteristics combine to create two issues that must be considered by the researcher. Firstly, a methodological issue: a deferential respondent may bias the information so that a more conventional or acceptable image is portrayed. Secondly, an ethical issue: the respondent may be somewhat vulnerable in terms of age and class and attempts to probe on sensitive issues may be distressing to him. The superficially simple matter of using a tape recorder may also prove to be a source of distrust and stress. Confidential statements are often more obtainable when the machine has been switched off, and are often given as background information. Some distinction must be made between the ways in which these additional statements are used, compared to materials gathered while the tape recorder is running. Such statements are meant to be "off the record" and certainly the researcher should respect this intention if he uses them. Recognising that elderly respondents have an on-going pattern of relationships to maintain after the researcher has left, one consideration must be to do nothing to disrupt these relationships. People are not there to be treated as historical artefacts with a certain intrinsic value; they have a social position that must be left intact after the research is complete. There is a question here as to whether the researcher exploits the deference of certain vulnerable groups. Certainly Gouldner (1968) has drawn the attention of sociologists to their failure to research "top dogs" and Thompson (1978:172) admits to groups "like civil servants and bank managers" who "fear" tape recorders. It appears that the attempt to democratise history will also maintain the confidentiality and secrecy of

certain sections of the population.

**v) Research Procedure in the Case-Study Community.**

The circumstances surrounding the choice of Lingdale as the case-study community and of the carrying out of the research itself are as follows.

I have lived in Lingdale since 1974 and have been active in two local organisations. The first was the Lingdale Housing Action Group founded in 1976 to press for the improvement of housing rather than its demolition; its successor organisation was the Lingdale Village Community Association founded in 1978, with the aim of providing a community centre for the village. I was a committee member of the L.H.A.G. and secretary of the L.V.C.A., and latterly its chairperson (1980 to the present). The business of these two groups, particularly the L.V.C.A. through its sponsorship of a 'community care' scheme funded by the Manpower Services Commission, brought me into contact with a broad cross-section of the community, and provided involvement on a number of community issues. One striking aspect of this, from my own point of view, was the very low level of participation and interest demonstrated by the majority of the population. In numerous discussions of this at the committee level it was stated that the village had been like this for quite some time and the image of the 'good old days', when the whole community pulled together, was often contrasted with the present malaise.

The contemporary issues stimulated an interest in what 'conditioned' the low level of participation. This was coupled with an initially antiquarian-type curiosity in the history of the Lingdale mine and its workforce. A third factor was added with the attempt by the local Labour Party to obtain compensation for ex-ironstone miners suffering from lung disease. I was secretary to the committee formed for this purpose (Cleveland Ironstone Miners' Compensation Committee) and, with the aid of

interested sociology undergraduates, interviewed all those ex-miners who contacted the committee. This interviewing was the major factor in my decision to embark on this research. The forty-six men interviewed had obviously suffered a great deal physically from their occupation yet most had never pursued claims or pushed their union to take up their cases. Their sense of resignation overwhelmed any feelings they had of injustice.

My activity, outside of the research, in the community has had, as far as I can detect, little effect on the respondents' replies to my questions. There are several reasons for this. Paradoxically, the low level of participation of the majority of villagers in community affairs has meant that many of those interviewed were completely unaware that I had any other role, other than that of someone interested in the village's history and in mining, in the community's affairs. Secondly, my occupation as a polytechnic lecturer, and precise location in the village (on the outskirts in what was once the community's isolation hospital, since converted to two houses), has tended to make me somewhat 'marginal' to the social life of the community. A deferential attitude exists to those with any sort of professional background. I attempted to minimise such barriers in the interviewing by using introductions from other respondents (where possible) and in the case of miners, by learning the local mining terms. Some respondents had to be persuaded that the details of their everyday lives were of interest to me; for them history was not composed of such material but rested on dates, battles and the lives of important men. As Williamson put it, "History from this viewpoint is what happens to other people" (1982:14).

**Interviewing.** A series of twenty preliminary extended interviews was carried out in June and July 1980 in villages outside Lingdale (see note 61). The purpose of this interviewing was to test questions to be used in

the Lingdale interviews. The respondents were selected from the miners and their spouses contacted in the course of interviewing for the compensation committee.

The research interviews in Lingdale were carried out between July and September 1982. The sampling method employed was that labelled "snowball" sampling by methodologists, i.e. a respondent or number of respondents are chosen as starting points for the research. These initial respondents then refer the researcher to others who in their opinion will be useful people to talk to. In effect therefore the researcher is passed along the social networks of the initial respondents. These *initial* respondents in Lingdale were chosen on the basis of their meeting two criteria. Firstly, they must be part of the particular stratum of the community I was interested in, e.g. miner, shopkeeper, Methodist, etc., and secondly, I had to have met them (in a non-research capacity) or had a good introduction to them from one of the people known to me in Lingdale. The categorisation of strata I wanted interview material from was arrived at on the basis of documentary research on archive material carried out from 1980 onwards and the data supplied in the preliminary interviews. In obtaining these interviews my aim was to achieve at least some coverage of *all* of what I saw as the significant categories of population in Lingdale particularly over the period 1877-1945. In the endeavor to obtain a combination of both a 'snowball' sample and a crude 'quota' sample I was, of course, in the hands of the respondents. It was not possible to cover all the major categories by interviewing in Lingdale and I therefore interviewed several key individuals at their homes outside Lingdale, in nearby towns and villages.

The full breakdown of the interviewing is as given in Table I. The largest category of those interviewed (17) has been designated working-class: miner or miner's wife; this of course reflects the



dominance of mining as an occupation in the community. The other categories were felt to be significant in providing data of assistance in answering the questions posed by the research.

These are not, of course, representative samples; they are too small and have not been selected according to strict statistical criteria, but they are felt to be 'representative' at what Bertaux (1981:37) calls the sociological level, the level of socio-structural relations (*rapports sociaux*). This level of representativeness, in contrast to representativeness at the level of superficial description is arrived at through a process of 'saturation of knowledge' (Bertaux 1981). The first extended interview told me a great deal, as did the second and the third, but by the time the tenth or eleventh interview was recorded a definite pattern had emerged. The rest of the interviews added slight individual variation but generally served to confirm that pattern. The same ideas expressed in very similar ways were being produced. There was a definite impression gained that the ideology concerning Lingdale and its people was being tapped. This was not simply an artefact of the interview questioning as this was never repeated in precisely the same way or in the same sequence.

The interviews themselves took place at the home of the respondent and were tape-recorded unless this was not liked by the respondent (this only occurred once and notes were taken on that occasion. Two other respondents indicated that they would not like the tape-recordings used for any other purpose other than my private research (one travelling some distance the day after the interview to tell me of this). The rest of those interviewed indicated no qualms whatsoever about being tape-recorded, most of them apparently ignoring its presence after the interviews had begun. The interviews generally lasted between one and three hours. Re-visits were

made if, on running through the tape, I noted areas of questioning that had been omitted or if further questions were prompted by the recorded material. On several occasions respondents contacted me with further information and it was quite common for them to produce photographs and old newspaper articles and documents to show me. Notes were made immediately after the interview, if possible, on any features of the respondent's manner that might be of interest and of any remarks of interest made when the tape-recorder was switched off.

I strove as much as possible to make the 'interview' as much like a normal, everyday conversation as possible. A good interview was one in which the respondent talked freely and took over much of the control of the discussion with only minimal guidance from my questions. The interview-guide was in the back of my mind during the interview and as the respondent came to areas covered by the guide I attempted to steer him/her through the topics I was interested in by the use of a few questions.

In analysing the tape-recorded material I worked with notes taken after the interview (about the interview situation) and made further notes as the tape was playing. I preferred to do this rather than work from a transcription, as the transcript would have erased some quite crucial data such as pauses, emotional tones, speed of delivery of speech and emphasis. I was anxious not to lose these data. Ultimately the loss of these data is inevitable as the speech is rendered into text. The problems of textual analysis are multiple and there is no space here for an adequate discussion other than to draw attention to the fact that the 'production' of text serves the purposes of the researcher, not necessarily the speaker (see Plummer 1983:132-133; Ennew 1979).

**Documentary research.** This was largely carried out in the local archives and libraries and involved searches for documentation on mining, mining

companies and the Cleveland Mineowners' Association (British Steel Corporation Archives, Middlesbrough); local landowners, census material, Cleveland Miners' Association, local government records, church and chapel records (Cleveland County Archives, Middlesbrough); conveyancing records and deeds of housing in Lingdale (acquired under compulsory purchase prior to demolition by Langbaurch Borough Council); Cooperative Society records (Skelton Industrial Provident Society Ltd.); local Labour Party records; Lingdale School log books (1877-1920); local newspapers (Central Library, Middlesbrough; Darlington Public Library); the Pease Company papers (Darlington Public Library). Miscellaneous items borrowed from local historians included union lodge records, parish magazines and financial ledgers for the Cleveland Miners' Association.

The above material was used in conjunction with the oral evidence of the interviews, an approach known as 'triangulation'. The use of documentary data acts to provide a different perspective than that obtained from the interviews; it acts on occasions to supplement the interview material (e.g. by pinpointing dates when events described by respondents occurred, the event being remembered but the precise date forgotten). In general 'triangulation' involved a process of careful cross-checking between data to enable the researcher to establish a context for some of the data and to assess its validity.

**Summary.** This chapter has detailed the issues involved in the research strategy and techniques chosen for this study. The major concern has been with justifying a reliance on oral evidence from the extended interviews. Although the memory/age relationship does not appear to be as disadvantageous as one might at first suspect, the issues of selectivity and at least some decline in memory have to be overcome. It would appear that in practice, probably because of the amount of time needed to

satisfactorily interview a respondent, and because of the self-selection due to differential mortality, small groups of respondents are generally used. The representativeness of such groups must be open to question. A central issue here is whether or not "key" people are able to be interviewed. The difficulties of retrospective sampling are not easily overcome if historical or longitudinal data are being sought.

Few if any methods in the social sciences are immune from the kinds of issues raised above with respect to oral evidence. With varying degrees of recognition of these issues a number of historians and sociologists have felt justified in placing some reliance on oral evidence; they have felt that certain advantages lie in the use of this kind of data.

With reference to specific theoretical frameworks the relationship of oral evidence seems to fall somewhere between the major theories of social organisation, social control, the division of labour, the class struggle and social change which may be approached from functionalist, conflict or other sociological perspectives; and the psychoanalytical approaches dealing with the individual, language and the sub-conscious. In conjunction with other data sources it is to be hoped that oral evidence may be the way to reconcile these two forms of theoretical interpretation, which thus far have turned their backs on each other. By using the individual's interpretation and expression of his life, connections can be documented between the general system of economic, sex and age structures at one end, and the development of personal character at the other, through the mediating influences of kin, peer groups, educational system, religion and culture. Only when the role of these institutions has been established will a theoretical integration be possible.

It is somewhat surprising to have to state that in attempting to come to any conclusions about social change over the lifespan of one individual

it is essential to talk to those individuals who have experienced these changes. Sociologists in particular seem to have neglected this approach, favouring theoretical propositions at a macro-level. Yet to realistically deal with the direct reflection of the effects of social change, oral evidence must be a prime source of data. A longitudinal study of individuals who have experienced change also becomes a means of uniting macro and micro-level approaches. As with many other studies that have relied on oral evidence, the chief justification is simply that comparable evidence does not exist.

## **Appendix B: Outline for Extended Interviews**

### **I. Household: Basic Information**

1. Name
2. Address
3. Year of birth
4. Birthplace
5. IF NOT LINGDALE - When did you move to Lingdale?
6. Which street did you live in?
7. How long did you live at that address?
8. Where did you go after that?
9. Can you remember why you made these moves?
10. Have you ever lived outside of Lingdale?
11. IF YES - Where?
12. How long for?
13. Can you tell me what your parents did for a living?
14. Where did they come from?
15. When you lived at home with your parents, what would your daily routine be?  
(13-14 Repeat for Grandparents)

### **II. Community / Class and Change**

16. Did you have many relatives living close by?
17. Who were they?
18. Did they help your family at all (e.g. illness)?
19. Where did your friends live?
20. Where did you see them?
21. Many people divide society into different social classes or groups. In Lingdale did you think of some people belonging to one group or another?
22. Could you tell me what different groups or classes there were?
23. What group/class would you say you belonged to yourself?
24. What sort of people belonged to the same group/class as you?
25. What sort of people belonged to other groups/classes you have mentioned?
26. In Lingdale, who were considered the most important people?
27. Did you meet them at all?
28. Why were they considered important?
29. In Lingdale, did all the people in the working class have the same standard of living, or would you say there were different groups?
30. Were some families thought of as respectable and some as rough?
31. Were there any distinctions because of the jobs people did?
32. Did people of different groups spend their time differently (churches, pubs)?
33. In what ways would you say Lingdale has changed during your life?
34. Are there still the same classes/groups in the village?
35. Have things changed for the better, or for the worse?
36. When you came to getting a house, how did you go about it?
37. Was your house rented?
38. What do you remember of the landlord?
39. What would your daily routine be in your house?

### **III. Work, Unemployment, Informal Economy**

40. What was your first full-time job?
41. How did you get it?

## **Appendix B: Outline for extended interviews - continued**

42. Who taught you the job?
43. What hours did you work?
44. What were you paid?
45. Did you feel that was a fair wage or not?
46. How did you get on with the other people you worked with?
47. How did your employers treat you?
48. How did you feel about them?
49. How did the management treat you?
50. How did you feel about them?
51. How did you feel about work in general?
52. Did you like or dislike it?
53. What were conditions like at the place where you worked?
54. Did you belong to any trade union?
55. Did you take part in any of its activities?
56. Was the union effective?
57. Why was this?
58. Did you feel that there were divisions of interests among the miners?
59. Did you feel employers had the same interests as you or different?
60. On what occasions would you meet the management?
61. On what occasions would you meet the employers?
62. Do you remember your father ever being out of work?
63. Do you remember your parents struggling to make ends meet?
64. What did you do to make ends meet?
65. PROBE: Did you grow vegetables (make jam, pickles?)
66. Did you keep livestock?
67. Did you get help from the parish (Guardians, charity?)
68. How did they treat you?
69. How did you feel about this?
70. Did your father or mother belong to any savings clubs (friendly societies, insurance, sick or funeral clubs)?
71. How did you spend your time when you weren't working?
72. How did you spend your leisure time when you were working?
73. Did you go out in the evening?
74. IF YES: Where to?
75. Who with?
76. Did you have any hobbies?
77. Did you take part in any sports?
78. Did you belong to any groups/clubs?
79. What did you generally do on your days off?
80. Has the way people spend their leisure time changed in Lingdale?
81. IF YES: In what ways has it changed?

## **IV. Religion**

82. What did you do on Sundays?
83. Did you attend a chapel/church at all?
84. IF YES: Which one?
85. How often?
86. Did you hold any position in the chapel/church?
87. Did your mother and father hold any position in the chapel/church?

**Appendix B: Outline for extended interview - continued**

88. Did you go to Sunday School?

89. Were there any other chapel/church activities you took part in?

**V. Politics, Local Government**

90. Did your parents take an interest in politics?

91. Do you know what their views were?

92. Why do you think they held those views?

93. Did they ever belong to a political party?

94. IF YES: What activities did they take part in?

95. Do you take an active interest in politics?

96. Which political party do you generally support?

97. Have you ever been a member of this party?

98. Why do you support them?

99. Do you remember who generally represented Lingdale on the local council?

100. What do you feel about local councillors in the past?

101. Was it easy for people in Lingdale to get the local council to do things?

102. Why do you think this was?

103. Has the way Lingdale has been treated by local councils changed at all?

104. IF YES: In what ways has it changed?

105. What do you think are the main problems for people in Lingdale today?



## **Appendix C: Documentary Sources Consulted**

- i) Cleveland Miners' Association, Minutes of the Executive Committee, 1875-1936: Cleveland County Archives, U/5/259.
- ii) Cleveland Miners' Association, North Skelton Lodge Minute Book, 1898-1909: Private collection.
- iii) Cleveland Miners' Association, Financial Ledger, 1876-1907: Private collection.
- iv) Cleveland Mineowners' Association, Minutes of the Executive Committee 1873-1926: British Steel Corporation Records Office, Northern Region 210/1/1-4.
- v) Cleveland Mineowners' Association, Joint Committee Minutes, 1973-1927: British Steel Corporation Records Office, Northern Region. 210/1/1-4.
- vi) Cooperative Society, Skelton Industrial Provident Society, Minute Books, 1884-1949; Nomination Book; Quarterly Members Meetings, 1909-1942: Skelton Cooperative Society.
- vii) Housing Documentation held by Langbaugh Borough Council concerning houses compulsorily purchased in Lingdale.
- viii) Kilton Mine: H.M. Inspector of Mines Report on an Explosion, 3rd May 1954: Private collection.
- ix) Labour Party: Constituency A.G.M. minutes, 1929-1952. Executive Committee minutes, 1929-1940. Cleveland County Archives (recent deposition).
- x) Pease and Partners Company Papers, 1860-1952: Darlington Public Library.
- xi) Records of Methodist Chapels, Lingdale: Cleveland County Archives, R/M/RSG/2/5-7.
- xii) Records of Church of England Mission, Lingdale: Cleveland County Archives, PR/BK/14,15.
- xiii) Lingdale School Log Books: Infants 1877-1920; Boys 1874-1903; Girls 1977-1921, Lingdale County School, Lingdale.
- xiv) Skelton and Brotton Local Board Minutes, 1866-1932: Cleveland County Archives: DC/SB/28/5/1.
- xv) Skelton and Brotton Local Board, Medical Officer of Health Reports, 1913, 1914, Cleveland County Archives:
- xvi) Skelton and Gilling Estate Papers: Cleveland County Archives, U/SG/1/3.
- xvii) Report on Abandoned Mineral Workings and Possible Surface Instability Problems, C.M. Morris, County Surveyor and Engineers's Department, County of Cleveland: n.d.

# Appendix D: Pease and Partners, Lingdale Mine: Lease Details

Date of Indenture	Name	Acres	Term Year	Commencing Date	Tonnage Cwt.	Rate pence	Certain Rent
30 Dec. 1871	Isaac Scarth	297	42	1.1.1871	22.5	5d	Year 1-£677.10s 2-£1350 3-£2032.10s 4-£2710 5-£3387.10s 6-10-£4065 subsequent years-£4065
	David Thomas Petch	220			22.5	6d	
	William Petch	52					
	Elizabeth Scarth	31					
	David Petch	34+ 42					
30 June 1876	As above						£4065 for years 5,6 & 7, otherwise as in 30 Dec. 1871 lease
10 April 1974	Henry Cowey & John Rodham	54	42	1.1.1871	23	4d	£63 for 1st yr., £90 subsequent yrs. An adjoining field leased at 4d for 23 cwt.
5. Jan. 1873	William Linskill	252	42	1.1.1871	22	6d	Year 1-£250 2-£300 subsequent yrs. £1500. Wayleave 1d for 22 cwt. for "foreign" stone*

\*stone brought from other royalties

(One acre = 0.405 hectare; one cwt. = 50.8 kg.; one old penny = £0.00417

from: Tuffs (1978).

## **Appendix E: A Glossary of Mining Terms**

- BAULK:** Rectangular piece of strong timber used horizontally to support roof.
- BAND:** Interstratification of stone or shale with the ore.
- BLACK DAMP:** see stythe
- BLACK HARD:** Hard compact ferruginous shale occurring under the Main Seam ironstone.
- BLACK POWDER:** Gunpowder
- BORD or BOARD:** An excavation, a pillar in length and from 2 to 5 metres wide, driven at right-angles to the headways.
- BORD and PILLAR:** Method of working involving intersecting tunnels.
- BRATTICE:** Portion of wood or cloth to divide the workings or the shaft for the purpose of ventilation.
- CAGE:** Frame of iron in which tubs and men are transported in the shaft.
- CHECKWEIGHMAN:** Worker employed by union members to check the weight of the tubs after the company weighman.
- DEPUTY:** Qualified mine official who is responsible for the safe working in the places under his supervision.
- DOG-WHIPPER:** See on-setter
- DOORS:** Used to control the air current where access is also required.
- DRIVER:** Worker who 'drives' the horse-drawn tubs to the miners and takes the full tubs away.
- FILLER:** Worker who fills the tubs for a miner, or usually assisted by the miner. Miner and filler were paid together on one pay-slip. The miner then paid the filler.
- GOAF:** Area of the mine from which the pillars have been extracted and the roof allowed to collapse.
- HARD BAND:** Portion of the Main Seam Ironstone which is of inferior quality and divides it into Top and Bottom blocks.
- HORSE HOLE:** Access below bank by means of which materials, horses or locomotives are slung below the cage for lowering into the mine.
- INBYE:** In the workings, or away from the entrance.
- IRONSTONE:** Rock containing ferruginous material ( $FE CO_3$ ) commonly a chamosite/siderite mudstone.
- JUMPER:** Hand drill with large head, driven by the miner with his hands avoiding the use of a hammer.
- KILN:** Furnace used for roasting (calcining) ore to reduce moisture content before transportation.
- LEADER:** Worker who leads horses in the haulage of tubs in the mine.
- LONGWALL:** Method of working which enables the whole of the ore to be removed in a long face without preliminary preparation by pillars.
- MAKE-UP:** Also known as consideration (see Appendix F), allowances given for bad working conditions.
- MINER:** Worker at the face 'in the stone', involved in drilling and firing shots.
- ON-SETTER:** Worker in charge of 'sets' of tubs at the shaft bottom.
- OVERMAN:** Mine official in charge of one or more 'districts' of the mine.
- PRICKER:** Rod of copper about 1 metre long and 3mm diameter with a ring at one end, used in placing the blasting cartridge in the drill hole. After stemming it is withdrawn to leave a hole by means of which the gunpowder is ignited using a squib.
- RATCHET DRILL:** Rotary drill worked by a handle working through a gearing.

## **Appendix E: A Glossary of Mining Terms (continued)**

**ROADWAY:** Main access tunnel in a mine usually 4 to 6 metres wide.

**ROBBING OF PILLARS:** Removal of material from the pillars.

**ROYALTY:** Ownership of minerals with the right to work them. Fee paid by others to work them.

**SCRAPER:** Copper rod 3mm diameter, 1 metre long, turned up flat at both ends, used to clean out dust from the drill hole.

**SET:** Train or run of tubs.

**SHAFT:** Vertical sinking from the surface.

**SINKERS:** Men working on shaft construction.

**SPRAG:** Metal bar thrown into the wheels of the tubs to act as a brake.

**SQUIB:** Straw about 100mm long filled with gunpowder, used to ignite the cartridge by firing it along the pricker hole.

**STEMMING:** Clay or similar material tamped into the drill hole to seal it.

**STOOK:** Remnants of a pillar after robbing, left to support roof for a short time prior to goafing.

**STOPPING:** Wall built to direct the flow of air or seal off old workings.

**STYTHE:** Carbon dioxide, often found in old workings.

**TIMBERING:** general term for shoring with baulks of timber.

**TUB:** Open topped box of wood or iron attached to a tram and used in conveying ore from the working place to the surface.

**UNDERMANAGER:** Mine official with responsibility for day-to-day working underground.

# DORMAN, LONG & Co., Ltd.

MINE

Pay ended

Pay No.

Name

Shifts

	No.	Tons	Cwts	Rate			
Ironstone or Daywork plus%	35	63	6	24.31	6.8	3	
Shale ....					5	3	
Sulphur or Dogger ....					11	2	
Threes & Fours ....					16	3	
Yards ....							
Heat ....							
Top & Bottom ....							
Water ....							
Consideration ....					12	6	
do. ....							
Cost of Living ....					18	5	
Flat Rate ...					110		
<b>TOTAL EARNINGS</b> ....					11	11	10
Less for							
Cash advanced ....							
Rent ....							
Explosives ....							
Coal, Firewood & Manure...							
Fines or Damages ....							
Hospital ....							
N. & D. Relief Fund ....							
Checkweigh....							
Insurance (H. & Un.) ....							
General Purposes Fund ....							
Stores Sold ....							
Guardians ....							
Holiday Savings' ....							
Income Tax ....							
<b>NET WAGES £</b>							

PAY WEEK ENDING

No.

RECEIVED £

## Appendix F (continued)

On the previous page is a typical miner's wage-note. In this case it is for 1st April 1944 at the North Skelton mine of Dorman, Long and Co. Ltd. Two men, N. Broadley, the miner and his filler S. Johnson, were paid £11 11s 10d for six, eight hour shifts. This pay would have to be split between them. Their 'token' number placed on the tubs they filled was 35 and they filled 63 tons, 6 cwt. of ironstone and were given other payments for the removal of shale, sulphur or dogger and "consideration" for bad working conditions. Other wartime payments are also included. The only deduction made was 10s 5d (50.2p) for explosives; the possible deductions are listed on the wage-slip.

# Appendix G.

## Cleveland Ironstone Mines: Dates of Closing Down, Reopening, Abandonment, etc. from 1914 onwards

NOTE: All mines worked continuously from 1914 up to the first date of closure shown in the schedule, apart from Ayton Banks Mine which re-commenced on 11.1.1915.

Name of Mine	Date Closed	Date Reopened	Official Date of Abandonment
North Skelton	9. 4.1921	16. 4.1923	
	23. 2.1924	5. 1.1925	
(including Lumsey	8. 5.1926	11.12.1926	
after 27.11.54)	12.12.1938	14. 3.1939	
	17. 1.1964		
Lumsey	9. 4.1921	24. 3.1924	
(stone drawn at	8. 5.1926	11.12.1926	
North Skelton	15. 8.1931	18.12.1933	
from 27.11.1954)	17. 1.1964		
Kilton	9. 4.1921	9. 9.1922	
	- . 1.1924	- . 1.1927	
	21. 7.1928	27. 7.1929	
	21. 3.1930	2. 1.1940	
	2. 2.1963		
Lingdale	9. 4.1921	13.11.1922	
	8. 5.1926	11.12.1926	
	5. 9.1931	19. 8.1940	
	23. 2.2962		29.12.1962
Longacres	19. 7.1915	- . -.1933	
(stone drawn at	12.12.1938	14. 3.1939	
North Skelton	2.10.1943	27.11.1943	
1933-1944)	27.11.1954	Exhausted	
South Skelton	9. 4.1921	11.12.1922	
	15.12.1923	21. 1.1924	
	- .12.1925	10. 1.1927	
	9. 7.1927	29. 4.1929	
	4.10.1930	21. 9.1936	
	6. 8.1954	Abandoned	4. 8.1955
Eston(Upsall Pit)	16. 9.1949	Worked out.	
Skelton Park	8. 5.1926	11.12.1926	
	19. 2.1938	Worked out.	23. 4.1938
Skelton Shaft Main	(26. 3.1921	4.45.1936	
	( 1.10.1938	Worked out.	17.11.1938
Pecton	(11. 2.1922	8. 7.1922	
	(30. 6.1923		

# Appendix G (continued)

Name of Mine	Date Closed	Date Reopened	Official Date of Abandonment
Liverton (Later became part of Kilton - U/G connection made in 1958.)	19. 2.1921	Never reopened as a separate Mine.	-. 6.1923
Loftus	9. 4.1921 12.11.1932 20. 8.1938 27. 9.1958	16. 1.1922 18. 3.1933 18. 2.1939 Abandoned	
Grinkle	19. 2.1921 10. 9.1927 31. 5.1930	9. 4.1927 15. 6.1929 Never Reopened	
Boulby	9. 4.1921 14.11.1925 13. 8.1927	8.12.1923 19. 3.1927 Never Reopened	
Brotton	5. 2.1921	Exhausted	
Upleatham	7. 4.1923	Worked Out	
Stanghow (Margrove Park)	5. 2.1921	Never Reopened	
Roseberry	19. 2.1921 1. 4.1922 31. 5.1924	1.10.1921 10. 6.1922 Never Reopened	
Ayton	9. 4.1921 1. 4.1922 4. 7.1925 13. 8.1927 28. 7.1928	30. 7.1921 8. 7.1922 17. 1.1927 21. 4.1928 Never Reopened	
Ayton Banks	19. 1.1915	11. 1.1915 Never Reopened.	



**Table I. Respondents Interviewed During the Research, Summary of Basic Data**

Name	Age	Residence	Occ.	Status/Class	Comment
1 Walter 'Gadge' Jackson	75	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	Also Institute Care-taker. North Terrace Resident
2 Billy Hutchcraft	66	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	Also periods of farm working and ICI
3 Harry 'Pomper' Teasdale	75	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	Senior figure in pigeon racing, previously in football
4 John Wynn	67	Skelton Green	Miner	Miner/working class	Married to Lingdale woman, worked at Peases
5 John 'Doddler' Tate	67	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	
6 Wilf Holmes	71	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	
7 Arthur Robinson	68	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	Finished working life in steelworks on Teesside
8 George 'Togy' Winters	75	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	
9 Albert Taylor	71	Lingdale	Miner/Office Worker	Office worker/'Labour Aristocracy'	Office worker after early injury. Well known to management
10 William Ackerley	83	Lingdale	Surface Worker	'Labour Aristocracy'	Stanghow Rd. Res. Stanghow Rd. Res., Ex-Special Constable
11 Ernest Bell	84	Lingdale	Miner	Miner/working class	Finished working life at Foundry on Teesside
12 Fred 'Tal' Clayton	89	Marske	Cashier (mine)	'Labour Aristocracy'	Institute Secretary, Agent for Bank. Lived in Lingdale for large part of working life. Notes only.
13 Alan Thompson	54	Lingdale	Steel-worker	'Younger Generation/working class	Always worked outside village. Father was Mine Deputy. Family links with Co-op.
14 Andrew Hope	70	Brotton	Mine Manager	Manager	Local Man. Managed both at Kilton and North Skelton
15 Jack Ash	61	Charltons	Mine Manager	Manager	Local Man, managed at Peases, Kilton and North Skelton
16 Edward Firbank	72	Guisborough	Company Secretary	Management	Last and only surviving secretary to Cleveland Mineowners Association

Table I Continued

Name	Age	Residence	Occ.	Status/Class	Comment
17 Ethel Clark	73	Great Ayton	School Teacher	Shopkeeper/Landlord	Daughter of Tom Clark, Shopkeeper and Landlord Leading Wesleyan, Cons. Notes only
18 Ena Brown	71	Skelton	Shopkeeper	Shopkeeper	Daughter of Sam Brown, Shopkeeper Leading Primitive Meth., Liberal
19 Doris Evans	58	Lingdale	Housewife	Working class	Sec. of Congregational Church, miner's daughter
20 Mary Waters	75	Lingdale	Housewife	Working class	Miner's daughter, Congregational Church member
21 Olive Malton	65	Lingdale	School teacher	'Top-End' i.e. petite-bourgeoisie	Parents schoolteachers, links to shop-owners/landlords. Primitive Methodist
22 Edna Harrison	68	Lingdale	Housewife	'Top-End' i.e. petite-bourgeoisie	Wife of Office Manager. Congregational Church. Conservative
23 Jane Gill	72	Lingdale	Housewife	'Labour Aristocracy'	Wife of skilled surface worker. Primitive Meth. Conservative. Now deceased.
24 Joan Hewison	68	Lingdale	Housewife	Working class	Husband always worked outside Lingdale. Moorcock Row Resident
25 Bill Ash	55	Skelton	Checkweighman	'Labour Aristocracy'	Brother to Mine Manager. Worked mostly at Peases. Notes only
26 Alf 'Cuddy' Wood	71	Margrove Park	Miner	Miner/working class	Worked at Peases and ICI
27 Ken 'Sinker' Beckley	62	Margrove Park	Miner	Miner/working class	Born and lived most of life in Lingdale. Now Deceased.
28 Jack Cuthbert	75	Skelton	Miner	Miner/working class	Father a disabled miner and Institute caretaker
29 Bill Dewing	68	Margrove Park	Miner	Miner/working class	
30 Harry Johnson	73	Skelton	Miner	Miner/working class	
31 David Wright	69	Skelton	Miner	Miner/working class	

N.B. All names are pseudonyms.

**Table II. Major Building Phases in Lingdale**

Phase	Construction, Ownership and Control	Date
Phase I	Local Landowners, using outside capital when necessary, engage builders and construct housing. Housing rented to incoming workers, some sold to absentee landlords. Mineowners build housing for key workers. First Institute, Primitive and Wesleyan Chapels built. Lingdale Tavern built by John Snowden. Congregational Church built.	1870
Phase II	Local shopkeepers buy up houses cheaply and sell some when economic conditions improve, retaining the bulk of their purchases to provide income by renting to others. Congregational Church Manse built, New Institute built and Church of England Mission opened. Some mineworkers buy houses during times when cheap housing was available.	1890
Phase III	Economic depression brings changes in ownership patterns. A transfer of housing between shopkeepers but also more opportunities taken by individuals to obtain houses. Peases sell off some of their housing.	1930
Phase IV	Gradual fragmentation of shopkeepers' housing investments as they sell to individuals. Small council estate is built and in 1960's major development of modern private housing. Primitive Methodist Chapel and Miners' Institute close.	1950
Phase V	Major demolition programme gets underway, privately rented housing replaced by council housing. Wesleyan Chapel closed and demolished. Local and central government finance for Village Hall. Old school closed and new primary school built.	1970
		Present

**Table III. Output of Ironstone: All Cleveland Mines (1854-1964)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tons</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Tons</b>
1854	650,000	1906	6,102,223
1855	970,300	1907	6,240,103
1856	1,246,612	1908	6,072,933
1857	1,414,155	1909	6,191,172
1858	1,367,395	1910	6,152,823
1859	1,520,342	1911	6,049,815
1860	1,471,319	1912	5,158,440
1861	1,242,514	(National Coal Strike 5 weeks)	
1862	1,689,966	1913	6,010,834
1863	2,078,806	1914	5,653,870
1864	2,401,890	1915	4,797,090
1865	2,762,359	1916	4,333,297
1866	2,809,061	1917	4,832,145
1867	2,739,039	1918	4,567,963
1868	2,785,307	1919	3,718,028
1869	3,094,678	1920	3,717,886
1870	4,072,888	1921	1,003,949
1871	4,581,901	(National Coal Strike 3 Months)	
1872	4,974,950	1922	1,169,759
1873	5,435,233	1923	2,079,968
1874	5,428,497	1924	2,234,447
1875	6,085,541	1925	2,284,186
1876	6,564,101	1926	976,562
1877	6,289,745	(General Strike - 1 week)	
1878	5,316,477	(Coal Stoppage 7 months)	
1879	4,714,535	1927	2,529,894
(Durham Strike 6 weeks)		1928	2,272,124
1880	6,441,783	1929	2,673,903
1881	6,474,464	1930	2,167,905
1882	6,326,314	1931	1,496,746
1883	6,756,055	1932	1,078,810
1884	6,052,608	1933	1,007,593
1885	5,932,244	1934	1,636,476
1886	5,370,279	1935	1,633,374
1887	4,980,421	1936	1,819,600
1888	5,395,942	1937	2,027,460
1889	5,657,118	1938	1,506,815
1890	5,617,573	1939	1,543,829
1891	5,128,303	1940	1,905,544
1892	3,411,400	1941	1,912,595
(Durham Strike 3 months)		1942	1,848,386
1893	4,625,520	1943	1,747,200
1894	5,048,966	1944	1,498,375
1895	5,285,617	1945	1,196,612
1896	5,678,368	1946	932,735
1897	5,679,153	1947	872,673
1898	5,730,413	1948	1,041,315
1899	5,612,742	1949	1,027,905
1900	5,493,733	1950	1,019,502
1901	5,100,823	1951	1,075,472
1902	5,396,670	1952	1,247,564
1903	5,668,296	1953	1,219,592
1904	5,719,607	1954	817,194
1905	5,934,283	1955	614,675

**Table III. Output of Ironstone: All Cleveland Mines (1854-1964) Con't.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tons</b>
1956	581,285
1957	556,691
1958	558,774
1959	418,181
1960	462,889
1961	443,689
1962	259,475
1963	140,988
1964	<u>783</u>

1854 to 1964                      369,732,294

Add estimated tonnage during the 4 years 1850,1851,1852 and 1853 at say 1,300,000 tons gives the total ironstone worked since the discovery of the main seam at Eston, 371,000,000 tons.

Table IV. Output of Ironstone: Lingdale Mine (1877-1962)

Year	Output	Year	Output	Year	Output
1877	19,960	1910	- ?	1940	29,465
8	82,334	1	- ?	1	99,215
9	65,191	2	- ?	2	106,889
1880	98,351	3	- ?	3	105,397
1	118,135	4	385,042	4	102,891
2	-	5	306,376	5	80,936
3	126,767	6	265,346	6	67,095
4	95,072	7	276,813	7	65,599
5	95,303	8	134,917	8	88,148
6	82,661	9	184,882	9	90,538
7	69,925	1920	237,115	1950	86,210
8	73,447	1	47,760	1	82,002
9	91,167	2	16,245	2	107,252
1890	111,236	3	131,213	3	133,695
1	96,002	4	194,651	4	123,699
2	42,098	5	179,837	5	123,184
3	- ?	6	97,546	6	116,723
4	- ?	7	267,136	7	125,161
5	94,757	8	266,843	8	145,725
6	130,951	9	244,335	9	126,094
7	125,072	1930	278,313	1960	147,504
8	96,115	1	43,958	1	143,537
9	89,090	2	idle	2	21,699
1900	65,375	3	"		
1	51,794	4	"		
2	71,355	5	"		
3	157,782	6	"		
4	161,321	7	"		
5	168,820	8	"		
6	184,597	9	"		
7	218,636				
8	236,032				
9	- ?				

1892 - Idle - 1 week - Durham Coal Strike

1920/21 - Coal Strike

1922 - Idle - 45 weeks

1926 - General Strike

1931 - Idle - 17 weeks

1940 - Idle - 34 weeks

Lingdale Mine closed down permanently on 23 February 1962. Estimated stone remaining unworked at time of closure: 8,348,000 tons.

Table V. 1881 Census: Lingdale - Birthplace of Population

Birthplace	Number	%
Yorkshire	1197	66.28
Cornwall	120	6.64
Durham	94	5.20
Lincolnshire	85	4.71
Norfolk	68	3.76
Devon	59	3.27
Northamptonshire	23	1.27
Lancashire	20	1.11
Essex	18	1.00
London	13	0.72
Somerset	12	0.66
Derbyshire	11	0.61
Scotland	11	0.61
Cumberland	10	0.55
Suffolk	10	0.55
Cambridgeshire	9	0.50
Northumberland	9	0.50
Rutland	9	0.50
Warwickshire	9	0.50
Shropshire	8	0.44
Berkshire	7	0.39
Staffordshire	7	0.39
Surrey	7	0.39
Huntingdonshire	6	0.33
Wales	6	0.33
Dorset	5	0.28
Kent	5	0.28
Leicestershire	5	0.28
Oxfordshire	5	0.28
Worcestershire	5	0.28
Gloucestershire	4	0.22
Westmoreland	4	0.22
U.S.A.	4	0.22
Herefordshire	2	0.11
Nottinghamshire	2	0.11
Cheshire	1	0.05
Bedfordshire	1	0.05
Buckinghamshire	1	0.05
Glamorgan	1	0.05
Hertfordshire	1	0.05
Ireland	1	0.05
Others*	8	0.44
Total	1806**	

\*Illegible or Don't Know

\*\* This is 144 less than the total recorded for the ward in the 1881 census, as the hamlet of Stanghow was included in that total but has been excluded from this table.

**Table VI: Estimates of Union Membership: Lingdale Lodge**

DATE	UNION MEMBERSHIP	TOTAL WORKFORCE*
1876	43	70
1877	40	100
1897**	36	120
1898	29	100
1899	49	100
1900	50	100
1901	28	80
1902	23	80
1903	47	100
1904	44	120
1905	34	120
1906	43	150
1907	65	287

\*\* No data are available for 1878-1896.

\* In the absence of other than fragmentary data on the total numbers employed, very approximate estimates have been made based on the Lingdale mine's output. Other references to the total numbers employed give the following:

	TOTAL WORKFORCE
1938	6
1948	189
1954	170
1962	35



**Table VII: General Election Results, Cleveland Constituency, (1918-1935)**

December 1918:	<u>Sir Park Goff (Con)</u>	8,701	66.2% Turnout
	*Harry Dack (Lab)	8,610	
	Sir Herbert Samuel (Lib)	7,087	
November 1922:	<u>Sir Park Goff (Con)</u>	13,369	82.4% Turnout
	Charles Starmer (Lib)	11,668	
	Harry Dack (Lab)	10,483	
March 1923:	<u>Charles Starmer (Lib)</u>	13,326	80.4% Turnout
	Sir Park Goff (Con)	11,855	
	Robert Dennison (Lab)	9,683	
October 1924:	<u>Sir Park Goff (Con)</u>	16,578	86.3% Turnout
	**William Mansfield (Lab)	11,153	
	Charles Starmer (Lib)	10,260	
May 1929:	<u>William Mansfield (Lab)</u>	16,938	84.3% Turnout
	Sir Park Goff (Con)	15,255	
	Charles Starmer (Lib)	14,938	
October 1931:	<u>Commander Bower (Con)</u>	20,607	85.9% Turnout
	William Mansfield (Lab)	20,069	
September 1935:	<u>Commander Bower (Con)</u>	26,508	81.2% Turnout
	William Mansfield (Lab)	23,774	

\*President and agent of the Cleveland Miners' Association

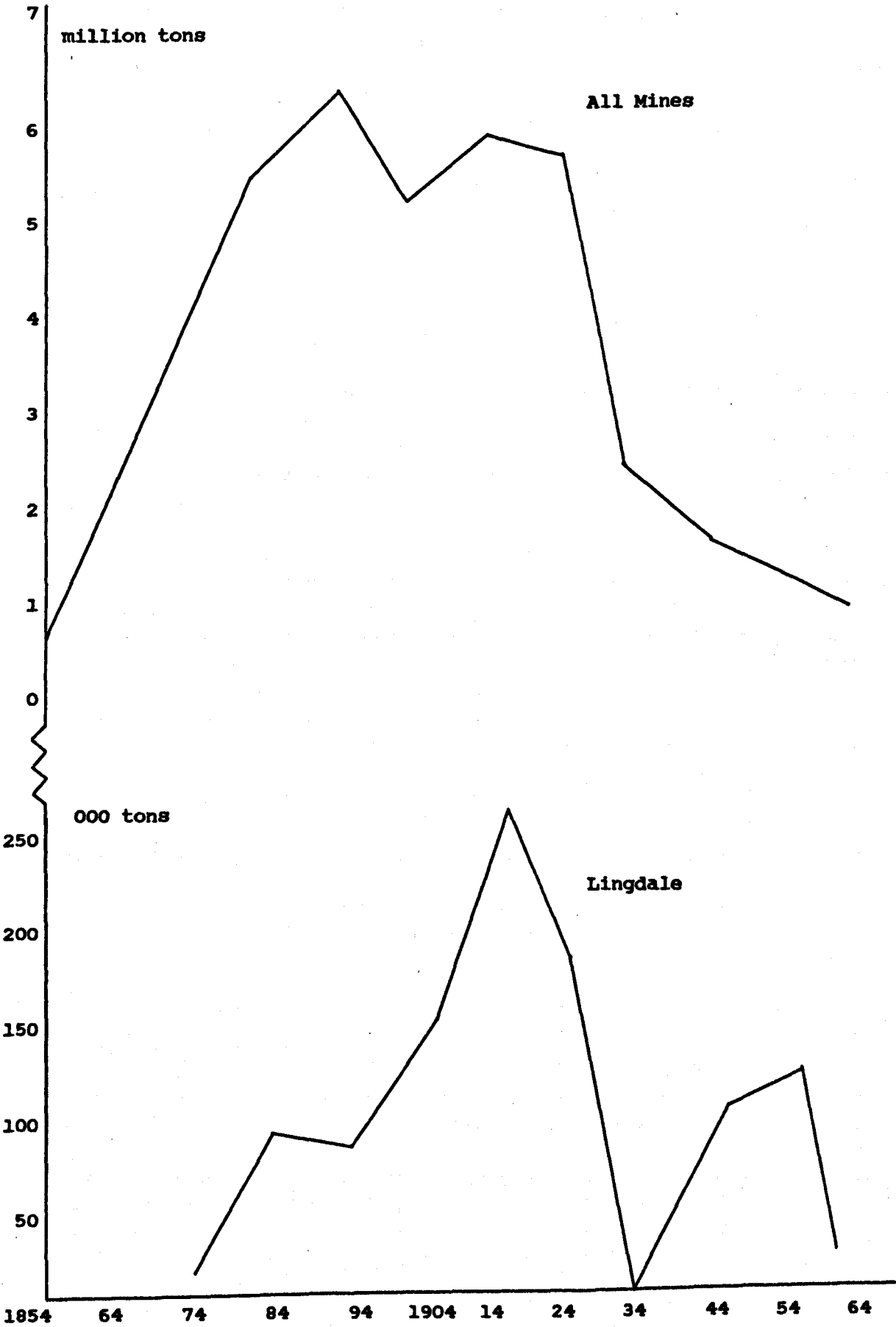
\*\* General Secretary of the Cleveland Miners' Association

**Table VIII: Population Totals, Lingdale 1861-1981**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Population</b>
1861	1,034*
1871	2,561*
1881	7,820* (1,950)
1891	6,382*
1901	2,156
1911	2,788
1921	2,577
1931	2,291
1951	1,954
1961	1,659
1971	1,727

\*Totals for the whole parish of Skelton, no separate totals for Lingdale available, but the total of 1,950 for 1881 has been obtained from enumerator's notebooks.

Diagram I: Graph showing output of Lingdale Mine compared to total output of all Cleveland Mines (1854-1964)



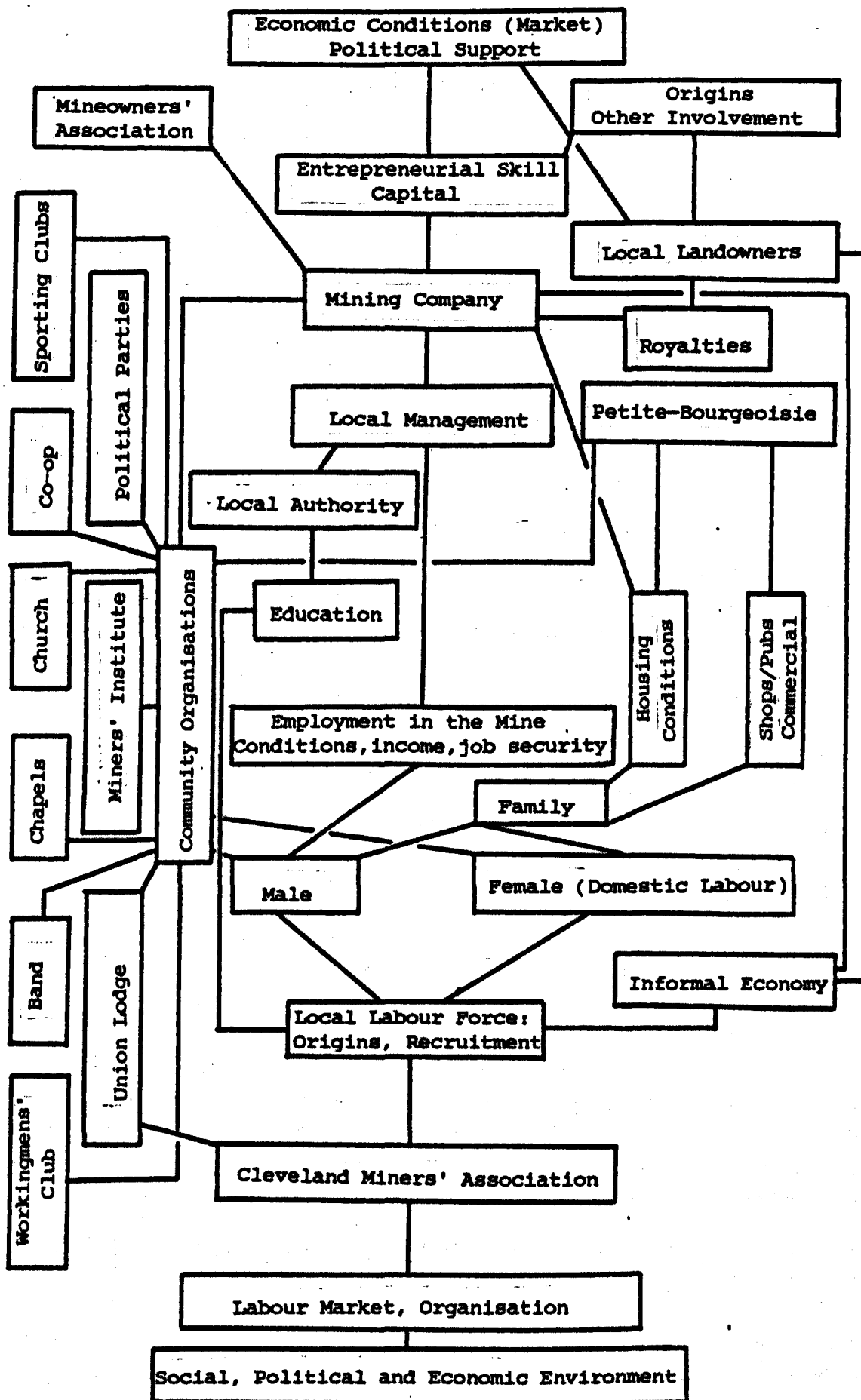
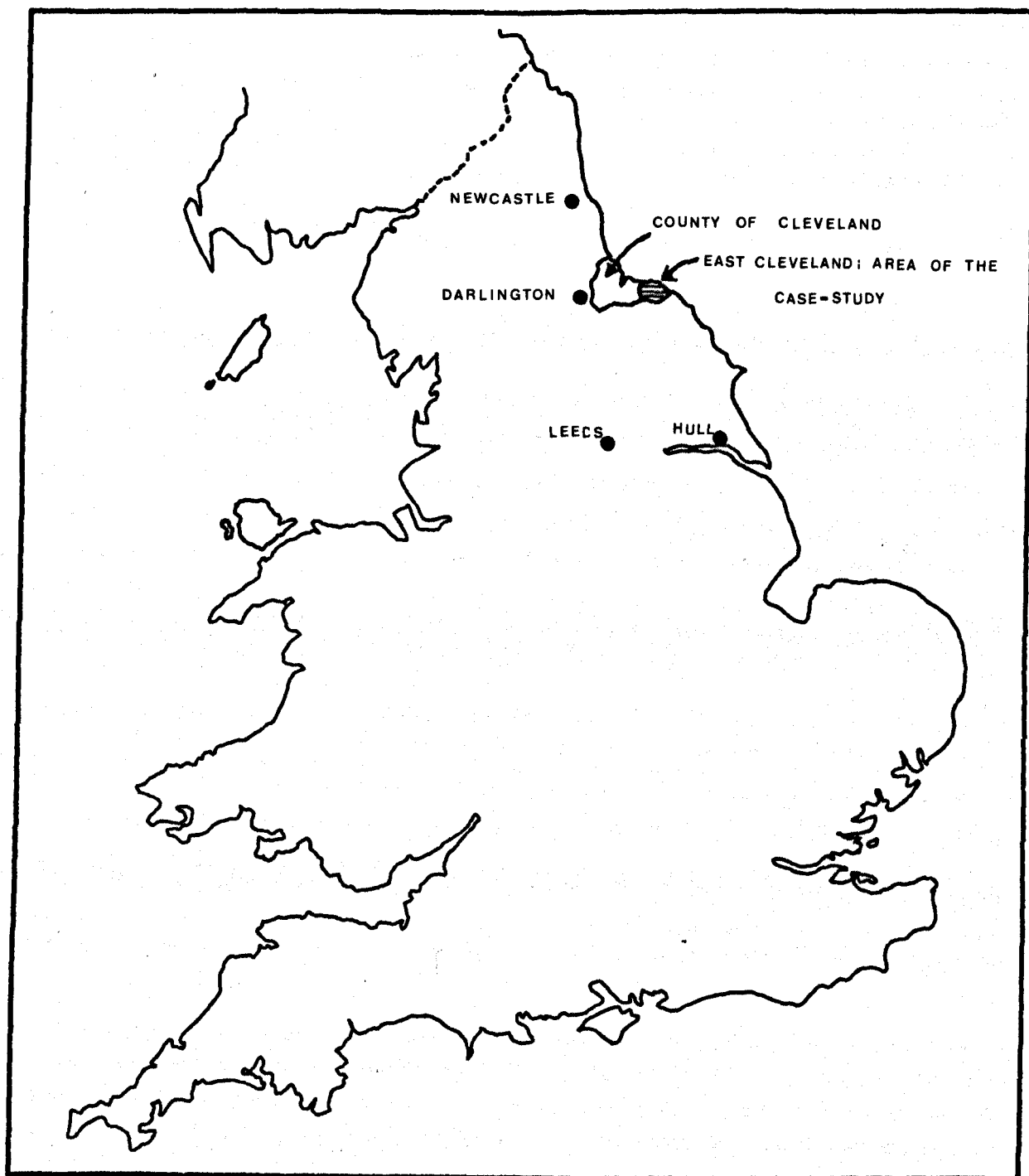


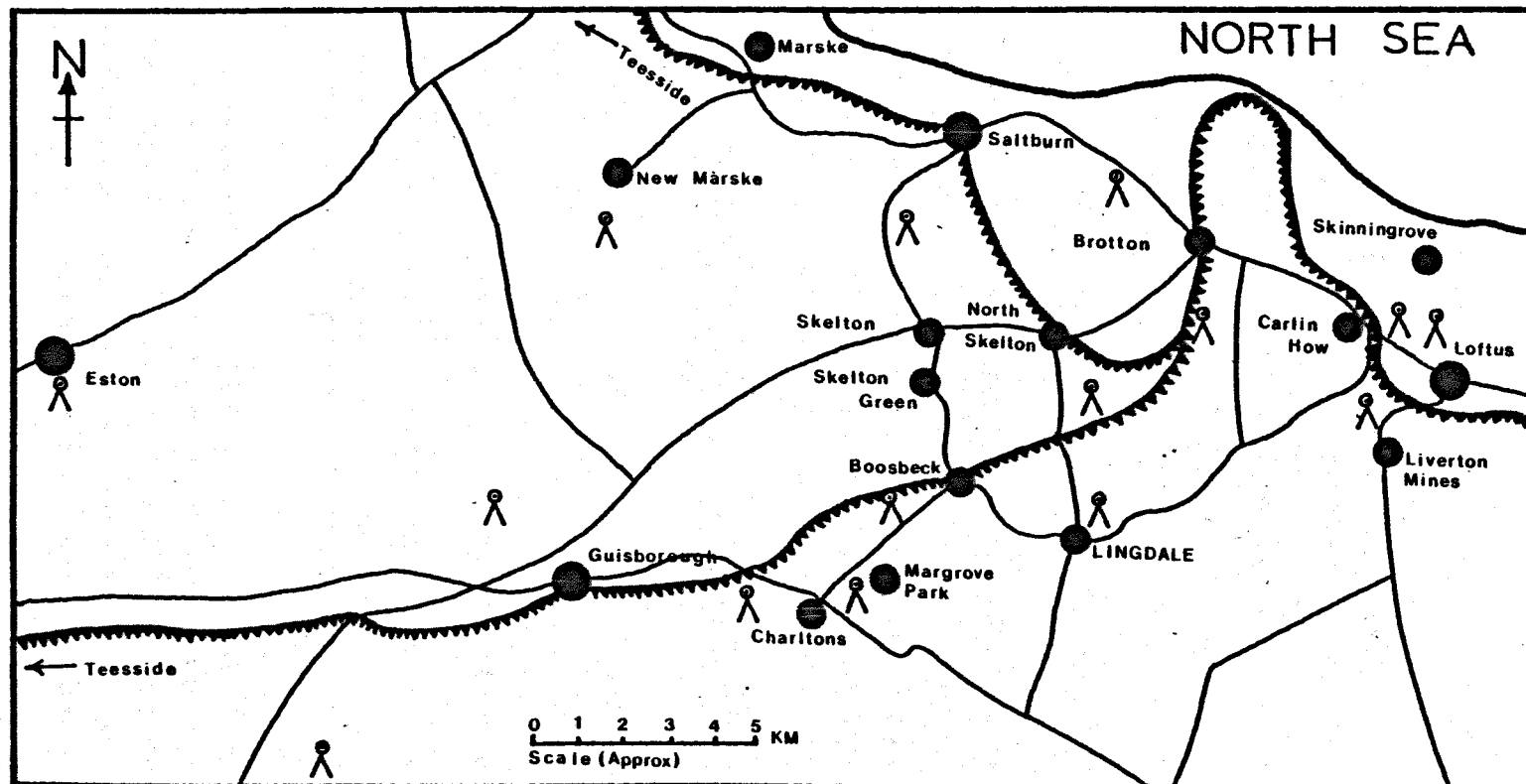
Diagram II: An Inventory of Lingdale's Social and Institutional Structure



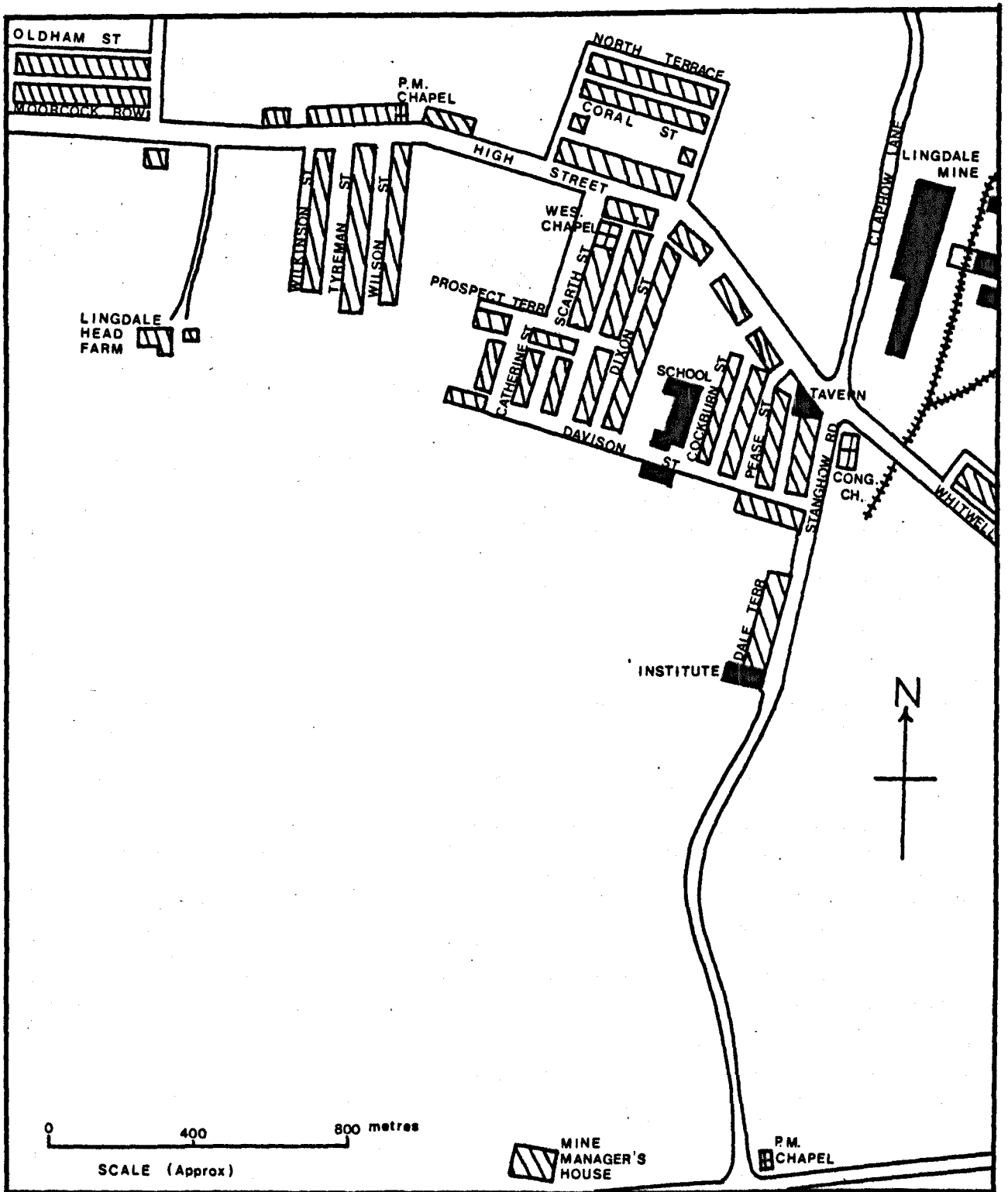
MAP A ; Location of Study Area

## KEY

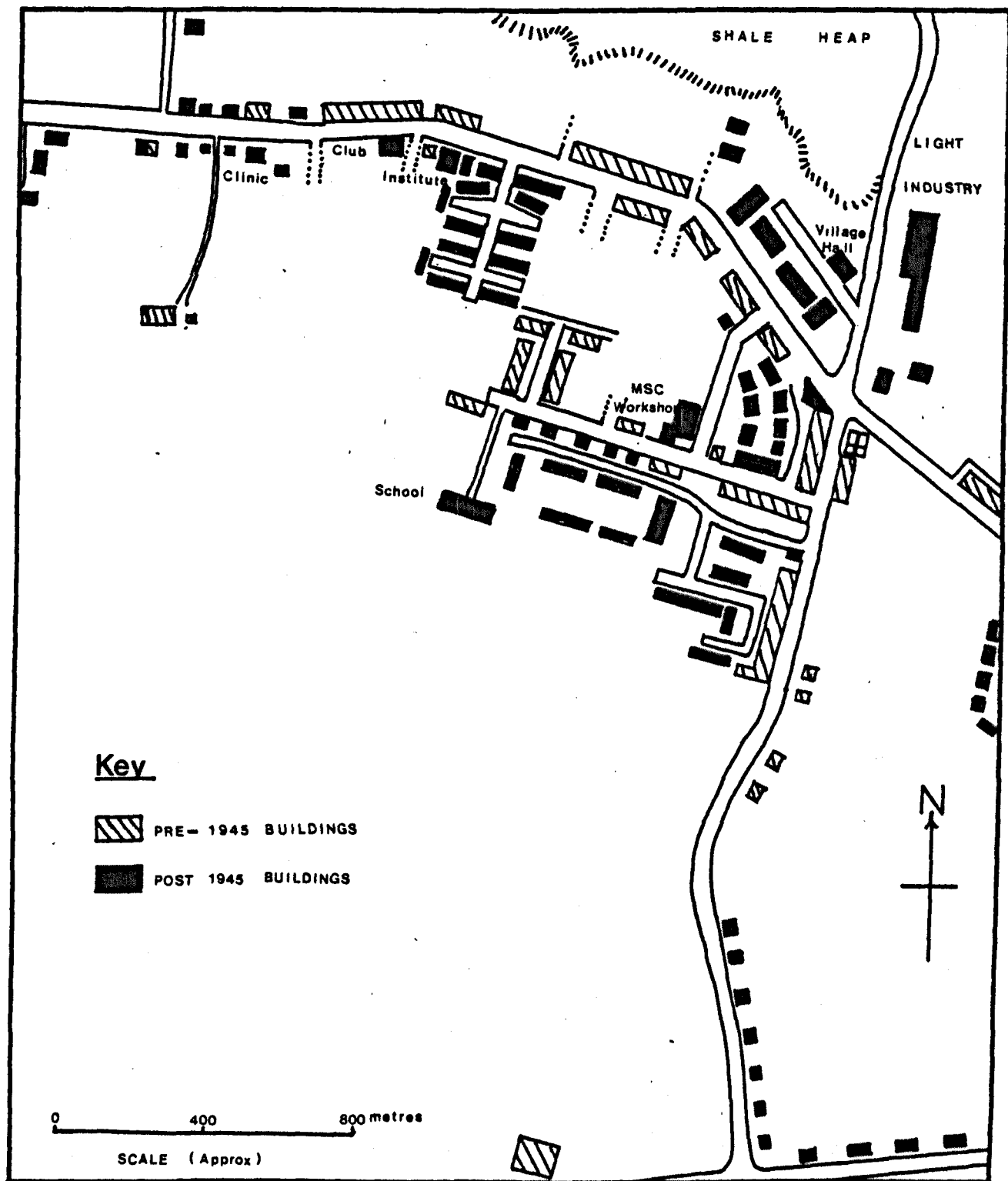
- COMMUNITIES
- ⋈ PRINCIPAL MINE SITES
- ROADS
- ⋈ RAILWAYS



MAP B ; East Cleveland Mining Communities c. 1945



MAP C; Lingdale c.1898



MAP D ; Lingdale 1984



## **Plates**

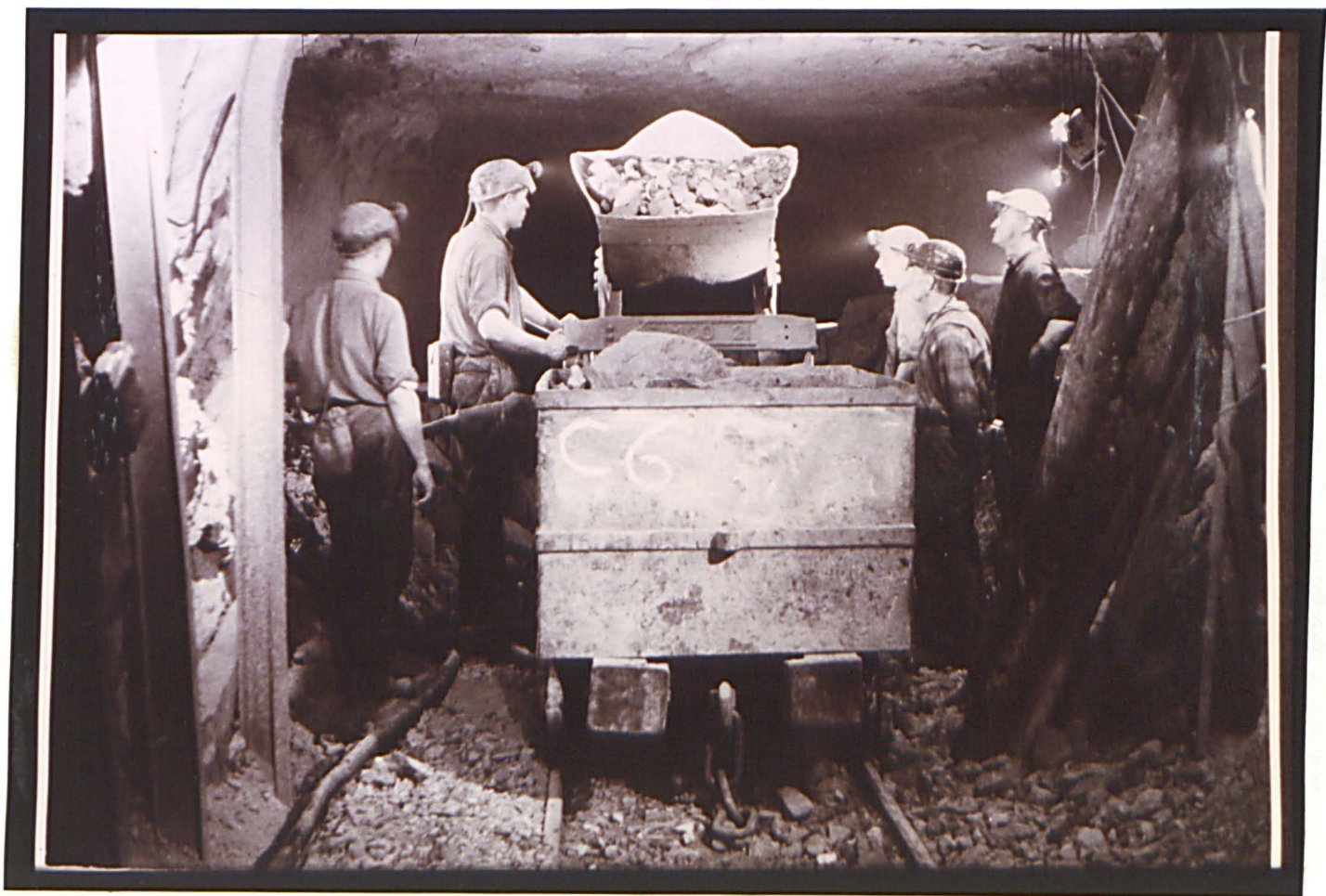
1. Stanghow Road, Lingdale c.1900
2. Overman, Miner and Filler with Horse Leader in the background c.1918
3. Drilling Team, Lingdale Mine c.1958.
4. Automatic Loading, Lingdale Mine c.1958
5. Shale Picking Belt, Lingdale Mine.
6. Lingdale High Street, Springfield c.1900.
7. Lingdale Silver Band.
8. The Primitive Methodist Choir.

























## Bibliography

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. and Turner, B.S., 1980, The Dominant Ideology Thesis, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Abrams, P., 1982, Historical Sociology, Shepton Mallet: Open Books
- Aldcroft, D.H., and Richardson, H.W., 1969, The British Economy, London: Macmillan.
- Allen, V.L., 1981, The Militancy of British Miners, Shipley: The Moor Press
- Amin, S., 1974, Accumulation on a World Scale, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Anderson, M., (1971), Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.
- Argyris, C., 1964, Personality and Organisation, New York: Harper & Row.
- Austrin, T. and Beynon, H., 1979, "Global Outpost: the working class experience of big business in the North East of England, 1964-79" Discussion document, Department of Sociology, University of Durham.
- Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M.S., 1970, Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baddeley, A., 1979, "The Limitations of Human Memory: Implications for the Design of Retrospective Surveys", in Moss, L. and Goldstein, H., (eds.), The Recall Method in Social Surveys, London: University of London Institute of Education.
- Bell, C. and Newby, H., 1971, Community Studies, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Bell, C. and Newby, H., 1977, Doing Sociological Research, London: Allen and Unwin.

- Bellamy, J., and Saville, J. (eds.), 1974, Directory of Labour Biography  
Vol. II, London: Macmillan.
- Bendix, R. and Lipset, S.M., 1953, "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes",  
in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S.M. (eds.), Class, Status and  
Power, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Benton, T., 1981, " 'Objective' Interests and the Sociology of Power,"  
Sociology, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 161-184.
- Berkhofer, R.F., 1969, A Behavioural Approach to Historical Analysis,  
New York: Free Press.
- Bertaux, D., (ed.) 1981, Biography and Society: the Life History Approach  
and Literature of a Humanistic Method, London: George Allen  
and Unwin.
- Bottomore, T., 1971, " Class Structure and Social Consciousness", in  
Meszaros, I. (ed.), Aspects of History and Class  
Consciousness, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- " 1978, "Marxism and Sociology", in Bottomore, T. and  
Nisbet, R., (eds.) A History of Sociological Analysis,  
London: Heinemann.
- Bowden, P.J., and Gibb, A.A., 1967, Economic Growth in the North East  
of England, Business Research Unit, University of Durham.
- Braverman, H., 1974, Labour and Monopoly Capital: the degradation of  
work in the twentieth century, New York: Monthly Review  
Press.
- Brown, R., Brannen, P., Cousins, J. and Samphier, M., 1973, "Leisure in  
work: the 'occupational culture' of shipbuilding workers", in  
Smith, M., Parker, S., and Smith, C., (eds.) Leisure and  
Society in Britain.

- Bullock, I., 1974, "The Origins of Economic Growth on Teesside", Northern History, Vol. 9, pp. 79-95.
- Bulmer's Directory of North Yorkshire, 1890.
- Bulmer, M., 1974, "Sociology and History: Some Recent Trends", Sociology, Vol.8, No. 1, pp. 138-151.
- " 1975, "Sociological Models of the Mining Community", The Sociological Review, 23, pp. 61-92.
- " 1978, Mining and Social Change, London: Croom Helm.
- Burke, P., 1980, Sociology and History, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Carney, J., Hudson, R. and Lewis, J. (eds.), 1980, Regions in Crisis: New Perspectives in European Regional Theory, London: Croom Helm.
- Carney, J., Hudson, R., Ive, G. and Lewis, J., 1974, "Regional Underdevelopment in Late Capitalism: a Study of the North East of England", Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the British Regional Science Association.
- Chapman, S.K., 1967, A Gazetteer of Mines of the Cleveland Ironstone Industry, Middlesbrough: Dorman Museum.
- Cicourel, A., 1972, Cognitive Sociology, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cleveland Constituency Labour Party Records, Cleveland County Archives, Middlesbrough.
- Cleveland Miners' Association Minutes, Cleveland County Archives, Middlesbrough.
- Cleveland Mineowners' Association Minutes, British Steel Corporation Records Office, Middlesbrough, Cleveland.
- Colls, R., 1977, The Collier's Rant, London: Croom Helm.

- Cooke, P., 1984, "Radical regions? Space, time and gender relations in Emilia, Provence and South Wales", in Rees, G., (ed.), Political Action and Social Identity: Class, Locality and Culture, London: Macmillan.
- Cornish, S., 1982, "The Structuring of the Informal Economy in East Cleveland Mining Communities", North East Local Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 39-57.
- " 1984a, "Powerlessness in peripheral regions: the case of the non-militant miner", in Rees, G., (ed.), Political Action and Social Identity: Class, Locality and Culture, London: Macmillan.
- " 1984b, "From paternalism to state management - the structuring of the informal economy", paper presented to the Annual B.S.A. Conference, Bradford, April 1984.
- Cousins, J., and Davies, R.L., 1974, "Working Class Incorporation - A historical approach with reference to the mining communities of S.E. Northumberland 1840-1890," in Parkin. F., (ed.), The Social Analysis of Class Structure, London: Tavistock
- Dahrendorf, R., 1959, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Damer, S., 1974, "Wine Alley: the sociology of a dreadful enclosure," Sociological Review, 22.2.
- Daunton, M.J., 1980, "Miner's houses, South Wales and the Great Northern Coalfield, 1880-1914", International Review of Social History, 25, 143-175.

- Dawe, A., 1979, "Theories of Social Action", in Bottomore, T., and Nisbet, R., (eds.), A History of Sociological Analysis, London: Heinemann.
- Dennis, N., Henriques, F. and Slaughter, C., 1956, Coal Is Our Life: a Study of a Yorkshire Mining Community, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- Ditton, J., 1979, "Some Light in the Grey Area", paper given to S.S.R.C. workshop on the informal economy.
- Ditton, J. and Brown, R., 1981, "Why don't they revolt? - 'Invisible income' as a neglected dimension of Runciman's relative deprivation thesis", British Journal of Sociology, 32:4, pp. 521-530.
- Douglass, D., 1977, "The Durham Pitman", in Samuel, R., (ed.), Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Edel, C.K., Edel, M., Fox, K., et al., 1978, "Uneven Regional Development: an introduction to this issue", Review of Radical Political Economics, 10:3.
- Emmanuel, A., 1972, Unequal Exchange, London: New Left Books.
- Engels, F., 1971, The Condition of the Working Class in England, Oxford: Basic Blackwell.
- Ennew, J., 1979, Oral Testimony as Text, paper presented to the B.S.A. conference on methodology, Lancaster, 3-5th January, 1979.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E., 1962, Social Anthropology and Other Essays, New York: Free Press.
- Foster, J., 1974, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution, London: Methuen.
- Foucault, M., 1979, Power, Truth, Strategy, Sydney: Feral Publications.

- Fox, R., 1978, The Tory Islanders: a People of the Celtic Fringe,  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Freire, P., 1972, Cultural Action for Freedom, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Gaventa, J., 1980, Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gershuny, J., 1978, After Industrial Society, London: Macmillan.
- 1979a, "The informal economy in the developmental process",  
Science Policy Research Unit Paper, University of Sussex.
- 1979b, "The informal economy: its role in post-industrial  
society", Futures, 12.
- Gibbs, D., Edwards, T. and Thwaites, A., 1982, "The Diffusion of New  
Technology and the Northern Region", Northern Economic  
Review, Winter 1982, No. 5, pp. 22-28.
- Giddens, A., 1973, The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies,  
London: Hutchinson.
- " 1979, Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure  
and Contradiction in Social Analysis, London: Macmillan.
- " 1980, The Class Structure of Advanced Societies, 2nd Edition,  
London: Hutchinson.
- " 1981, A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism,  
Vol.I., Power, Property and the State, London: Macmillan.
- Gittins, D., 1979, "Oral History, Reliability and Recollection", in Moss,  
L. and Goldstein, H., (eds.), The Recall Method in Social  
Surveys, London: University of London Institute of Education.
- Glaser, B., and Strauss, A., 1967, The Discovery of Grounded Theory,  
Chicago: Aldine.
- Gouldner, A., 1954, Wildcat Strike: a Study in Worker-Management  
Relationships, Antioch: Antioch Press.

- " 1968, "The Sociologist as Partisan", American Sociologist, May 1968.
- Gregory, D. and Urry, J., (eds.), (forthcoming), Social Relations and Spatial Structures, London: Macmillan.
- Gramsci, A., trans. by Lewis Marks, 1957, The Modern Prince and Other Writings, New York: International Publishers.
- Habermas, J., 1976, Legitimation Crisis, London: Heinemann.
- Haggstrom, K., 1965, "The Power of the Poor", in Ferman, L., Kornbuth, J., Haber (eds.), Poverty in America, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Harrison, J.K. and Harrison, A., 1980, "Saltburn-by-the-Sea: the Early Years of a Stockton and Darlington Railways Company Venture", Industrial Archaeology Review, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 135-159.
- Harrison, R., (ed.), 1978, Independent Collier: the coalminer as archetypical proletarian reconsidered, London: Harvester Press.
- Hay, C., 1980, "History, Sociology and Theory", Paper presented to the annual B.S.A. conference, April, 1980.
- Henry, S., 1981, "Perspectives and prospects on the informal economy", paper presented to the B.S.A. Urban Sociology Group, 15 May, 1981, Newcastle.
- Hindess, B., 1982, "Power, interests and the outcomes of struggles", Sociology, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 498-512.
- Hobsbawm, E., 1976, Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.



- Holbrook-Jones, M., 1982, Supremacy and Subordination of Labour: the Hierarchy of Work in the Early Labour Movement, London: Heinemann.
- Holloway, E.L. and Hughes, A., 1982, New Marske Looking Back, New Marske: A.Hughes.
- Homan, R., 1980, "The Ethics of Covert Methods", British Journal of Sociology, 31: 46-59.
- Isaac, J., 1982, "On Benton's 'Objective Interests and the Sociology of Power': a Critique", Sociology, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 440-45.
- Knights, D., and Willmott, H., 1982, "Power, values and relations, a comment on Benton", Sociology, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 578-86.
- Kornhauser, A., 1965, The Mental Health of the Industrial Worker, New York: John Wiley.
- Laite, J., (ed), 1982, Bibliographies on Local Labour Markets and the Informal Economy, London: S.S.R.C.
- Lamballe, L.J., 1969, "The origin of the Cleveland Ironstone Mines from the 1861 Census", Bulletin of the Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society, No. 7, pp 14-16.
- Lipset, S.M. and Hoftadter, R., 1968, Sociology and History: Methods, New York, Basic Books.
- Lockwood, D., 1966, "Sources of Variation in Working-Class Images of Society", Sociological Review, Vol. 14, No. 3, November pp. 249-67.
- Lukacs, G., 1923, History and Class Consciousness, English Trans. 1971, London: Merlin Press.
- Lukes, S., 1974, Power: a Radical View, London: Macmillan.
- " 1977, Essays in Social Theory, London: Macmillan.
- MacIntyre, S., 1980, Little Moscows, London: Croom Helm.

- MacKay, R.R., 1978, "Planning for balance, regional policy and regional employment: the U.K. experience", Discussion Paper No. 18, Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, Newcastle.
- Malizia, E., 1973, "Economic imperialism: an interpretation of Appalachian underdevelopment", Appalachian Journal, I, pp. 130-137.
- Mann, M., 1970, "The social cohesion of Liberal Democracy", American Sociological Review, 35: 423-39.
- " 1973, Consciousness and Action Among the Western Working Class, London: Macmillan.
- Marglin, S., 1974, "What do bosses do?", Review of Radical Political Economics, Summer 1974.
- Marx, K., 1854-6, The German Ideology, reprinted 1976 in Marx-Engels Collected Works, Vol. 5, London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- " 1847, The Poverty of Philosophy, reprinted in Marx-Engels Collected Works, Vol. 6, London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- " 1859, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, reprinted in Marx-Engels Collected Works, Vol. , London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Memmi, A., 1967, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Miliband, R., 1969, The State in Capitalist Society, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Mills C.W., 1956, The Sociological Imagination, New York: Oxford U.P.
- Mole, A., 1922, "The Cleveland Miner", c. 622.341 Middlesbrough Central Library, Reference section.
- Moser, C., and Kalton, G., (1971), Survey Methods in Social Investigation London: Heineman.
- Moore, R., 1974, Pit-Men, Preachers and Politics, London: Cambridge U.P.

- Mott, J., 1973, "Miners, Weavers and Pigeon Racing", in Smith, M., Parker, S., and Smith, C., (eds.), Leisure and Society in Britain,  
 Mueller, C., 1973, The Politics of Communication: a study in the political sociology of language, socialization and legitimation,  
 New York: Oxford U.P.
- Newby, H., 1975, "The Deferential Dialectic", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 139-164.
- " 1977, The Deferential Worker, London: Allen Lane.
- Newby, H., Bell, C., Rose, D. and Saunders, P., 1978, Property, Paternalism and Power: Class and Control in Rural England,  
 London: Hutchinson.
- Nicholson, A., 1982, "The growth of trades unionism among the Cleveland ironstone miners 1850-1876", unpublished M.A. thesis,  
 Teesside Polytechnic.
- Norris, G.M., 1978, "Industrial Paternalist Capitalism and Local Labour Markets", Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 469-490.
- O'Neill, N., 1982, Fascism and the Working Class, Southall: Shakti Publications.
- Ossowski, S., 1963, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Pahl, R.E., 1980, "Employment, work and the domestic division of labour", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 4:1.
- Parkin, F., 1972, Class, Inequality and Political Order, London: Paladin.
- " 1979, The Marxist Theory of Class: a Bourgeois Critique,  
 London: Tavistock.
- Passerini, L., 1979, "Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism," History Workshop, No. 8.

Pease and Partners Company Records, Darlington Public Library, Darlington,  
Co. Durham.

Pirsig, R., 1974, Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance, London:  
Bodley Head.

Plummer, K., 1983, Documents of Life, an Introduction to the Problems and  
Literature of a Humanistic Method, London: George Allen  
and Unwin.

Roberts, D., 1979, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, London:  
Croom Helm.

Rootes, C.A., 1981, "The Dominant Ideology Thesis and Its Critics",  
Sociology, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 436-444.

Samuel, R., 1971, Village Life and Labour, London: Routledge and Kegan  
Paul.

Samuel, R. and Stedman-Jones, G., 1976, Sociology and History, History  
Workshop, Vol. 1, No. 2.

Saunders, P., 1979, Urban Politics: a sociological interpretation,  
Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Schwartz, H., and Jacobs, J., 1979, Qualitative Sociology, New York: Free  
Press.

Simon, R.M., 1980, "Localities, regions and social class", International  
Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 4, No. 1.

South, N., 1980, "The informal economy and local labour markets", in Laite,  
J., (ed.), Bibliographies on Local Labour Markets and the  
Informal Economy, London: S.S.R.C.

Thompson, E.P., 1963, The Making of the English Working Class, London:  
Victor Gollancz.

- " 1965, "Peculiarities of the English", in Miliband, R. and Saville, J., (eds), The Socialist Register, 1965, London: Merlin Press.
- " 1967, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism", Past and Present, 38, pp. 56-96.
- Thompson, P., 1973, "Problems of method in oral history", Journal of Oral History, 1:4, pp. 1-47.
- " 1975, The Edwardians: the remaking of British Society, London: Paladin.
- " 1978, The Voice of the Past, Oxford: Oxford U.P.
- " 1981, "Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change", in Bertaux, D. (ed.), Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences, (op.cit.).
- Tuffs, P., 1978, Lingdale Ironstone Mine, The Cleveland Industrial Archaeologist, No. 9, pp. 11-22.
- Urry, J., 1981a, "Deindustrialisation, households and forms of social conflict and struggle", Lancaster Regionalism Group, working paper no. 3.
- " 1981b, "Localities, regions and social class", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 5, No.4., pp. 455-475.
- " 1983, "Theoretical Realism, Space and Time", paper presented to the Annual B.S.A. Conference, Cardiff, April 1983.
- Wallerstein, I., 1976, The Modern World System, New York: Academic Press.
- Williams, R., 1973, The Country and the City, London: Oxford U.P.

Williamson, B., 1982, Class, Culture and Community: a Study of Social Change in Mining Through Biography, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul .

" 1982a, "Oral History, Dialogue or Technique", North East Local Studies, No. 1, pp. 7-20.