

Difficult Territory? The 1928 Middlesbrough West by-election

Writing following the death of Walter Trevelyan Thomson, long standing Member of Parliament for Middlesbrough West in February 1928, the *North-Eastern Daily Gazette* remarked that the 'inevitable by-election, the first three-way contest Middlesbrough West had seen since its formation in 1918, will provide the acid test' for all three of the major political parties.¹ The by-election offered all three parties - Liberal, Labour and Conservative - an opportunity. For the Liberal Party, it was an opportunity to re-assert its dominance in Middlesbrough following its humiliating loss of Middlesbrough East in 1924 to the Labour Party; for the Labour Party it provided a chance to consolidate its precarious hold on the town and replace the Liberals as the party of Middlesbrough, and for the Conservative Party, the by-election offered an opportunity to dislodge the Liberals and test the popularity of its government at the polls. This article will explore the opportunities the by-election posed to all three parties and locate them in the local and national context.

The local press played an integral role in forming the narrative, and championing one candidate over the others during the course of the by-election and will be examined here. The main local newspapers, led by the *Daily Gazette*, had been Liberal-supporting from their inception and strong advocates of local Liberalism and the local ironmaster elite who associated with this. However, this by-election saw anti-Socialism take precedence over all other considerations and caused much of the local press to make a decisive break with Liberalism in favour of the candidate - in the form of the Conservative standard-bearer - it deemed best placed to defeat the Labour Party. This article will look at the how the local press came to this decision - motivated by both national and local factors - and sought to lead Middlesbrough's voters away from voting Liberalism and towards voting on an anti-Socialist basis.

This article will also explore the role local identity and place-making played during the 1928 by-election; namely through the use of the 'ironmaster' legacy of leading industrialists such as Henry Bolckow and his successors. There were a number of advantages of having a local origin, especially one that was associated with Middlesbrough's industry. As Laura Beers has stated, local politics in industrial Teesside was dominated by industrialists who, through their steel mills gave employment and opportunity to the people.² However the power of these individuals, as Richard Lewis argued, came not just from their 'naked exercise of economic control', but also genuine popular support of the people who benefited from their employment.³ This popular support was helped by the civic role held by these individuals, but also the championship of the ironmaster class by the local press who ensured that they and their legacy continued to be held in high regard.⁴ Yet, as Asa Briggs has argued in his seminal piece, *Victorian Cities*, the close of the nineteenth century saw the phased 'withdrawal' of the ironmaster class from certain aspects of Middlesbrough's public sphere. This withdrawal was, as Tosh Warwick writes, a predominantly political one with the elites focusing more on civic

duties, but the age of the ironmasters was clearly beginning to wane.⁵ Only one candidate in this by-election, Stanley Sadler, had a local story, and this article will examine the way in which this story was applied to his campaign, used to draw contrasts against the other candidates, but also struggled as a narrative against the political evolution of Middlesbrough's working-class electorate.

An Ideal Local MP: the life and death of Trevelyan Thomson

A Middlesbrough mainstay for almost thirty years, Trevelyan Thomson's death left a hole in the civic and political life of the town. Born in 1875, Thomson came from a local 'ironmaster' family - joining his father's firm on Albert Road, after leaving school. A member of Middlesbrough Town Council from 1904, Thomson was also a keen advocate of sport and physical activity as a path to self-improvement, and patronized both the Middlesbrough Junior Football League, and the Middlesbrough Amateur Gymnasium Society.⁶ Thomson also co-founded Joe Walton's, a 'club for young men and boys' that provided gymnasium, and later swimming, facilities to the young men of Middlesbrough.⁷ If, as Briggs has argued, the twentieth century saw a marked decline in the ironmaster participation in Middlesbrough, Thomson's role in the town's civic life was certainly an exception to this.

Thomson was raised a Quaker but rejected the pacifist stance of the Society of Friends' at the outbreak of the Great War, joining a labour battalion and reaching the rank of Sergeant - standing in the 1918 General Election while he was still in uniform.⁸ Thomson was a recipient of the so-called 'Coupon', the result of a coalition agreement between Lloyd George's Liberal faction and the Conservative Party, but like his fellow Yorkshire Liberals, Thomson rejected it. Thomson did so for two reasons: he opposed Lloyd George, and was associated with the Asquith faction, and he was independently minded as a politician, declaring that he despite being a Liberal, he would 'not be bound' to the Party through the Coupon in case he disagreed with their policy.⁹ Thomson would defeat his single opponent by over 5,000 votes, going on to defend his seat - again against a single opponent each time - in 1922 and 1923. By 1924, Thomson's hold on Middlesbrough West was strong - especially in comparison to the Middlesbrough East which had switched hands three times between 1918 and 1924 - that he faced was re-elected unopposed in 1924.¹⁰ Under Thomson's stewardship, as Trevor Wilson writes, Middlesbrough was 'one of six constituencies in England where an outstanding candidate, or a combination of candidate and Liberal tradition, enabled the party to survive without Conservative aid' since 1918.¹¹ His death could not have come at a more precarious time for the Liberal Party.

An outpouring of public grief, led by the local press, followed the announcement of Thomson's death in early February 1928. The *Gazette* declared him as 'a man of courage and sincerity of purpose', while the *Northern Echo* announced that Middlesbrough has 'lost one of its most public-spirited and devoted citizens'.¹² It was clear that Thomson's service to his town as a politician, an industrialist, and a civic leader, has left a lasting impression on Middlesbrough, and this posed something of dilemma for the Liberal Party who now had to find a candidate for the upcoming by-election. A number of names were suggested in the pages of the local

press including the former Member of Parliament's for Cleveland and Middlesbrough East, Herbert Samuel and Penry Williams, local councillor, J. O'Neill, and even Thomson's widow Hilda.¹³ In the midst of this rumour mill only the *Northern Echo* correctly named the eventual choice - although they incorrectly listed his forename as Ellis - Frank Kingsley Griffith, a 'prominent young Liberal of London'.¹⁴ Griffith, a virtual unknown to the area and with no links to Middlesbrough was a risky choice for the Liberals. While Griffith 'trusted that he would be able to follow his [Thomson] worthy example', it was clear that he had 'neither the appeal nor the standing of the late member' and was at an immediate disadvantage.¹⁵ The Liberal Party had picked a candidate who lacked the local appeal and image of Thomson, and in doing so allowed their Conservative opponent - Stanley Sadler - a local industrialist, and son of the late Mayor and Member of Parliament for Middlesbrough, Samuel Sadler, to appropriate Thomson's image as a politician rooted in Middlesbrough's communities, to his own benefit.

Appealing to the Ironmaster Legacy

While the new generation of ironmasters withdrew from some aspects of civic life, it was clear that the ironmaster legacy continued to have a lasting effect on Middlesbrough's collective memory. It was Stanley Sadler, son of a Middlesbrough industrialist, who sought to use the ironmaster image during the 1928 by-election.

Despite being a longstanding member of Middlesbrough Town Council - including a two-term stint as Mayor - and standing to be Middlesbrough West's next Member of Parliament, Sadler's campaign was built on his image as a businessman. In doing this, Sadler was emulating the campaigns of past ironmasters such as Henry Bolckow, Middlesbrough's first Member of Parliament. Representing the Liberal Party, Asa Briggs writes that Bolckow's Liberalism was 'the by-product of his of his business career' rather than any political theory.¹⁶ Bolckow and his successors entered politics from a business perspective and sought to carry out the role of Member of Parliament from this perspective - a *laissez faire* attitude of what was good for local industry being good for Middlesbrough. Sadler, managing director of Sadler and Co., held himself up as the successor to these men, portraying himself as the 'common sense' candidate whose platform derived from his business experience, rather than being a 'professional politician'.¹⁷ Declaring himself '100 per cent industrialist', he sought to immerse himself in the working lives of his electorate, announcing at a public meeting that he knew about their condition having 'done my bit of the 6 o'clock shifts in my time'.¹⁸ Clearly Sadler's strategy was to present himself as a continuation of Middlesbrough's ironmaster tradition, in the hope that the electors of Middlesbrough West would support him on this basis. This strategy also fitted into to the Conservative Party's national agenda and its promotion of its leader, Stanley Baldwin, as a man of sound business sense, who was above party politics. Like Sadler, Baldwin too was from a family of ironmasters and 'prided himself on being a practical man of business' who believed that his experiences in the workplace 'made him a better judge of opinion' than aristocratic Conservative colleagues or his Socialist and Liberal opponents.¹⁹ By declaring himself to take no notice of theorists or 'high falutin' notions' of his opponents Sadler, like Baldwin, was essentially arguing that he was a businessman first and a Conservative, second. In fact, Sadler's Conservatism was as ill-defined as Bolckow's

'rugged Liberalism', and used more as a vehicle in which to capture a core number of voters, than an overarching world-view.²⁰ In pursuing this line, Sadler was setting himself apart from his opponents, presenting himself as an extension of Middlesbrough's ironmaster heritage, and an apolitical businessman with an innate knowledge of local business that would benefit Middlesbrough far more than the theories of Socialists and Liberals.

The ironmaster image, however, was 'based on more than their local industrial role', but also the civic role they played in Middlesbrough's public sphere.²¹ Sadler, like Thomson, was one of the new generation of local industrialists who played an active role in Middlesbrough, not just as a leading politician, but also as a patron of youth and sporting groups.²² Sadler appealed to his extended local role, as well as a sense of sentimentality towards local dignitaries - predominantly Thomson himself, and his father Samuel Sadler, in his campaign.²³ Thomson's association with Sadler was used by the Conservative candidate to suggest that Thomson was in some way endorsing Sadler, primarily through the fact that Sadler was an executor of the late Member of Parliament's will.²⁴ As a theory, it was both crass and tenuous - especially in the context that, should Thomson had lived he would have contested the 1929 General Election against Sadler - and was dismissed by the *Northern Echo* as 'another damp squib'. Thomson's widow, Hilda, was also at pains to stress the tenuous nature of this claim.²⁵ This was but one example of Sadler appealing to people's sentimentality towards past ironmasters as a way to build his support, another was the use of Sadler's father's image to link Sadler junior to Middlesbrough's ironmaster legacy. The Sadler family's tradition of civic participation was declared by the *Tees-side and Stockton Herald* to be 'the greatest asset to Mr Stanley Sadler' - a view clearly accepted by Sadler and the local Conservative Association.²⁶ Sadler junior's adoption by the Conservatives was formally confirmed in the same room in which his father was endorsed as a candidate in 1900, and his mother was brought out to address crowds and public meetings.²⁷ These were important assets and were used to appeal to Middlesbrough's history and political tradition. Although some claims were weak, Sadler clearly had an advantage of his own family history, and he used this to his advantage - immersing himself in Middlesbrough's history in a way neither Liberal nor Labour opponents could.

A Middlesbrough Man for Middlesbrough?

Sadler also had the advantage of local identity over his opponents, being the only one of the three to have links to Middlesbrough - something which he and his backers in the local press used to promote his candidacy.²⁸ Like many local industrialists, Sadler did not live in Middlesbrough and was in fact a resident of Hummersknott, Darlington, but his lifelong association with Middlesbrough could not be denied.²⁹ Promoting Sadler's Middlesbrough links formed a core element in his campaign both nationally and locally. In an open letter to the electors of Middlesbrough West, Stanley Baldwin spoke of Sadler's 'special claim' on the town, while the *Tees-side and Stockton Herald* evoked the image of Thomson in its support of Sadler, appealing to the tradition of Middlesbrough West voters who had 'solidly returned a Middlesbrough man for Middlesbrough', and urging the local electorate to continue this tradition by giving their support to Sadler.³⁰ In highlighting Sadler's local roots, the

Conservative candidate was also drawing a contrast with his opponents, and therefore allowed public scrutiny to focus on the Liberal and Labour candidates.

While the Labour candidate, A.R. Ellis, did find himself the subject of some discussion around his lack of local identity - with some going so far as to question his Britishness, on the basis of his first name being Alonza - it was the Liberal candidate, Kingsley Griffith, who encountered the most scrutiny.³¹ Almost immediately after his selection, Griffith had to counter suggestions that as an outsider to Middlesbrough, he was unversed in Middlesbrough's issues. Griffith had, he declared to the press, a 'Middlesbrough policy, wherever my birthplace happens to be', and he argued that while a purely local candidate could be an asset, it could also be restrictive, suggesting that without non-local Members of Parliaments, Labour would be without its first Prime Minister, and the Conservative Party would be without its current Chancellor of the Exchequer.³² Notwithstanding Griffith's defence of his own candidature, the Liberal Party's choice for the by-election was a risky one. The last time the Liberal's picked someone with no links to Middlesbrough, W.R. Robson in 1892, the Party found itself being defeated by independent labour candidate, J.H. Wilson - himself no local, but one who had successfully tapped into local feeling during that campaign.³³ This defeat had a clear lasting impact on the local Liberal Party, and it fielded former Member of Parliament for Middlesbrough East, Penry Williams, to counter any suggestion that Griffith had been picked by Party leaders in London.³⁴ Suggestions that Griffith was a complete unknown to the area were somewhat disingenuous, as prior to his adoption for Middlesbrough West he was due to contest the neighbouring Stockton-on-Tees constituency at the next general election.³⁵ Regardless of this, Griffith's lack of local roots played into Sadler's attempts to portray himself as the only candidate with a Middlesbrough connection, but allowed him to present Griffith's candidature as an imposition from London. Middlesbrough, Sadler declared, was 'not willing to have anyone foisted upon it', and by implication should support him as the only local candidate.³⁶

Liberal, Conservative and Labour opportunities

'All three parties', the *Daily Gazette* wrote, were 'enthusiastic' about the upcoming by-election, and they had reason to be.³⁷ The Middlesbrough West by-election presented each major political party with different opportunities. For the Liberals, the by-election was a test of their continuing relevance as a political party. The Party had suffered a decline in its fortune since the fall of Asquith as Prime Minister in 1916, and the splitting of the Liberals into pro-Asquith and pro-Lloyd George groupings.³⁸ Although by 1928 the Liberal Party appeared to be united, this split had caused a vacuum within the political system to the benefit of both the Conservative and Labour parties - both vying, in different ways, to be the heir of the Liberal Party.³⁹ Yet by 1928 the Liberals were looking to the future positively. The Asquith-Lloyd George rivalry appeared to be over, and the party was now in control of the so-called Lloyd George Fund, enabling it to fight by-elections with confidence of financial backing.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Party had had two successful by-elections in 1928 prior to Middlesbrough West, winning in both Lancaster and St Ives, with the Liberal-supporting *Northern Echo* celebrating the 'very considerable increase' in the Liberal poll.⁴¹ This celebratory tone was

understandable as it suggested that the Liberal Party was, if not regaining its former status, at least holding its own against two significant opposition parties. It also gave the Party hope that Middlesbrough West could be held - a very real concern of the Liberal Party given that its previous stronghold of Middlesbrough East was captured by the Labour Party's Ellen Wilkinson four years previous.⁴²

The Conservative Party saw in Middlesbrough West two opportunities: to test the popularity of the Baldwin Government - now nearing the end of its five-year term, and to replace the Liberal Party in Middlesbrough. Now in its fourth year, the Baldwin Government saw in the Lancaster by-election its seventh loss and, while we need to be careful about exaggerating the impact of these losses - the Government had a majority of 100 seats - it was clear that its popularity was ebbing to the benefit of others.⁴³ A victory in Middlesbrough West would have been something for the Conservative Party to celebrate, having only held Middlesbrough seats twice before - Middlesbrough in 1900 and Middlesbrough East in 1922 - and would be used to show that the party was able to win in areas considered out-of-bounds to the Conservatives.⁴⁴ The by-election was also an opportunity for the local Conservative Association to challenge the Liberal Party's former dominance of the seat, presenting itself as the party of the iron and steel industry through its policies of 'safeguarding' and Empire trade. While 'safeguarding', the policy of protecting certain industries from foreign competition, was an awkward one to sell given that iron and steel did not qualify, 'Empire Trade' - the policy of stimulating trade between Britain and the Empire, and thus invigorating British industry - provided Sadler with an economic platform that he could campaign on in Middlesbrough, describing inter-Empire trade as a 'remedy' for the town's 'industrial and economic troubles'.⁴⁵ Although the policy had its flaws, Empire Trade did allow the Sadler and the Conservative Party to portray themselves as serious about dealing with the plight of Middlesbrough - allowing them to contrast themselves against a divided Liberal Party who had presided over Middlesbrough's economic decline.

In reality, it was the Labour Party who had much to gain in the Middlesbrough West by-election. Capturing the constituency, the Labour supporting *Daily Herald* wrote, would be 'a great opportunity' for the working class to 'register their protests against the both the complacency of the Tory Government and the futility and apathy of what is left of the Liberal forces'.⁴⁶ After winning Middlesbrough East in 1924, a victory in the neighbouring seat would offer an opportunity for the Labour Party to further consolidate its hold on the industrial town.⁴⁷ While the Party had made great strides in the early twentieth century, becoming the official opposition in 1922, in places like Middlesbrough there remained a tradition of Liberal-supporting trade unionism that Labour needed to break if it was ever to gain a strong foothold amongst the industrial working class.⁴⁸ As Maurice Cowling wrote, the 'dams which the Liberal Party had built' were beginning to break against an insurgent independent Labour movement, but they had not yet completely collapsed.⁴⁹ While it was estimated that Ellis and the Labour Party could 'rely on a solid' 7-8,000 vote in the Middlesbrough West by-election, it could not solely rely on this block vote.⁵⁰ Thus conducted a significant ground campaign backed by Ellis' trade union, the Transport and General Workers' Union who, Ellen Wilkinson wrote in *New Leader*, had 'wakened up' the constituency to some purpose'. All hands were

at the pump and Wilkinson herself spent polling day 'hastily collecting voters'.⁵¹ While the ground campaign continued, the Labour supporting press attacked the Liberal Party in its pages for, accusing it of 'accepting the existence of mass poverty at one end of the social scale and the absurd and ostentatious luxury at the other.'⁵² This combined campaign was designed to depict the Liberals and Conservatives as one side of the same coin - and a representative of Middlesbrough's status quo - while putting forward Labour and its programme as a realistic, and radical, alternative. As a tactic it was a sound one, while the Liberal Party held the reigns of Middlesbrough's civic life for much of its existence, it had done so with the local Conservative Association. Only the Labour Party, it argued, offered a real change for Middlesbrough and, as Ellen Wilkinson was showing in Middlesbrough East, could make a positive contribution to the town.⁵³

The local press and anti-Socialism

The local press, in particular the *North-Eastern Daily Gazette* and *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, played an important role in the forming of local opinion and articulating the public mood across Teesside. Both papers 'sustained the Liberal creed in industrial Teesside', with the *Daily Gazette* being 'unambiguously Liberal in its outlook', and supported Liberal candidates against all others from 1868.⁵⁴ However the Middlesbrough West by-election caused these papers to shift their political allegiance to Sadler and the Conservatives - with only the *Northern Echo* maintaining its loyalty to the Liberal Party - doing so on the basis of Sadler's local identity and the emerging anti-socialist agenda of the local Teesside press.⁵⁵

From the outset the local press' attitude towards Labour was flippant, and it repeatedly wrote off Labour's chances in the contest, stating that 'old fashioned doctrinaire Socialism' of Ellis was 'not likely to attract the votes of the hard-headed men and women of Middlesbrough'.⁵⁶ This hubris was based on fact that nationally the Labour Party had fared poorly in recent by-elections, with the *Daily Gazette* arguing that the party was 'no longer winning converts', but this hubris failed to take into account the fact that Middlesbrough East had been won by Labour only four years previous, and had done so mainly on the basis that the vote was split three ways - much like the Middlesbrough West by-election was.⁵⁷ As the campaign wore on, however, the press began to wake to Labour's electoral strength, and spent much of its time writing about the 'hollowness of the Socialist work-for-all promises' and appealing to the image of Middlesbrough voters as grounded in the real world. 'Impractical visionaries', the *Daily Gazette* stated, 'may conjure up alluring pictures of a social Utopia' but Middlesbrough's voters wanted policies based on fact and common sense.⁵⁸ This anti-socialism - a result of the public decline of Liberalism, an anti-'outsider' narrative, and the fear of a socialist government - evolved into an endorsement of Stanley Sadler, eschewing years of pro-Liberal support for the Conservative candidate.⁵⁹ Voting for Sadler, the local press argued in its editorials, was a vote against Socialism and for the pro-business policies of the Conservative Party and it was they, not the Liberal Party, who, the *Daily Gazette* wrote, not only had the answers for Middlesbrough's economic issues but was Britain's best chance to defeat the socialism of the Labour Party.

Conclusion

The Liberal Party claimed victory by the narrowest of margins - a majority of eighty-nine votes over their Labour opponent.⁶⁰ Despite his backing in the local press, and his local image, Sadler came a distant third place. He would never stand for Parliament again. The *Northern Echo* which, unlike the *Daily Gazette* and *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, had maintained its pro-Liberal loyalty, announced confidently that there could 'no longer the slightest doubt about the Liberal revival'.⁶¹ Although the Liberal Party had reason to be cheerful after being written off and deserted by the Teesside press, the tone of the *Echo* was overconfident. While the Middlesbrough West by-election was a reminder to the Labour Party that Teesside was still 'difficult territory', the by-election - and the Middlesbrough East victory in 1924 - did show that the Labour Party was making slow, but positive progress, in the area.⁶² The result also confirmed to the local press that a united opposition was required against an insurgent Labour Party and further consolidated the local press' position as anti-Labour, rather than pro-Liberal. A Labour victory, the *Daily Gazette* argued, had been averted on the 'narrowest of margins'.⁶³ The Middlesbrough West by-election showed that the Labour Party's strategy of political consolidation through example was working, and that the working-class electorate was growing more conscious of Labour as a viable option at the ballot box. For the local press, this consolidation was a grave danger to the very fabric of both Middlesbrough and Britain as a whole, and they beseeched Liberals and Conservatives alike to unite and contest elections against Labour in a straight fight - advice that would not be taken until the formation of the so-called National Government in 1931.⁶⁴ While the Liberal vote would increase in 1929, and Labour would not win Middlesbrough West until 1945, it was clear that the party was successfully winning converts and challenging the established political order in Middlesbrough.⁶⁵

The Middlesbrough West by-election also showed that the power of the ironmasters was waning, and that local identity and image could only help a candidate so far. Political identity, which was shifting in favour of the Labour Party, but was at this time still ingrained in local liberalism, was a much more important factor and one that Griffith evoked in his victory speech. It was, Griffith declared, 'the devoted service of the late member who had preserved the solidarity of Middlesbrough Liberalism', suggesting that Thomson's legacy was a much bigger asset for him as a candidate than any local, Middlesbrough origin.⁶⁶ Sadler lost because, while the Middlesbrough West electorate was warming towards Labourism in the face of the Liberal Party's decline, it was not moving towards the Conservative Party. No local image or Middlesbrough family name, nor the sudden pro-Conservative agenda of the local press, could help Sadler turn the intrinsic liberalism of Middlesbrough's voters towards Conservatism, and it would not be until 1951 - when the two-party system between Labour and the Conservative Party had been firmly established - that the Conservative Party would win Middlesbrough West.

The by-election highlighted that the Liberal Party's hold on the industrial town remained significant, but that it was not impenetrable, and that it was the Labour Party that was the beneficiary of the Liberal Party's slow decline. It also showed that Trevelyan Thomson's

legacy had to some extent insulated Middlesbrough Liberalism from the malaise the party faced nationally, and that this insulation helped Griffith at the polls. Ultimately however, it showed that the Liberal hold over the Middlesbrough was a fragile one, and that the Labour Party was beginning to successfully bring the voters of the town over to its cause.

¹ *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 9 February 1928, p4.

² Laura Beers, *Red Ellen: The Life of Ellen Wilkinson, Socialist, Feminist, Internationalist* (London, 2016), p131.

³ Richard Lewis, 'The Evolution of a Political Culture: Middlesbrough, 1850-1950' in A.J. Pollard (ed.) *Middlesbrough: Town and Community, 1830-1950* (Stroud, 1996), p109.

⁴ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London, 1990), pp247-248.

⁵ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp256-258; Thomas Warwick, 'Middlesbrough's Iron and Steel Magnates: Business, Culture and Participation, 1880-1934', unpublished thesis, Huddersfield University (2015), p246.

⁶ Catherine Budd, *Sport in Urban England: Middlesbrough, 1870-1914* (London, 2017), p140 and p259.

⁷ *Daily Gazette*, 20 November 1906, p2.

⁸ *Daily Gazette*, 26 November 1918, p4; *Northern Echo*, 9 February 1928, p9.

⁹ Wilson, *Downfall of the Liberal Party*, p148; Wilson, 'The Coupon and the British General Election of 1918', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1964, p33; Bernstein, 'Yorkshire Liberalism during the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1989, p125; *Daily Gazette*, 26 November 1918, p4.

¹⁰ William Lillie, *The History of Middlesbrough* (Portsmouth, 1968), p262.

¹¹ Trevor Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914-1935* (London, 2011), pp334-335.

¹² *Daily Gazette*, 8 February 1928, p8; *Northern Echo*, 9 February 1928, p9.

¹³ David Howells, *Respectable Radical: Studies in the politics of railway trade unionism* (Ashgate, 1999), p180; *Northern Echo*, 11 February 1928, p8; *Daily Herald*, 9 February 1928, p2; *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 11 February 1928, p1; *Daily Gazette*, 8 February 1928, p8.

¹⁴ *Northern Echo*, 11 February 1928, p1.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 16 February 1928, p9; *Daily Herald*, 3 March 1928, p4.

¹⁶ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp252-253.

¹⁷ *Daily Gazette*, 9 November 1922, p4 and 18 February 1928, p10.

¹⁸ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 25 February 1928, p1, and 3 March 1928, p1.

¹⁹ Robert Blake, *The Conservative Party from Peel to Major* (London, 2010), p216; Sian Nicholas, 'The Construction of a National Identity: Stanley Baldwin, "Englishness" and the Mass Media in Inter-War Britain' in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880-1990* (Cardiff, 1996), p130; Brenda Evans and Andrew Taylor, *From Salisbury to Major: continuity and change in Conservative politics* (Manchester, 1964), p34; Cowling, *Impact of Labour*, p415.

²⁰ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp252-253.

²¹ Duncan Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918* (Cambridge, 1990), p232.

²² Budd, *Sport in Urban England*, p212.

²³ *Northern Despatch*, 8 March 1928, p4.

²⁴ *Daily Gazette*, 5 March 1928, p7.

²⁵ *Northern Echo*, 6 March 1928, p7.

²⁶ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 18 February 1928, p4.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p1, and 3 March 1928, p1.

²⁸ *Daily Gazette*, 5 March 1928, p1; *Teesside and Stockton Herald*, 18 February 1928, p. 1.

²⁹ Lewis, 'The Evolution of a Political Culture', p108; MMI. 352, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, 1922-1923, p1, Middlesbrough Reference Library.

³⁰ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 3 March 1928, p1 and p4.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 1

³² *Daily Gazette*, 14 February 1928, p4; *Northern Echo*, 29 February 1928, p7; *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 3 March 1928, p1.

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- ³³ Lewis, 'The Evolution of a Political Culture', p116.
- ³⁴ *Daily Gazette*, 24 February 1928, p10.
- ³⁵ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 18 February 1928, p1.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, 25 February 1928, p1.
- ³⁷ *Daily Gazette*, 16 February 1928, p5.
- ³⁸ Wilson, *Downfall of the Liberal Party*, p113.
- ³⁹ Alan Sykes, *The Rise and Fall of Liberalism, 1776-1988* (London, 1997), pp246-247; Wilson, *Downfall of the Liberal Party*, pp367-368.
- ⁴⁰ Cowling, *Impact of Labour*, p342; Writing of the Middlesbrough West by-election, Ellen Wilkinson made reference to the fact that the Liberal Party could afford loudspeaker vans. The 'Lloyd George Fund', she wrote, was 'well in evidence'. See, *New Leader*, 2 March 1928, p6.
- ⁴¹ *Northern Echo*, 11 February 1928, p5.
- ⁴² Young, 'The Infant Hercules and the Socialist Missionary', [forthcoming].
- ⁴³ Philip Williamson, "'Safety First": Baldwin, the Conservative Party, and the 1929 General Election', in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1982), p391.
- ⁴⁴ F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Results, 1918-1949* (Chichester, 1983), p195.
- ⁴⁵ T.F. Lindsay and Michael Harrington, *The Conservative Party, 1918-1979* (London, 1969), p69; Williamson, "'Safety First'", p395; Lindsay et al, *The Conservative Party*, p83; *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 25 February 1928, p1.
- ⁴⁶ *Daily Herald*, 17 February 1928, p4.
- ⁴⁷ Young, 'The Infant Hercules and the Socialist Missionary', [forthcoming].
- ⁴⁸ John Shepherd and Keith Laybourn, *Britain's First Labour Government* (Basingstoke, 2013), p16; Laura Beers, *Red Ellen: The Life of Ellen Wilkinson: Socialist, Feminist, Internationalist* (London, 2016), p131; *New Leader*, 2 March 1928, p6.
- ⁴⁹ Cowling, *Impact of Labour*, p26.
- ⁵⁰ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 25 February 1928, p1.
- ⁵¹ *New Leader*, 9 March 1928, p20 and 16 March 1928, p9.
- ⁵² *Daily Herald*, 17 February 1928, p4.
- ⁵³ Young, 'The Infant Hercules and the Socialist Missionary', [forthcoming].
- ⁵⁴ Lewis, 'The Evolution of a Political Culture', pp110-111.
- ⁵⁵ *Northern Echo*, 8 March 1928, p6.
- ⁵⁶ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 25 February 1928, p1.
- ⁵⁷ *Daily Gazette*, 25 February 1928, p4.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 2 March 1928, p12.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 21 February 1928, p2.
- ⁶⁰ Craig, *British Parliamentary Results*, p196.
- ⁶¹ *Northern Echo*, 8 March 1928, p6.
- ⁶² Perry, "Red" *Ellen Wilkinson*, p218.
- ⁶³ *Daily Gazette*, 8 March 1928, p4.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁵ Craig, *British Parliamentary Results*, p196.
- ⁶⁶ *Tees-side and Stockton Herald*, 10 March 1928, p1.