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# Morris on Tyne: A Sunday Lecture

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John Stirling

**O**n 15 November 1884 William Morris caught the morning express to Newcastle upon Tyne that would deliver him there by four o'clock. As he wrote in a previously unpublished letter (see Figure 1) to the local solicitor, Quaker and liberal, Robert Spence Watson (1837-1911):

Dear Sir,

I propose to take the morning express on Saturday, which reaches Newcastle at 4 pm. I have had a kind note from the Bewick Society inviting me to meet its members during my stay at Newcastle: although, as you know, I am coming here for political matters. I should not like to seem churlish to members of what may be called my own fraternity; but I did not like to make arrangements with them without referring to you, as you kindly offered to put me up. I must leave Newcastle on Monday to Edinburgh (where I am engaged to lecture) I suppose by the noon train.

I am, Dear Sir, Yours Faithfully,  
William Morris.<sup>1</sup>

On this November Saturday, Morris was probably glad to leave behind 1884's 'unusually magnificent' London Lord Mayor's show and head north.<sup>2</sup> According to his daughter May, Morris was usually attentive to the passing scenery when travelling and, she notes, 'my father always had his eyes fixed at the window when journeying by train'.<sup>3</sup> Judging from an earlier description of a stopping off point at Newcastle in 1871, he was unlikely to be enjoying the view:

North of Darlington the country gets hilly, and is soon full of character, with sharp valleys cleft by streams everywhere; but it is most haplessly blotched by

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coal, which gets worse and worse as you get towards Newcastle, so wretched and dispirited that one wants to get out and back again. Newcastle itself has been a fine old town and beautifully situated, but it is now simply horrible: there is a huge waste of station there, quite worthy of it.<sup>4</sup>

John Dobson's station remains today and was unlikely to have enamoured Morris in its classicism; the Victorian town itself was further disfigured by the alkali works and shipbuilding industries on the polluted River Tyne, alongside the slum dwellings of the working class. Morris seems to have rarely stopped long in the city, with his only other recorded stay appearing to have been in 1887 when he met the local Radical MP and publisher of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, Joseph Cowen, at the station again during a march in support of striking Northumberland miners.<sup>5</sup> His most local connections were with the Howards, and he stayed at least once at the family home of Naworth Castle, forty-seven miles along the Tyne valley, and there is outstanding stained glass by Morris and Co. in Philip Webb's nearby church at Brampton. Webb was also influential in securing the firm's commission for Rounton Grange, built for Isaac Lowthian Bell in North Yorkshire, where Morris painted two room ceilings himself and which was the site of his famous outburst about 'ministering to the swinish luxury of the rich'.<sup>6</sup>

However, it was Morris's socialism that brought him to Newcastle (and Gateshead) in this bleak November, at the invitation of Spence Watson, with whom he was due to stay. He was to deliver his lecture, 'Art and Labour', to a large, mixed audience at the city's Tyne Theatre, set on the edge of the working-class community of Newcastle's West End that is, like Dobson's station, a present-day survivor.

### **I. Tub-Thumping Victorians**

Public speaking and the printed word were the main media of communication during the Victorian era, and leading politicians such as Gladstone and Disraeli set the benchmark for the former. Socialist activists had to be skilled in both and, whilst journalism may not have been a natural occupation for Morris, at least it could grow from his poetry and prose writing. However, speaking in public was clearly something that Morris did not take to naturally, with May Morris simply noting that 'my father was not a born orator'.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, given the significance of public speaking for the socialist movement of the time, and for the focus of this article on Morris's appearance at the Tyne Theatre, it is worth pursuing this particular point a little further.

In an age of political rhetoric, Eduard Bernstein's recollection of Morris remains apposite:

SW 1/12/35  
 KELMSCOTT HOUSE,  
 UPPER MALL, HAMMERSMITH.

Nov: 12<sup>th</sup>

Dear Sir

I propose to take  
 the morning Express on Saturday  
 which reaches Newcastle  
 about 4 p.m.

I have had a kind  
 note from the Sec: of the  
 Berwick Society inviting me  
 to meet ~~their~~ <sup>its</sup> members during  
 my stay at Newcastle: although  
 as you know, I am coming there  
 for political matters I should

Figure 1: Unpublished letter from Morris to Robert Spence Watson, held by Robinson Library Special Collections, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, SW 1/12/35

not like to seem churlish to  
members of what may be called  
my own fraternity; but I  
did not like to make any arrange-  
ments with them without  
referring to you, as you have  
so kindly offered to put <sup>me</sup> ~~you~~  
up. I must leave Newcastle  
on Monday for Edinburgh (where  
I am engaged to lecture) I  
suppose by the noon train.

Yours truly  
William Morris

He could express his ideas in a very arresting manner, but this was speaking to a comparatively small circle in an unrestrained gossiping tone. Rhetoric was not natural to him; his whole nature was anti-rhetorical.<sup>8</sup>

Good public speaking entails making a connection with your audience, and Morris did not find this easy. He was faced with a variety of audiences and a mixture of locations, from heckling street corner crowds to mass demonstrations in Hyde Park; from scattered audiences in club-rooms more interested in their drink to attentive workers in small socialist meetings, and from the literary and artistic middle class at Oxford to a mixed and unpredictable audience at a public lecture. Each audience naturally brought its own expectations of the public Morris that they knew.

There was also a difficulty for Morris in making a connection with his working-class audiences, given his own privileged background. Taylor, for example, is clear in discussing his East End of London meetings that Morris's 'wealthy middle class background' meant that: '[i]t would be true to say he did not really understand the people he most wanted to reach'.<sup>9</sup> Morris was aware of this lack of connection himself, and his social background, as well as his role as a businessman and relationships with wealthy clients, cannot be put to one side. However, his connections with the working class take him well beyond that of ordinary middle-class Victorians and their relationship with their working-class servants. Morris did not marry a conventional middle-class woman; he ran a workshop and then a factory that brought him into regular contact with his workers, along with workers at other factories producing his products. Most of all, his socialist activities brought him into regular and sometimes frequent contact both with working-class activists and leaders as well as those who just came to hear him speak. There can be little doubt that his understanding of the condition of the working class came, like that of Engels, from first-hand knowledge rather than the library.

Recollections and commentaries on Morris as a speaker commonly reflect May Morris's view of his skills as an orator.<sup>10</sup> This view was endorsed by John Bruce Glasier, when he recalled: 'Morris is not what is called an orator or eloquent speaker. He was not reckoned among the front rank speakers of the movement'.<sup>11</sup> Another obvious admirer was equally critical. Writing less than a month before his address at the Tyneside Theatre, Sophie Sharman recalled this earlier appearance:

As a public speaker he does not do well, stammering and stumbling [...]. On coming home after his lecture [Morris] asked me how he had done. I told him I was puzzled; something had gone wrong. He laughed and said: 'I am trying to become popular'. But it would not do. The Oxford scholar, the purist in

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English, could never learn the quick, nimble wit of the stump orator.<sup>12</sup>

James Leatham, a printer and socialist activist also recalls:

Morris was not exactly popular as a public lecturer. He was too self-conscious and too susceptible to the influence of his surroundings to be that [...]. His method of handling a subject was that of the desk rather than that of the platform.<sup>13</sup>

Leatham also records that Morris's one Aberdeen lecture was delivered from manuscript: '[h]e sometimes did that, although he was ready and hearty in extempore speech too'.<sup>14</sup> Others, such as Glasier, also note how Morris might read from his notes: '[h]e read his lecture, or rather recited it, keeping his eye on the written page, which he turned over without concealment'.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, it is clear that Morris himself took his speaking duties seriously as May Morris suggests in quoting her father about his first lecture:

I went with Wardle to the place [I was to speak] and read Robinson Crusoe to him to see if I could make myself heard; which I found easy to be done: yet I can't help feeling a little nervous at having to face my fellow beings in public.<sup>16</sup>

She added:

It is not the least significant trait that when the public expression of his thoughts was demanded of him, he should doggedly teach himself to speak, somewhat against the grain.<sup>17</sup>

By contrast, Tony Pinkney's detailed account of a meeting in Oxford shows Morris giving his lecture 'without book', amid 'great uproar' and heckling, but accounting for himself well with 'quick retorts' to his audience.<sup>18</sup>

Both Morris's class relationship with many of his audiences and his reluctance as a public speaker, did, on his own admission, detract from his ability to communicate as a public speaker. He clearly regularly relied on delivering his more formal public lectures from carefully prepared notes, and was a little uneasy with a working-class audience. However, there is an obvious need to counterbalance this account with what is also clear: that Morris was interested in the content of his speeches as much as in their saying, and he will certainly have delivered that content with commitment,

enthusiasm and ‘the impress of sincerity’.<sup>19</sup> A speaker with such a passion is as likely, or probably more likely, to carry his audience as one with a flair for empty rhetoric. This appears to have been just the case at the Tyne Theatre as we will see below.

## **II. The Message not the Messenger**

So what was the message that Morris was planning to deliver to Tynesiders? Morris says of his audience, in a letter presumed to be to May, that ‘I am afraid they might be rather astonished though ’tis one of my mildest’.<sup>20</sup> There would have been, perhaps, less astonishment among the socialists in the audience for, by now, the lecture’s title and content had become a familiar theme in Morris’s writing and speaking. Morris’s particular interpretation of socialism has long been discussed, and is not the central focus here, but it is clear that the nature of work and the conditions of its expression in a capitalist and post-capitalist society are at the heart of Morris’s analysis and argument.<sup>21</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to find it central to a speaking tour.

Morris first delivered ‘Art and Labour’ on 1 April 1884, and the Tyne Theatre presentation was its sixth appearance.<sup>22</sup> He was delivering ‘Useful Work versus Useless Toil’ at the same time, and had written ‘Work in a Factory as it might be’ for the May and June editions of *Justice* during the same year. He was clearly addressing a theme that was important to him, both as a socialist and as a practical man who was able to enjoy the work he did in a way that was beyond the exploitative conditions imposed on the working class. It was also the early days of the socialist movement. Morris was less comfortable with Marxist economics, and no doubt felt the importance of stressing the relationship he saw between ‘art’ and labour.

As to the ‘mildness’ of the lecture there has been some discussion as two versions exist alongside that which later appeared as an essay.<sup>23</sup> Alan Bacon’s detailed analysis argues for a much more ‘revolutionary’ content reworked for a more working-class Glasgow audience in contrast to Morris’s first delivery to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. The date of the Newcastle lecture falls between both, but is only a month before the Glasgow meeting in December 1884, and shortly before he left the Social Democratic Federation (SDF). Bacon is surely right to suggest that Morris accounted for his audience in more than polite passing references to the locality of the speech but it is impossible to guess the exact delivery in Newcastle. What is clear is that the substantive content remains the same if not the exact language, and I use the version finally published in Eugene LeMire’s *The Unpublished Lectures of William Morris* (1969).

We can see that his audience was treated to a lengthy disquisition on the historical development of working lives beginning with the Greeks, continuing through slavery, serfdom and the Middle Ages, and on through the centuries before ending with a

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discussion on the ‘present and the future’.<sup>24</sup> It is here that his audience might have found him more provocative and less ‘mild’ as he takes on the exploitation of workers and their lack of any pleasure in their work under capitalism. The answer to this exploitation is not simply a redistribution of rewards from profit to wages which would leave the worker ‘to live all his days in a toiling hell’.<sup>25</sup> Rather, the solution under socialism is threefold for the worker: ‘to live in a pleasant house and a pleasant place’; to be ‘educated according to their capacity’, and to have ‘due leisure’.<sup>26</sup> He adds: ‘no useless work being done and all irksome labour saved as much as possible by machines’.<sup>27</sup>

Morris’s socialist message could be delivered directly to his working class listeners and with resonance to the already committed socialists, but he also addressed the middle class in his mixed audience. They would have to make a choice in the class struggle:

To join the camp of the masters is to brand yourself as an oppressor and a thief [alternatively,] when you know what socialism is, and what it asks of you [...] throw in your lot with the workers at every stage of the struggle.<sup>28</sup>

The message was clear but who exactly was Morris addressing, and what had brought him to Tyneside at this early stage of his socialist activity?

### **III. Preaching to the Unconverted**

In 1884, Morris was a member of the SDF. He was writing for *Justice* as well as speaking around the country to a range of audiences both to engage with the unconverted, and to build a socialist organisation. He delivered ‘Art and Labour’ six times before his arrival in Newcastle, on two occasions to SDF meetings but on the other four to the more mixed audiences that might have been generated by, for example, the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (1 April 1884). In Newcastle the lecture was delivered under the auspices of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society (see Figure 2).<sup>29</sup>

LeMire has the meeting sponsored by the Newcastle SDF branch although it was clearly delivered to a much more mixed audience. The Sunday Lecture Society had been founded in the year before Morris’s contribution, and was one of a number across the country. It delivered an eclectic range of lectures as can be seen from that preceding Morris’s: E. S. Beesly on ‘Empire and Patriotism in Ancient and Modern Times’, and that which followed: W. B. Carpenter on ‘The Gulf Stream: What It Does and What It Does Not’. The Society had a varied list of speakers over its existence such as Oscar Wilde (but speaking on dress not socialism), Sergius Stepniak

**Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society.**

**PROGRAMME.**

**SESSION 1884-5.**

**1884.**

Nov. 2nd ... ..	"Democratic Morals" ...	J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.P.
Nov. 9th ...	{ "Empire and Patriotism, in Ancient and Modern Times" }	Professor E. S. BEESLY, M.A.
Nov. 16th ... ..	"Art and Labour" ...	WM. MORRIS, M.A.
Nov. 23rd ...	{ "The Gulf Stream—What it does and what it does not" }	Dr. W. B. CARPENTER, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., &c.
Nov. 30th ...	{ "Flowers and Insects: How Plants are Fertilized" }	Dr. ANDREW WILSON, F.R.S.E., F.L.S., &c.
Dec. 7th ... ..	"Our Puritan Forefathers"...	Mrs. F. FENWICK MILLER.
Dec. 14th ...	{ "The Aims and Methods of Psychical Research" }	FRED. W. H. MYERS, M.A.

**1885.**

Jan. 11th ...	{ "Personal Adventures of a War Correspondent" }	ARCHD. FORBES, LL.D.
Jan. 18th ...	<i>Dress</i> "Benvenuto Cellini" ...	OSCAR WILDE.
Jan. 25th ...	{ "A Naturalist's Adventures in Siberia" }	HY. SEEBOHM, F.R.G.S., F.L.S.
Feb. 1st ...	{ "Dreams—Their Place in Savage Philosophy and Bearing on Current Beliefs" }	ED. CLODD, F.R.A.S.
Feb. 8th ...		
Feb. 15th ... ..	"Cremation" ...	ERNEST A. PARKYN, B.A.
Feb. 22nd ... ..	"Emerson and Carlyle" ...	MONCURE D. CONWAY, M.A.

FEB. 8.—NEGOTIATIONS ARE PENDING WITH LECTURER FOR THIS DATE.

The Lectures are held in the Tyne Theatre, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Commencing at 7 p.m.

ALFRED HOWSON, Low Fell, near Newcastle, }  
ROBT. S. NISBET, Grove Street, Newcastle, } Hon. Secs.

Figure 2: Programme handbill of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society showing Morris's talk on 'Art and Labour'; ephemera of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society held by Newcastle upon Tyne City Library

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on Russian democracy and Peter Kropotkin. Annie Besant and Mrs Sidney Webb (as she was described) were two rare women speakers on socialism and the trade unions respectively. Whilst these contributors over the years might have had more in common with Morris, the Society's overall thrust was more in line with the Victorian attitudes towards 'improving' education and broadening knowledge.<sup>30</sup>

This variety indicates a much more mixed audience than a solely SDF-sponsored event would have provided Morris. The Sunday Lecture Society also sought to encourage subscriptions to the whole set of lectures so at least a part of the audience would have been attending whoever the speaker was. Any description of the audience can only be speculation at this historical distance but it is likely that men will have predominated over women, and that the middle class, who could afford the sixpence admission, might well have filled more seats than the workers to whom Morris was reaching out. Nevertheless, there will certainly have been enough skilled workers and union members from the local pits, shipyards and Armstrong's engineering factories to have made their presence felt.

The Sunday Society report for the period covering his lecture records an average attendance of 1,523.<sup>31</sup> In a letter to May, Morris records 'I am likely to have a big meeting tonight'.<sup>32</sup> Afterwards, in a letter to John Mahon, he concludes: 'I think Scheu was well pleased with the meeting on Monday in Newcastle: I had a very large audience; some 3000', a figure double the average audience.<sup>33</sup> Even allowing for some optimistic exaggeration (and the venue's capacity), the Tyne Theatre would have been packed. The local press was more appreciative than they were of Kropotkin. *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle* – a supporter of liberal causes – devoted five column inches to a report:

The title gives little idea of the vigorous and brilliant disquisition to which the audience was treated [...] as his powerful pleading fell on the ears of his large and deeply interested audience, it recalled the gorgeous vision of Sir Thomas More's Utopia [...]. It is rarely that so much matter is compressed into a popular discourse. There was literally no padding.<sup>34</sup>

While Morris's audience might have the price of a seat to hear him, his 'utopia' was far distant from the suffering of Newcastle's working class. This was recorded in the same newspaper with reports of 'local distress' and donations to the unemployed, such as 'a large tin of soup [...] half a sheep (second instalment) [...] a parcel of groceries and a parcel of clothing'. An alternative Sunday entertainment to Morris in nearby Blyth was the 'Tomahawk Minstrel Group', also raising money for impoverished miners.

#### **IV. Breakfast at Bensham**

Before the meeting Morris had stayed at Spence Watson's home in Bensham Grove in Gateshead, across the Tyne river from the theatre. Norman Kelvin refers to Spence Watson as a member of the SDF, although this seems most unlikely as he was a Liberal supporter and a Quaker.<sup>35</sup> He chaired the meeting, and was clearly instrumental in bringing Morris to the Tyne Theatre as an active member of the Sunday Lecture Society.

More significantly in relation to the lecture, Spence Watson's biographer, his nephew, Percy Corder, describes Morris's stay at Bensham Grove in a rarely quoted piece which is worth recording in full. Corder describes a discussion 'one Sunday evening' at his uncle's house between Morris, Canon Moore Ede and Dean Kitchen. He describes the Canon as 'well versed in ideas of social reform and in the conditions of the workers' life'.<sup>36</sup> He goes on:

If the Sunday evening conversation was spirited, still more so was that which reigned at breakfast the following morning when William Morris found himself fairly matched in controversy by Elijah Copland, the local leader of the Democratic Federation. Both men held advanced views on the all-engrossing question of the best form of government of the State, but they differed widely as to the means to be employed to bring about a change. Morris 'so attractive, so fiery, so unpractical', as Spence Watson wrote, a pronounced Socialist out for social revolution, with a lack of system to back his theories, Copland a working wood-carver, ready and willing to work towards social reform, using every existing form of popular government which lay ready to his hand. As the argument developed Spence Watson sat as umpire, with Morris on his left hand, pacing up and down the dining room, looking for all the world like some Norse rover tanned with 'the freshness of the open sea' declaiming 'it's a Revolution we must have, a bloody revolution if need be'; whilst on the right sat the calm and collected little wood-carver, quietly rejoining in the intervals of the storm: 'Yes, but it's a moral revolution we want'.<sup>37</sup>

The dining room of Morris's pacing is currently owned by the local authority, and is now the location of a set of The Firm's window glass as well as, appropriately, the home of various craft classes.

#### **V. Conclusion**

The early years of Morris's socialist engagement were both a major commitment to

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spreading ‘the cause’ and, consequently, a severe imposition on his personal life. Morris’s arrival in Newcastle was just one of many visits to the industrial towns of the North and Scotland where he was working to build the SDF, and then the Socialist League. His public profile for his poetry and design work made him an attractive speaker for both socialist activists and an ‘interested’ middle class alike. In responding to these demands, Morris set out on activities which were clearly, in May’s words, ‘against the grain’, and ultimately damaging to his health.

His visit to the Tyne Theatre is just one typical example of the demands made on him by these competing audiences (not to forget the Bewick Society). He matched these demands in his own way and, whilst not being the great orator to inspire, for example, a massed audience of striking trade unionists, his impact may have been just as great and longer lived. For socialists at the end of the nineteenth century, and now into the twenty-first, Morris remains an inspiration, and who knows who left the Tyne Theatre lecture to go on to make their own contributions to ‘the cause’?

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#### NOTES

1. Morris to Spence Watson. Letter held by Robinson Library Special Collections, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, SW 1/12/35.
2. *The Spectator*, 15 November 1884, p. 2. Morris does, in fact, write about the show in *Justice*, 15 November 1882, p. 2. Not begrudging anybody their enjoyment of the Show he uses it as a vehicle to discuss John Ball and the Peasants’ Revolt.
3. May Morris, *The Introductions to the Collected Works of William Morris*, ed. Joseph Riggs Dunlap, 2 vols (New York: Oriol Editions, 1973), II, p. 699. (Afterwards May Morris).
4. William Morris, *Icelandic Journals* (London: Mares’ Nest, 1996), p. 1.
5. See John Stirling, ‘Striking Miners and the Cockney Socialists’, *North East History*, 46 (2015), 99-114. (Afterwards Stirling, ‘Striking Miners’).
6. Sheila Kirk, *Philip Webb: Pioneer of Arts and Crafts Architecture* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2005), p. 124. Judging by the ceiling photographs reproduced in this volume Morris’s outburst may be accounted for, at least in part, by the backbreaking and repetitious nature of the work. For the anecdote concerning this outburst, see Fiona McCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), p. 210.
7. May Morris, p. 449.
8. Quoted in Jack Lindsay, *William Morris: Dreamer of Dreams* (London: Nine Elms Press, 1991), p. 3.
9. Rosemary Taylor, “‘The City of Dreadful Delight’: William Morris in the East End of London”, *JWMS*, 18: 3 (Winter 2009), 9-28 (p. 21).
10. See note 7, above.
11. J. Bruce Glasier, *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921), p. 153. (Afterwards Glasier). Glasier’s reflections on Morris have been treated as unreliable given that they were written some time after the events, and at a time of illness, but it is unlikely that such overall impressions as this are misleading.
12. Sophie R. Sharman, introduced by Edmund and Ruth Frow, ‘Reminiscences of William Morris’, *JWMS*, 12: 2 (Spring 1997), 5-6 (p. 6). Sharman’s article first appeared in the February 1903 edition of *The Comrade*, an illustrated socialist monthly published in New York between 1901 and 1905.
13. James Leatham, *William Morris: Master of Many Crafts* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994), p. 119. The Thoemmes Press edition reprints the original 1900 edition.

14. Michael Bloor, 'James Leatham's eyewitness account of William Morris's visit to Aberdeen', *JWMS*, 18: 1 (Winter 2008), 22-34 (p. 28).
15. Glasier, p. 26.
16. May Morris dates this at 4 December 1877. *May Morris*, pp. 445-47.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 449.
18. Tony Pinkney, *William Morris in Oxford: The Campaigning Years, 1879-1895* (Grosmont: Illuminati Books, 2007), pp. 89-95.
19. Quoted from the *Oxford Review*. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
20. *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, ed. by Norman Kelvin, 4 vols in 5 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984-1996), II, p. 337. (Afterwards Kelvin).
21. See my argument in John Stirling, 'William Morris and Work as it is and it might be', *Capital & Class*, 76 (Spring 2002), 127-45, amongst a host of more distinguished commentators.
22. *The Unpublished Lectures of William Morris*, ed. by Eugene D. LeMire (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969), Appendix 1, pp. 241-44. (Afterwards LeMire).
23. For a detailed account of the two versions see Alan Bacon, 'William Morris's Lectures and the Question of Audience: A Study of the Versions of "Art and Labour"', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 58: 3/4 (April 1984), 163-80.
24. This section comprises around three quarters of the lecture.
25. LeMire, p. 113.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 118. The accusation of thievery was turned against Morris by the local press on a later visit to Tyneside. See Stirling, 'Striking Miners', p. 109.
29. Ephemera of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society held by Newcastle upon Tyne city libraries. The handwritten amendment is in the original.
30. For a full list see: E. Anderson, ed., *Record of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society from its Commencement* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid, 1907).
31. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
32. Kelvin, II, p. 333.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 338. Morris must have simply misremembered Monday for Sunday.
34. *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 17 November 1884, p. 2.
35. Kelvin, II, p. 333.
36. Percy Corder, *The Life of Robert Spence Watson* (London: Headley Brothers, 1914), p. 53.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 54.