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THE FLINT GLASS MAKERS IN THE CLASSIC AGE OF THE LABOUR
ARISTOCRACY, 1850-1880, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO STOURBRIDGE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a history of the flint glass makers and their union in the period between 1850 and 1880. The thesis attempts to throw light both on the flint glass makers and on the concept of Labour aristocracy. Part one is an analysis of the flint glass makers at the point of production. After giving some account of the flint glass industry, the peculiarity of the work situation is examined; the production process, hours of work, methods of wage payments and other working conditions. Wage differentials between different groups of glass makers are analysed as a necessary condition for the formation of the Labour aristocracy. In particular, an attempt is made to reconstruct the life time experience of the glass makers. Special attention is paid to the relationship between glass makers, glass cutters and bottle makers.

Part two comprises a detailed investigation of the structure and policies of the Flint Glass Makers Friendly Society in which it is argued that although the Society was a "New Model" Union as the Webbs labelled it, it did not always behave in accordance with Webbian notions of "New Model" activities.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.C.J.	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
A.S.E.	Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
C.C.	Central Committee.
C.E.C.	Children's Employment Commission.
C.S.	Central Secretary.
F.G.M.F.S.	Flint Glass Makers Friendly Society.
F.G.M.M.	Flint Glass Makers Magazine.
J.S.G.T.	Journal of the Society of Glass Technology.
L.W.M.A	London Working Men's Association.
T.U.C.	Trade Union Congress.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.

Introduction

This thesis attempts to supply a history of the flint glass makers in what was reputedly the classic age of the Labour aristocracy. It tries to use the concept of Labour aristocracy to interpret the history of the glass makers while using the history of the glass makers to refine that concept itself. At any rate, the aim has been to set such a dialectic to work. In spite of the Webbs's attention to the flint glass makers and their Union, little further research has been carried out, mainly because a major source, the Flint Glass Makers Magazine, has been missing. My research began with a rediscovery of a complete run of the Magazine from its inception in 1851 to 1897.¹

When the Webbs wrote The History of Trade Unionism in 1894, the Magazine was already 'not preserved in any Public Library' so that they were indebted to Mr. Haddleton, Secretary to the Birmingham Trades Council, who, in 1893, possessed a complete set, for their acquaintance with its contents.² Sidney Webb took notes from the Magazine and

¹The discovery was made by Dr. Eric Taylor in 1972.

²S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1894 edition, p. 179. Alfred Haddleton was a flint glass maker and the seventh secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council from 1885 to 1895. (John Corbett, The Birmingham Trades Council, 1860-1966, 1966, p. 186.)

left manuscripts consisting of 256 pages.¹ The Webbs assessed the Magazine as 'the best' of trade publications and 'the only one which has enjoyed a continuous existence (from the mid-nineteenth century) down to the present day.'² When D.N. Sandilands researched the Midland flint glass makers in the late 1920s, he was still able to use this complete set 'through the kindness of the officers of the Birmingham District of the Flint Glass Makers Society.'³ Thereafter the Magazine was "lost". In 1961 an Editorial in the Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History asked the members 'what has become of the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine.'

'This was in continuous existence from 1850 down to the beginning of the present century and was described by the Webbs as "the best" trade publication. Let us hope that our members in Birmingham can discover its whereabouts.' 4

¹Webb Trade Union Collection, Section A, vol. XLIII-I; British Library of Political and Economic Science, London.

²S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, op.cit., p. 197. They wrote: 'This journal contains a mass of useful information relating to the trade, special reports of the Trades Union Congresses, and well-written articles on industrial and economic problems. It is marked throughout by moderation of tone and fairness of argument.' (ibid., p. 197, fn. 3).

³D.N. Sandilands, The History of the Midland Glass Industry with Special Reference to the Flint Glass Section, M. Com. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1929, Foreword.

⁴Bulletin, op.cit., no. 3, Autumn 1961, p. 1.

My research owes much to the Magazine, now in the possession of Mr. Price, a Stourbridge flint glass maker.¹

Not only the Webbs, but other contemporaries highly valued the Magazine. For instance, the Birmingham Mercury reviewing it in 1852 noted that 'Social, commercial, and educational questions are discussed in well-reasoned articles, which show that there is an amount of intelligence in the operative portion of the Glass-making community highly creditable to them.'² The received notion that the glass makers were well educated seems to be based upon the quality of this journal. Certainly the Magazine is superior in terms of quality and continuous publication to most of its contemporaries. It contains useful information not only about the flint glass makers' union but the labour movement generally. The quarterly reports in the Magazine afford continuous statistics relating to membership, unemployment, death, sickness, and emigration. However, the Union journal was not published for historians but for the members, so that it was hardly surprising that its contents were shaped by the ideology and policies of the Executive of the Union, particularly of the General Secretary. Leading articles

¹The microfilmed Magazine is in the Library of the University of Warwick.

²Birmingham Mercury, April 10 1852.

largely expressing the views of the General Secretary and the Central Committee were the main source of Sidney Webb's notes. But we must pay special attention to the numerous letters from the members which appeared in the Magazine, sometimes in opposition to the policies of the Executive. A close examination of the Magazine shows that there was not as united a Union as the one which the Webbs described, but one in which there were sharply conflicting opinions on many subjects. Controversy in the Magazine and the policy of the Society must not of course, be confused. In fact, there were many cases in which discussion was stimulated but practical results failed to follow.

It is not clear to what extent the members of the union read the Magazine. There is evidence that some glass makers did not bother to read it. Frank Aston, a glass maker, recorded:

'There is a certain class of men, who regularly ignored the existence of our Magazine; who, directly they obtained it, thrust it into their pocket, either taking no more notice of it, or when they get home, cast it anywhere for any purpose; never picking it up to read or digest any of its contents. Sometimes they may have left it in their pockets till they go to put another in, and it is then of course an almost valueless article. Sometimes the meals of these men are to be seen wrapped up with the leaves of our Magazine.' ¹

The Magazine did not publicise 'dishonorable' behaviour by members of the Society, and if this is to be discussed then other sources must be used. For instance, ill-treatments by flint glass makers of their boys in the factory can be documented by the Government

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 106.

reports on children's employment and the local newspapers. The action of flint glass makers which helped to break the bottle makers' strikes is not mentioned in the Magazine but is found in the journal of the bottle makers' union in 1877. In short, the Magazine has to be used with care, like any other document.

If a flint glass maker was an active unionist, he might be a contributor to the Magazine. If he was a well-known figure in the local community, he might occasionally appear in the local papers. But how about the ordinary glass maker? What can be found out about him? If he was a member of the union, his name and status would appear in the membership list. His name may also have appeared in the list of those receiving unemployment benefit or in that relating to the death funds. If the wages book of his factory has survived, then his name and earnings may be found in the book. If he was a strike breaker, his name may have appeared in the "traitors list" published by the union. People who worked in factories, workshops or elsewhere, lived in families and had some contacts with people in the community. Most of the living experience of individual working men was destined to vanish without trace in any written evidence. However, there are the returns of the census enumerators collected every ten years and the records of birth, marriage and death kept by the church. Both the Census Enumerators' Books and the Marriage Registers provide useful information about the number engaged in a particular occupation, age distribution, marital status, household position, family size, occupational continuity between generations and marriage patterns.

If we combine this material with evidence gleaned from wages books and the Magazine, then we can begin to construct a picture of the life time experience of the average flint glass maker. At the same time we can try to make a contribution to the debate surrounding the concept of the Labour aristocracy.

Labour aristocracy must be understood in relative terms. Its members distinguished themselves as a "superior" group from others of the working class both at work and in the wider community. The basic condition for the existence of a Labour aristocracy was at the point of production. In spite of fashionable sociological studies of Labour aristocracy involving social and cultural analyses emphasising life style in the community and ideology, it is at the point of production and in particular relations in the work group which was decisive in Labour aristocratic formation. The method of analysing the Labour aristocracy adopted in this thesis may be called a "concentric circle approach". This approach begins with the work group and expands to encompass the factory, the industry, the local community, and the class and society. The process of formation of the Labour aristocracy and their changing attitudes towards the rest will be discussed according to the differently enclosed spaces.

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first, is mainly concerned with the flint glass industry and the flint glass makers. The second part is an investigation of their Union. However, the activities of flint glass makers were related to their union's activities, so that the distinction between the two parts is artificial. In Part One, after giving some account of the flint glass industry in

relation to the glass industry generally (Chapter I), the work situation in the flint glass factory will be examined - the production process, hours of work, methods of wage payment and other working conditions, all of which had peculiarities not found in other industries. Not only the causes of these peculiarities, but glass makers' attitudes towards any attempt to change these customs of the trade will also be examined in Chapter II. The reader will begin to realise that the necessary conditions for the existence of hierarchy among glass makers accumulated at the point of production. In the case of flint glass makers, the minimum work group was the "chair" consisting of four glass makers. Wage differentials among these four groups in the "chair" and their changes over time will be examined. Also the life time experience of the average flint glass maker will be reconstituted. Then the circle will be expanded to the factory in which there was a specific relationship between flint glass makers and glass cutters and bottle makers. The process in which flint glass makers recognised their superior position in comparison to less skilled glass workers, will be analysed.

In Part Two, the structure and development of the Union will be clarified in terms of the concepts of "New Model Unionism" and "Primitive Democracy". After explaining the transformation from the Tramp Society to the "New Model" union; the members, the financial system, and the government of the Society will be discussed. This will be followed by an examination of the changing industrial relations in which the causes, development and effects of the great strike and

lock-out of flint glass makers in 1858-59 is considered.

In addition, the main policies of the Society - apprentice restriction, labour control between factories and regions, promotion possibilities, emigration and co-operative production will all be looked at and the fact that the F.G.M.F.S. was in many important respects a "New Model" Union will become clear. Finally the way in which the flint glass makers were related to the national labour movement will be examined, particularly focusing on the conflict between the Junta and Potter. An attempt will be made to solve a problem presented by the Webbs' account of Mid-Victorian trade unionism: - if the Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society was such a leading example of the "New Model and the New Spirit, how did it come about that it identified itself with the Bee-Hive and George Potter?

Part One FLINT GLASS MAKERS AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION

Chapter I The Flint Glass Trade and the Flint Glass Makers

I. The Development of Glass Making before 1850

Glasses belong to a group of supercooled liquids which have passed into a rigid state without undergoing any noticeable structural change. Glass is a congealed solution of a number of substances of which silica and alkali are invariables. The temperature at which fusion takes place is governed by the amount of alkali present since this acts as flux which promotes the melting of the remaining ingredients. Although all glasses have the common property of being amorphous and not crystalline, where lead is used as an additional flux a crystalline structure may develop. The principal source of silica is sand, although certain kinds of rock may be used. For the finest kind of glass a sand which is virtually free from iron is essential. Historically alkalis were derived either from wood-ash or from burning sea-weed. The former yielded potash-glass; the latter soda glass. Soda glass remains in a plastic state over a wider temperature range and is therefore easier to work.

The way in which glass has been formed, cut and decorated are almost infinite in their variety and it is no part of this thesis to attempt to describe them. Yet these few sentences serve to indicate the essential factors which govern the location of the industry; the presence or availability of the basic materials (including adequate supplies of appropriate fuels); the technical understanding and skill of the producers; the presence and accessibility of markets. The history of glass production is told in the inter-play between these factors, for even "raw materials" is a category which changes its

significance in the light of the other two. Thus it will be shown how the prohibition of the use of timber placed a premium upon a kind of clay for the making of pots; a kind of clay in which the Stourbridge region was peculiarly rich.

The glass industry was divided into five branches, according to the excise duty regulations: flint, crown, plate, broad and bottle. Flint glass was a general term for colourless glass such as tumbler, goblet and table ware. The origin of flint glass came from the prohibition of the use of timber as fuel for glass making furnaces ordered by the Government in 1615.¹ With the introduction of coal, closed pots were substituted for open pots so as to prevent the smoke from spoiling the quality and the purity of the glass exposed to it. The closed pots, however, led to a greater difficulty in melting the glasses, so that lead was used as a powerful flux and it also imparted to the glass a lustre and brilliancy unknown before. Since blown flint glass contained a substantial proportion of lead, it was called 'lead crystal'.

The transition from charcoal to coal effected a geographical redistribution of the glass trade. It rapidly disappeared from Surrey and Sussex² where it had flourished by using wood as fuel. In

¹ A decree, The proclamation touching Glass issued by James I on May 23 1615; Albert Hartshorne, Old English Glasses, 1897, p. 413.

² W.E.S. Turner, The British Glass Industry: its Development and its Outlook, in Journal of the Society of Glass Technology (herein after referred to as J.S.G.T.), vol.6, 1922, p. 114. The first written grant in glass making appeared in 1226 in the Wealden Village of Chiddingfold. (H.J. Powell, Glass-Making in England, Cambridge, 1923, p. 11). See also G.H. Kenyon, The Glass Industry of the Weald, 1967, and E.S. Godfrey, The Development of English Glassmaking, 1560-1640, 1976.

addition to London,¹ two major centres of glass manufacture emerged: Newcastle and Stourbridge. In 1616 Robert Mansell moved from London to Newcastle² and in 1612 Paul Tyzack and other Lorrainers moved to Stourbridge³. Apart from sufficient coal supplies in both areas, the advantages for glass making were water carriage in Newcastle and fine clay in Stourbridge. The glass packed in cases was sent from Newcastle to London in the coal ships and the returning barges called in at King's Lynn to bring superior sand for glass making. The clay underlying the coal in the mines of the Stour Valley was the best for pot-making.⁴ 'No other substance being known which will stand the

¹In 1549 the eight Venetian glass makers came from Murano to England and set up in London. In 1575 Giacomo Verzelini was granted the right to make Venetian glasses in England for a period of twenty-one years. In the early seventeenth century Robert Mansell from Lorraine managed glass houses in London, which were previously Verzelini's. (H.J. Powell, op.cit., p. 126.)

²Robert Mansell established his firm on the Ouseburn in Newcastle and in 1618 he obtained a patent for making glass with coal. The Victoria History of the County (herein after referred to as V.C.H.) Durham, vol. II, 1907, p. 309, and James Clephan, Manufacture of Glass in England: Rise of the Art on the Tyne, in Archaeologia Aeliana new ser., vol. 8, 1880, pp. 180-226.)

³D.R. Guttery, From Broad-Glass to Cut Crystal: A History of the Stourbridge Glass Industry, 1956, p. 5. For information about the origin of the Stourbridge glass industry, see D.N. Sandilands, The Early History of Glass-Making in the Stourbridge District, in J.S.G.T., vol. 15, 1931, pp. 219-27, and Brierley Hill Advertiser, July 20, 1867.

⁴The first concession awarded for digging clay for glass pots in Stourbridge is dated 1566 (George Harrison, Stourbridge Fire Clay, in S. Timmins (ed.), Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District, 1866, p. 133.) The clay was about 150 ft. below the surface, and 45 ft. below the coal, to the extent of nearly 200 acres, but the best sort was only found upon about 48 acres. (R. Simms, Contributions towards a History of Glass Making and Glass Makers in Staffordshire, Wolverhampton, 1894, p. 10.)

tremendous heat to which these articles are subjected.¹ The clay was employed not only in Stourbridge but in many other glass producing areas in England. In later years it was also exported to America, France and Germany.²

At the end of the seventeenth century the glass industry was concentrated in London, Stourbridge, Bristol and Newcastle. Bristol had joined the group from the mid-century,³ because the city had many advantages such as near-by Kingswood coal fields, the efficient port and a big demand for glass bottles from local manufacturers of beer and cider. Besides these areas there were a number of factories in isolated districts such as Swansea, Nottingham, Yarmouth, King's Lynn and the Isle of Wight. But during the eighteenth century regional concentration and specialisation occurred. Between 1696 and 1784 the number of glass factories in the West Midlands grew and the area increased its share of total glass factories in England and Wales from

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, May 18 1867.

²V.C.H., Worcester, 1906, vol.II, p. 281.

³In Bristol glass was first made by Edwin Dagma in 1865. See F. Buckley, The Early Glasshouses of Bristol, in J.S.G.T., vol. 9, 1925, pp. 36-61.

22.3% to 25.0%. London was reduced to second place, its share falling from 29.7% to 20.0%, whereas the Newcastle area increased its share from 11.7% to 15.0%. The Bristol area fell back from 17.0% to 15.0%.¹ Throughout the eighteenth century the glass industry in the Newcastle area was flourishing, specialising in crown glass production. By the end of the century 'not iron but glass was the richest branch of trade at Newcastle next to coal.'² By that time the Stourbridge glass industry had moved from broad glass and become much more concentrated in flint and bottle glassmaking. Meanwhile, the glass trade in Bristol was in a decline due to the failure of the Kingswood coal fields to supply glass manufacturers with enough coal. But the industry did appear at Nailsea, eight miles to the south west.

By the mid-nineteenth century the glass industry's geographical redistribution was complete. In the Newcastle area after about 1830 the industry went into a gradual decline, mainly because the advantage

¹The figures in 1696 are taken from John Houghton, A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, 1692, and those in 1784 are taken from Bailey's Directory of 1784, vol. I-IV. The percentages are calculated by C.M. Brown, Changes in the Location of the British Glass Industry since about 1833, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1970, p. 44, 51.

²Rev. John Vaillie, An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne and its Vicinity, 1801, quoted by S. Middlebrook, Newcastle upon Tyne, Its Growth and Achievement, Newcastle, 1950, p. 141.

in water carriage formerly held by the area was diminishing. Raw materials for glass making had been brought back as ballast by the returning coal ships from Holland and the Continent. The development of the iron built collier eventually led to the use of water ballast and the curtailment of these raw materials for the glass industry.¹ After 1830 crown glass was drastically effected by the French and German method of producing sheet glass, because sheet glass supplied the desideratum of larger panes at low prices without any knobs or bull's eyes, which had been produced in the centre of crown glass and limited the size of the window panes. The heavier duty on crown glass amounting to nearly 300% on its original value at one time accelerated the replacement.² In the mid-1850s only one crown glass factory was left³ and by the early 1860s all crown glass factories were closed on Tyneside. In contrast to the decay of crown glass, sheet glass began to be produced in Cookson's Works in 1837 by introducing French glass workers familiar with the process⁴ and thereafter flourished. In the 1840s James Hartley of Sunderland invented 'rolled plate' glass⁵ and this new

¹Ursula Ridley, The History of Glass Making on the Tyne and Wear, (Typescript) p.5.

²G.B. Hodgson, The Borough of South Shields, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1903, p. 362.

³That was R.W. Swinburne & Co. (T. Salmon, South Shields, Past, Present, and Future, 1856, South Shields, p. 21.) Swinburne wrote in 1864 that 'in the birthplace of the art in England, there is now not a foot of window glass manufactured.' (R.W. Swinburne, The Manufacture of Glass, in W. Armstrong and others (ed.), The Industrial Resources of the District of the Three Northern Rivers, 1864, p. 199.)

⁴G.B. Hodgson, op.cit., p. 362, and Penny Magazine, vol. XIII, June 1844, p. 256.

⁵W. Waples, Glass-Making and Glazing, 1952, p. 4.

technology forced the abandonment of the age long process of blown plate glass. With the increase of the building of factories, railway stations and so on, this type of glass was in great demand, because it was strong, cheap, and translucent, and particularly suitable for skylights and glass roofing.¹ Flint glass was not flourishing in Tyneside.² The Newcastle glass manufacturers were competing with St. Helens. The Lancashire coal field and local sand gave many advantages to the St. Helens' plate glass industry. In the early nineteenth century, by attracting a number of skilful glass makers from Bristol where the industry was declining, St. Helens developed a prominent position in flat glass making and became the second excise duty payer behind Newcastle. Pilkington was the biggest establishment among firms in St. Helens.³ Both in Newcastle and Lancashire, flint glass was not flourishing in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the Newcastle area there were only five flint glass houses in the 1830s and in Lancashire there were only a small number of flint glass houses in Bolton, St. Helens, Warrington and Manchester.

¹In the early 1860s the products of James Hartley and Co. of Sunderland alone were equivalent to one-third of the English-made sheet glass consumed in England, and equal to about one fourth of the entire produce of the English industry (R.W. Swinburne, op.cit., p. 200).

²'It is doubtful whether the Newcastle district was ever remarkable for fine flint-glass and table ware.' (H.J. Powell, op.cit., p. 96). In the 1830s only five flint glass houses were at work. (Ibid.)

³Pilkington originated from the British Plate Glass Company founded in 1773. For the history of the company, see T.C. Barker, Pilkington Brothers and the Glass Industry, 1960.

By the mid-nineteenth century, flint glass making had been concentrated overwhelmingly in Stourbridge and Birmingham. Birmingham was somewhat late in its development of the glass trade. It began with small enterprises, like toy manufacture, button making and glass cutting in the late eighteenth century.¹ At the turn of the century a number of firms arose and soon became large factories.² In the early 1830s the five Birmingham factories produced more glass than the eleven Stourbridge firms put together.³ F. & C. Osler Co.⁴ and Lloyd and Summerfields Co. were the representative flint glass factories in the city. The Birmingham flint glass manufacturers were

¹No glass was made in Birmingham until 1785, when Isaac Hawkers established a small scale glass-house in Edgbaston Street. The son of Isaac Hawkers extended the trade and built the Park Glass Works in Birmingham Heath, which in later years passed into the hands of Lloyd and Summerfields. (S. Timmins, op.cit., p. 527, H.J. Powell, op.cit., p. 104, and V.C.H., Warwick, vol. II, 1908, p. 244). But G.C. Allen wrote that 'as far as table-ware is concerned, the industry (in Birmingham) appears to have spread from Stourbridge about 1750.' (G.C. Allen, The Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country, 1800-1927, 1929, p. 19).

²In 1789 Johnson and Shakespeare erected a glass-house and in 1801 a son of the latter, William Shakespeare, founded the Soho and Vesta Glass Works. In 1807 Thomas Osler established a works. R.K. Dent wrote that 'Previous to Mr. Hawker's first attempt to manufacture glass in Birmingham in 1785, the Midland counties were supplied from Stourbridge, but before the end of the century, Birmingham glass was competing strongly with that of Stourbridge and other neighbouring towns, and its manufacture was rapidly becoming an important local industry.' (Robert Kirkup Dent, Old and New Birmingham, Birmingham, 1879, p. 342).

³W.H.B. Court, The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838, 1938, p. 224.

⁴Osler's factory is described in detail in British Industries: III, Glass, in Tinsley's Magazine, August 1889, pp. 343-53, and Birmingham and General Advertiser, August 24 1848.

competing strongly with those of Stourbridge, although Stourbridge was more specialised. In Birmingham, besides nineteen 'glass manufacturers' and five chandelier and lustre manufacturers there were twenty glass-button manufacturers and twenty glass toy manufacturers in 1851.¹ In Stourbridge, out of eleven glass houses, nine were making flint glass and two were making bottle glass in 1850.²

London became relatively unimportant for the glass industry in the nineteenth century and most of the glass houses came to concentrate their business, not in glass production, but in selling and decoration. At the lowest ebb of the London glass trade two flint glass firms - the Whitefriars Works and the Falcon Works - continued to flourish by finding skilful artisans and talented designers or by getting new techniques of glass production.³ In Scotland the famous Holyrood Glass Works in Edinburgh was started at the beginning of the nineteenth century and maintained a high reputation throughout it.⁴ To compete

¹Birmingham Mercury, May 17 1851.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, July 13 1867. For the Stourbridge glass industry, see D.R. Guttery, op.cit., H.J. Haden, The Stourbridge Glass Industry in the 19th Century, Black Country Society, 1971, and H.W. Woodward, The Glass Industry of the Stourbridge District, in West Midland Studies, vol. 8, 1976, pp. 36-42.

³The Whitefriars Works founded in 1680 by William Davis, was bought by William Powell, who was instrumental in finding the artisans and the designers. The Falcon Works, established by Francis Jackson at Blackfriars in 1693, was taken over by the Pellatt family a century later. Apsley Pellatt was also eager to exploit new techniques of glass production and travelled on the Continent for the purpose.

⁴The origin of the Holyrood Glass Works was the Caledonian Glass Works, founded by William Ford in 1812. In 1864 the Edinburgh and Leith Flint Glassworks was established by Alexander Jenkinson. Both Ford and Jenkinson were competing with each other in flint glass production in Edinburgh.

with Stourbridge flint glass, a uniqueness of product was required for glass making in other areas. In Yorkshire the mushroom growth of bottle glass houses began in the mid-nineteenth century.¹ The Yorkshire bottle houses were known to be establishments founded by well-off workers.²

In Ireland the glass industry took a different course from that in England and Scotland. Coal used in the Irish glass houses was obtained chiefly from South Wales and clay for pots from Stourbridge.³ Penrose, who established the first glass house at Waterford in 1783, imported skilled workmen from Stourbridge.⁴ The firm had a world wide reputation and many other glass factories followed it. But by the

¹For the history of the glass bottle industry in Yorkshire, see David Brundage, *The Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire and the Lock-Out of 1893*, M.A. thesis, University of Warwick, 1976, chapter I (pp. 1-31).

²E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-century Britain*, in *Labouring Men*, 1964, p. 296.

³M.S. Dudley Westropp, *Irish Glass*, 1920, p. 171, 176.

⁴D.A. Chart, *An Economic History of Ireland*, Dublin, 1920, p. 86. D.N. Sandilands pointed out that in 1785 a Stourbridge glass maker, Hill, emigrated to Ireland with 'the best set of workmen that he could get in the County of Worcester.' (D.N. Sandilands, *The Early History of Glass Making in the Stourbridge District*, *op.cit.*, p. 227.)

mid-nineteenth century most of them had disappeared, mainly because a heavy export tax was imposed in 1825 and the market was lost outside Ireland. The Waterford glass firm was closed in 1851, when many of the workers went to Belfast, where the glass industry still struggled on until 1870.¹ In 1825 there were eleven glass-houses in Ireland, while in 1852 there were only three left - two in Dublin for flint glass and bottles, and one in Belfast.²

II. Glass Making in the Third Quarter of the Nineteenth Century

The history of the flint glass industry in the third quarter of the nineteenth century has three major characteristics. First, the flint glass trade, together with the other branches of the glass industry, experienced a golden age of prosperity over the period, although occasional recessions took place. Certainly this provided a necessary condition for the achievement by flint glass makers of the

¹ Among them The Waterloo Glass House Co. built by Daniel Foley in Cork in 1815, produced the most superior quality flint glass by employing over 100 workmen, but it was closed in 1835. The Terrace Glass Works, established in Cork in 1818, employed about forty cutters in the 1830s and produced lustres, lamps and table ware, but it became the last factory in Cork in 1841. (E.N. Elville, English and Irish Cut Glass, 1750-1950, 1953, p. 62.)

² M.S. Dudley Westropp, op.cit., p. 142.

position of Labour aristocrats. Second, the pattern of regional distribution in the flint glass trade which had emerged by the mid-nineteenth century was strengthened and consolidated; the West Midlands, particularly Stourbridge, became more significant as the centre of flint glass making. However, the appearance of pressed glass in the Newcastle area was a new feature after mid-century. Since pressed glass production required less skill, it began to threaten the skilled, blown flint glass makers in other areas. Finally, apart from pressed glass production, the development of the flint glass trade was achieved without adopting any technical innovations which would have involved drastic changes in the production process. Blown flint glass makers continued to rely upon the traditional skill which had been used for centuries. The size of factories continued to be small and the 'chair' system remained as the unit of production. All these factors helped to sustain the old artisan consciousness.

The final repeal of the excise duty on glass in 1845 was certainly a pre-condition for the rapid expansion of glass production. The great impediment to the development of glass manufacture in Britain was the heavy duty which was first imposed in 1695. Soon after, in 1698, it was repealed, but the duty was reimposed by an Act of 1745.¹ The Penny Magazine wrote of this 'obnoxious' duty in 1844 that:

¹For the excise duty on glass, see H.J. Powell, op.cit., chapter XII, pp. 153-7, and D.N. Sandilands, The Last Fifty Years of the Excise Duty on Glass, in J.S.G.T., vol. 15, 1931, pp. 231-45.

'So close and binding are the restrictions, that a manufacturer can hardly make any experiments on a large scale, nor can he introduce any improvements except in a few minor details. ... Every furnace, pot, oven, and warehouse must be registered; every "charge", or filling, must be under the control of the officers; every drawing out from the annealing-oven must be at prescribed hours. From the making of the pots themselves, to the packing up of the glass for sale, everything is done after a certain manner, which is determined by Act of Parliament.' ¹

After depression in the late 1840s the glass manufacturing industry entered a prosperous period until the late 1870s when depression returned. One of the factors influencing this prosperity was the Great Exhibition held in 1851. The contract for glass required for the Crystal Palace stimulated the production of rolled plate glass² and the exhibits of eighteen flint glass manufacturers were 'truly extraordinary.'³ Osler's factory exhibited a chandelier. Elihu Burritt wrote in 1868 that 'If the vote were taken of the million of different countries who saw what that first Crystal Palace contained, as to the most impressive, attractive, and best remembered object, a majority would say that it was Osler's Crystal Fountain.'⁴ This was the beginning

¹ A Day at a Glass Factory, in Penny Magazine, vol. XIII, June 1844, op.cit., p. 256.

² Plate glass for the Crystal Palace was produced jointly by Hartleys, Chances, and Pilkingtons. 'It is true to say that James Hartley's patent glass made the great Crystal Palace of 1851 possible.' (W. Waples, op.cit., p. 4.)

³ Birmingham Mercury, May 17 1851. The names of the firms which contributed to the exhibition are given in H.J. Powell, op.cit., pp. 160-1.

⁴ Elihu, Burritt, Walks in the Black Country and its Green Borderland, 1868, p. 118. J. Ward also sang his praises as follows: 'This firm has carried the art of making glass to its present perfection; it is not merely in transparency of light, in the diaphanous purity of the metal, but in the diamond-like property which it possesses of sending back the rays to the eye in greater brilliancy than it receives them.' (J. Ward, The World in its Work shops, 1851, p. 132.)

of the golden age of flint glass making.

As a rough indicator, reflecting the changes in the amounts of production, figures of exports can be used, since there were no other statistics of glass production in the nineteenth century. Export figures of 'all glass' and flint glass aggregated for every five year period between 1850 and 1884 is shown in Table 1:1. Exports of flint

TABLE 1:1 Exports of All Glass and Flint Glass between 1850 and 1884.

years	exports of all glass (A) (£1,000)	rate of increase (%)	exports of flint glass (B) (£1,000)	rates of increase (%)	(B)/(A) (%)
1850-54	2,248	100.0	718	100.0	31.9
1855-59	2,929	130.3	896	124.8	30.5
1860-64	3,404	151.4	1,334	185.8	39.2
1865-69	4,029	179.2	1,392	193.9	34.5
1870-74	5,360	238.4	1,511	210.4	28.2
1875-79	4,378	194.8	1,316	183.1	30.1
1880-84	5,099	226.8	1,477	205.7	29.0

Source: Calculated from the data in W.E.S. Turner, *The British Glass Industry: Its Development and Outlook*, op.cit., p. 133.

glass approximately doubled in the third quarter of the century, whereas 'all glass' increased by 2.27. There is no reason to believe that changes in the value of exports depended upon increases in prices and the quality of the product rather than in sheer increase in the volume of sales. However, exports of flint glass took a different course from those of 'all glass', which constantly continued to increase until the mid-1870s. In the second half of the 1850s the development of flint glass seems to have been retarded, due to recessions in 1855 and

the flint glass makers' long strike and lock-out in 1858-59. In the first half of the next decade this retardation disappeared and exports of flint glass increased more rapidly than those of 'all glass'. After that until the mid-1870s flint glass continued to flourish and in 1873 exports reached the highest peak over the period concerned, showing £359,000 a year. But the second half of the decade saw a decline in exports, owing to the depression which attacked the flint glass trade in 1877. From 1881 to 1884 exports increased again both in 'all glass' and flint glass, though by small margins, but in 1885 they fell once more. It is clear that, although flint glass making developed and had a golden age after 1850, the really remarkable prosperity came after 1860.

However, even in the 1860s, foreign glass slowly but gradually encroached upon the English trade.¹ Belgian tumblers and wine-glasses began to displace those of British origin both in home and foreign markets, while the Germans also became dangerous rivals. In the late 1860s some glass manufacturers and glass makers began to feel the threat of foreign competition. Before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1868, George Lloyd, chairman of the Midland Flint Glass Manufacturers Association, remarked that 'profits have diminished, but I would not

¹After 1868 the ratio between exports and imports of 'all glass' (in money terms) went down below 1.00. The average ratio in each decade was 4.86 (scaled up) in the 1850s, 1.42 in the 1860s, 0.68 in the 1870s and 0.61 in the 1880s. (Calculated from the data in W.E.S. Turner, op.cit., p. 133.)

represent it as altogether due to the price of labour or the scarcity of labour, because foreign competition is an element.'¹ W.T. Swene, a Birmingham flint glass maker, reported to the Society of Arts of Birmingham, after returning from the Paris Exhibition in 1867 that 'there can be no doubt that the extent of the competition existing between the Continental and our own manufacturers, will be found to show a decided advance in favour of the former.'² Most manufacturers and glass makers had earlier believed that English flint glass of high quality would prevent foreign glass from encroaching upon the English trade. As James Couper, a manufacturer of the City Flint Glass Works of Glasgow, remarked in April 1878, 'A number of years ago, when foreign glass was imported, both employers and employed thought it could not affect us, the metal being very inferior and shapes bad, but now many articles imported not only compare favourably with ours in metal and shape, but, being lower in price, materially injure the sale of home-made goods.'³ The devices to combat foreign competition came too late. The F.G.M.M. wrote in February 1877:

'A few years ago, employers thought they were safe against the aggression of foreigners, by the latter not being able to compete with them for colour or brilliancy of metal in their best flint glass, but

¹R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68 (P.P. XXXIX), Q.18346.

²Reports of Artisans, selected by a Committee appointed by the Council of the Society of Arts to visit the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867, 1867, p. 144.

³Capital and Labour, April 3 1878.

this difficulty has been overcome; and employers admit that, in many instances the quality of foreign glass is equal to their own.'¹

The state of the trade worsened to the extent that the Brierley Hill Advertiser reported in 1879 that 'foreign decanters are being largely sold in the Midlands, completely finished, at a price which is little if any more than the cost of cutting would amount to in an English shop.'² In 1880 the Factory Inspector reported that the flint glass trade 'has been suffering much from the effects of foreign competition. Great efforts are being made to retain our position.'³ The golden age for flint glass making was over.

The course of development of the flint glass trade after 1850 is supported by evidence of unemployment figures. As Table 1:2 shows, the annual average rate of unemployment in flint glass making was over

TABLE 1:2 The Rate of Unemployment of Flint Glass Makers between 1853 and 1881. (percentages)

Years	Rate of unemployment per year
1853-54	10.5
1855-59	12.7
1860-64	9.8
1865-69	8.9
1870-74	8.5
1875-79	15.0
1880-81	18.2

Source: Calculated from a list of the receivers of Unemployment Allowance in the Quarterly Report of the G.G.M.F.S. from 1853 to 1881; F.G.M.M., vol. I- vol. XI.

1) For the procedure see Appendix A.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 935.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, March 22 1879.

³Factory Inspectors' Report ending October 31 1880, 1881 (P.P. XX III) p. 6.

10% in the 1850s, but in the 1860s and the first half of the 1870s it went down below 10%. The years with unemployment rates over 10% were 1852, 1855-56, 1858-59, 1861-62, 1868-70 and 1877-81. (See Appendix A) These were bad years. The depression which began in 1877 raised the rate in the second half of the 1870s to over 15%. In January 1879 the Central Secretary of the F.G.M.F.S. remarked that 'We commence the New Year under gloomy prospects, little hope in the improvement of trade, and a plentiful supply of discharges, already sixty being added to the list since last quarter day, which makes over five hundred unemployed members.'¹ In the early 1880s it rose to over 18%. The next step is an investigation of changes in the labour-force structure produced by the development of the glass industry over the period. It would be valuable to examine the regional distribution of flint glass makers in relation to that of 'all glass' workers.

During the period between 1851 and 1881 national employment in glass manufacturing more than doubled from 10,238 to 23,295.² Each decade during the period showed a continuous increase, but the rate of increase between 1871 and 1881 (9.4%) was the smallest of any decade in the nineteenth century.³ Between 1851 and 1881 increased employment in the glass trade was recorded for all regions, but there were marked variations in the proportions of the national total. As Table 1:3 shows, the West Midlands decreased its share from 28.9% to 21.4%,

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 736.

²Printed Census Tables of 1851 and 1881.

³C.M. Brown, op.cit., p. 90.

although it was still one of the leading regions for glass making over the period. The Newcastle area also continued to have a decreasing share from 20.0% to 13.8% in the same period. Both London and Bristol shared the same fate. On the other hand, both Lancashire and Yorkshire showed a remarkable increase. Particularly Lancashire, which came to have the largest share among all regions in 1871, and had about one-quarter of all employment in 1881. Scotland showed some revival in the 1850s and the 1860s but decreased in the 1870s. How can these variations be accounted for?

Changes in the regional weight of plate glass making can explain it. In 1858 a syndicate took over almost all the plate glass manufacture of England.¹ By the mid-1860s plate glass production came to be monopolised by Chance Bro. of Birmingham, Pilkington of St. Helens, and Hartleys of South Shields. However, particularly after 1870 flat glass making in the Newcastle area declined as a direct consequence of competition from Pilkington and Chance. The decline in Newcastle's relative share was chiefly due to the decline of flat glass making in the area. Only Pilkington continued to develop and largely contributed to the maintenance of Lancashire as the leading employer in the country. The increase of employment in Yorkshire over the period was due to the mushroom growth of small-scale bottle glass houses in the area after the mid-century.

The examination of changes in regional distribution of flint glass makers in relation to those of 'all glass' workers is of importance.

¹This syndicate 'at once proceeded to curtail expenditure and limit output by closing two of the seven works then in operation. Two glass-works at St. Helens, one at Ravenhead, and Swinburne's at South Shields continued in operation.' (G.B. Hodgson, op.cit., p. 364, and V.C.H., Durham, vol. II, 1907, p. 310.)

TABLE 1:3 Regional Distribution of Employment in the All Glass Industry and in the Flint Glass Industry between 1851 and 1881. (percentages)

Year	1851		1861		1871		1881	
Region	All glass	Flint glass (1852)	All glass	Flint glass	All glass	Flint glass	All glass	Flint glass
West Midlands	28.9	39.6	27.0	41.3	21.0	39.2	21.4	40.9
Newcastle area	20.0	19.4	18.8	7.5	17.4	4.3	13.8	5.2
Bristol area	2.6	0.7	1.8	0.5	1.9	0.2	1.1	0.2
London	16.2	8.1	12.9	2.6	14.6	3.0	12.7	3.3
Lancashire	17.8	20.8	20.5	22.1	21.8	30.3	25.7	26.3
Yorkshire	7.2	11.9	10.2	14.3	12.0	13.4	16.7	14.6
Scotland	5.8	9.5	7.3	11.7	9.1	9.6	6.7	9.5
Remainder	1.5	0.0	1.5	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.9	0.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

- Source: 1) 'All glass' workers are calculated from the printed census tables of 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881, by C.B. Brown, op.cit., p. 77, 84, 90.
- 2) Flint glass makers are calculated from the members of the Districts in the F.G.M.F.S. of 1852, 1861, 1871 and 1881 obtainable from the Quarterly Report in the F.G.M.M. (Appendix B.) Flint glass makers in Ireland are excluded.

As Table 1:3 shows, the most significant area of flint glass making was the West Midlands, where about 40% of national flint glass makers were concentrated. In spite of the gradually decreasing share of 'all glass' workers in the area between 1851 and 1881, flint glass makers kept the share of 40% constant. It therefore follows that flint glass makers' weight in terms of employment among 'all glass' workers in the area must have been increased in this period. In the Newcastle area the position of flint glass makers in the 'all glass' trade was different from that in the West Midlands. In Newcastle whereas 'all glass' workers occupied one of the leading positions in the national league flint glass makers had a smaller proportion, being 9.4% of national flint glass makers in 1851. Its share declined over the period from 9.4% to 5.2% in 1881. Flint glass makers in the Newcastle area were losing their significance in terms of employment, along with 'all glass' workers in the area. The same tendency existed in London and, on a much smaller scale, in Bristol. On the other hand, both in Lancashire and Yorkshire there were relatively high proportions of flint glass makers, showing respectively 20.8% and 11.9% in 1852. In addition, the shares of both areas tended to increase over the period. The rapid development of the flint glass industry in Manchester is mainly responsible for the increase of the proportion in Lancashire, from 20.8% in 1851 to 30.3% in 1871. But the share of Lancashire fell to 26.3% in 1881 as a result of depression damaging the Manchester flint glass trade more severely than anywhere else. The situation in Scotland was unique. Its share of flint glass makers was not large, but stable, constantly about 10% over the whole period. What was significant in flint glass production in Scotland was the fact that its workers grew relatively faster than 'all glass' workers. The relative position of flint glass

makers in terms of employment, to 'all glass' workers is vital when considering the nature of the Labour aristocracy. Consciousness was basically affected, not only by the degree of regional concentration of flint glass makers in absolute numbers, but also by their position in relation to the whole glass industry in the specific area. Flint glass makers in the West Midlands and Scotland might feel that their position in the glass industry as a whole was significant and that the significance was increasing over the period. On the other hand, flint glass makers in Newcastle might feel the declining position over the period. Flint glass makers in Yorkshire and Lancashire realised their prosperous trade over the period but in relation to other glass workers in the area they might not feel that their position was improving. There is a possibility that Yorkshire flint glass makers felt their relatively sinking position in comparison to the rising bottle industry. Of course, changes in the numbers employed did not directly create the Labour aristocratic consciousness of flint glass makers. Many intermediate factors such as the hierarchy in the workshop, the relations of flint glass makers to glass cutters and bottlemakers, and the position of flint glass makers in the community, must be considered. Nonetheless, regional variations of employment, in both absolute and relative terms, provided a condition, at least indirectly, for creating the regional variations in the degree of Labour Aristocratic consciousness among flint glass makers.

The rise of pressed glass in the Newcastle area was a new feature after 1850. Pressed glass was an American invention of the 1820s¹ and

¹George S. and Helen MacKearin, American Glass, New York, 1941, p. 334, and L.W. Watkins, American Glass and Glass Making, 1950, p. 65. The first patent was taken out by J.P. Bakewell and Co., Pittsburgh, on September 9 1825 (MacKearin, ibid., p. 334.)

it was soon being used in England. Although most of the early pressed glass was made in the West Midlands,¹ it had found its way to the Newcastle area by mid-century. It is likely that in the West Midlands, where skilled glass makers had been concentrated by that time, glass manufacturers found it difficult to continue pressed glass production.² Pressed glass contained little or no lead. Hence it was produced quite cheaply at the cost of its brilliancy.³ In addition, the designs were simple and well adapted for mechanical reproduction, so that productivity was much higher than that in blown flint glass making.⁴ Since it was, to the ordinary eyes, almost the same as the blown flint glass, pressed glass could rapidly expand its market with the expansion of the railway

¹In 1832 the Richardson's factory of Stourbridge introduced a machine for 'pressing' flint glass into England. Before long this was followed by Rice Harris, by Bacchus and Green of Birmingham, by Thomas Hawkes of Dudley and by Sheeley and Davis of Stourbridge. At the Birmingham Exhibition held in 1849 Rice Harris, Bacchus, and Lloyd and Summerfield displayed pressed glass. (Hugh Wakefield, Nineteenth Century British Glass, 1961, p. 59.) At the 1851 Great Exhibition, Rice Harris was the only firm that displayed pressed glass. (H.J. Powell, op.cit., pp. 160-1.)

²In fact, a big-strike in a Birmingham flint glass factory begun in 1848 was caused by the introduction of pressed machines and it damaged the factory as well as the glass makers Union. About this strike, see below p.147.

³About the production process of pressed glass, see below pp.38-39.

⁴In the early 1860s, for instance, 'One firm formerly produced annually 350,000 lbs. weight of blown flint glass, now made of pressed glass about 3,000,500 lbs weight.' (R.W. Swinburne, op.cit., p. 201.)

system. Sowerby's Ellison Flint Glass Works of Gateshead adopted this method and made a great success of it. One of the contributory factors was the fact that pressed glass production 'to a great extent renders the manufacturers of it independent of the skilled glass blowers, by whose combinations manufacturers of the blown glass are much fettered.'¹ Only in this way were flint glass factories in the Newcastle area able to survive.² In 1865 the Ellison Works was the home of 'the largest manufacturers of pressed flint-glass in the kingdom'³ with 450 men and by the early 1880s it had developed to 'the largest pressed glass manufactory in the world'⁴ employing from 700 to 1,000 men. Geo. Davidson & Co. founded in 1868 also expanded pressed glass production in Gateshead⁵ which became a centre of pressed glass making.

¹Children's Employment Commission (herein after referred to as C.E.C.) 4th Report, 1865, (P.P. XX), p. 182, Q.19.

²R.W. Swinburne reported before the Social Science Association held in Newcastle in 1863 that 'the manufacture of blown flint glass had, in this neighbourhood (on the Tyne), declined as much as fifty per cent; but the manufacture of pressed glass has recently been prosecuted with great vigour and success in this locality.' (R.W. Swinburne, op.cit., p. 201).

³C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 182, Q. 19. The statement of Neville, a partner of the Ellison Works. See also J.B. Lauderdale, History of Sowerby's Ellison Glass Works, Limited, (typescript), p. 1.

⁴Newcastle Chronicle, October 21 1882.

⁵Newcastle and District; An Epitome of Results and Manual of Commerce, 1889, p. 169, and L. Fraser, Pressed Glass - A Short History of Geo. Davidson & Co. Ltd., 1867-1948, Newcastle, 1948, p. 1.

Finally, the size of flint glass factories must be examined. In contrast to pressed glass factories in Newcastle, blown flint glass factories were relatively small. Sources indicating the exact number of flint glass makers employed (not the number of organised glass makers) are difficult to obtain. Printed Census Tables show the number of glass workers, but do not classify them into flint glass makers, glass cutters and so on. The Birmingham Mercury of 1851 estimated that the total number of flint glass makers in the United Kingdom was about 1,000 and 'between 200 and 300 glass makers and the same number of glass cutters or grinders were employed in Birmingham'.¹ The Morning Chronicle of 1850 also estimated that 'the flint glass manufacture of Birmingham gives employment to about 210 glass makers or blowers, and to about the same number of glass cutters or grinders.'² Around 1850 there were ten flint glass factories in Birmingham, so that the average size of factory is estimated to be between 40 and 60, supposing that the glass making section and cutting section were in the same premises. The national survey undertaken by the F.G.M.F.S. in 1857³ suggests that in 12 areas 1244 flint glass makers were employed in 42 factories. (Table 1:4)

¹Birmingham Mercury, May 17 1851.

²Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

³The national survey is not perfect, because 12 out of 23 branches in the F.G.M.F.S. reported both the number of glass factories and flint glass makers employed.

TABLE 1:4 The Number of Flint Glass Factories and Flint Glass Makers employed in 1857.

District	No. of glass factories	No. of flint glass makers employed	Average No. of flint glass makers per factory
Stourbridge	11	311	28.3
Birmingham	10	305	35.0
Manchester	2	197	98.5
Newcastle	7	178	25.4
Edinburgh	2	52	26.0
Dudley	3	52	17.3
Rotherham	1	47	47.0
Warrington	2	43	21.5
Longport	1	24	24.0
Dublin	1	16	16.0
Worsbrodale	1	10	10.0
Bristol	1	9	9.0
Totals	42	1,244	29.6

Source: Calculated from the Returns of National Survey undertaken by the F.G.M.F.S. in 1857: F.G.M.M., vol. III, p.248.

1) Takers-in are not included in the returns.

So the average size of the flint glass making section was about 30 persons per factory. The number in the survey was not limited to the organised members of the Society, but did not include the Takers-in. According to the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, there were 389 flint glass makers, 432 glass cutters and 27 glass engravers in Stourbridge. Besides them there were 164 other glass workers such as teasers and packers.¹ Since there were eleven glass factories in the area, the average size was about 35 for the glass making section and about 40 for the cutting section. The number of glass makers in the six factories in the area is shown in Table 1:5.

TABLE 1:5 The Number of Glass Makers in the Six Factories in Stourbridge in 1861.

Flint Glass Manuf'r	Men	Boys	Women	Totals
William Walker	74	24		98
John Davis	69	16	9	94
William Richardson	70	16	6	92
John Renald	51	25		76
Frederic Stuart	50	13	9	72
Edward Webb	30	8		38

Source: Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, Stourbridge. See Appendix C.

1) The Enumerators' Books have no column for the number of employees, but the figures shown above are written in the outside columns of each manufacturer accidentally by the enumerators.

The Table shows that the number of glass workers was less than 100.²

¹For the details, see Appendix Table C:1.

²Eric Hopkins estimates that 'the number of glass workers must have been appreciably less than 130' in Stourbridge and points out: 'there was no great change in the size of the work unit during the 19th century, and that the glass house of 1914 was fundamentally the same as that of 1815.' (Eric Hopkins, Changes in the Scale of the Industrial Unit in Stourbridge & District 1815-1914, in West Midland Studies, vol. 8, 1976, p. 32.)

It is important to understand that there were 'crib' men who were not included in the figures shown above. 'Cribs' were small glass works in which a master himself worked with one or a few small pots and two or three men or boys. Even during the Excise Duty period before 1845, 'cribs' existed in out-of-the way places so as to evade payment of the duties, but an immediate effect of the repeal of the duties was an increase in the number of 'cribs'.¹ The independent Gaffer in his 'cribs' used the cheapest raw materials with a big proportion of cullet or broken glass which was added to the batch for remelting. Some used nothing but cullet. Quantity was required more than quality. 'Flint-glass of the inferior or commoner kinds, and cheap miscellaneous goods, such as cruets, ink-stands, medical, perfumery, and other small articles, are made.'² There were no links between the 'cribs' and the ordinary glass cutting shops. In Stourbridge the Gaffer in his 'cribs' supplied the cutter's domestic shops 'with grinder with blinks', plain vessels to be cut.³ In the 1860s there were not more than half a dozen cribs in Birmingham⁴ and rather less than fifty in London.⁵ The Children's Employment Commission reported of the London cribs in 1865 that 'Some of these places employ only two or three men and a boy or two; many, not more than half a dozen men and three or four boys, which is represented as about an average size; some double this number or even more; while some approach to the character of a manufactory. ... They are found to much resemble the lucifer match

¹V.C.H., Stafford, vol. II, 1967, p. 228.

²C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 234, Q. 124.

³D.R. Guttery, op.cit., p. 135.

⁴C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 231, Q. 101.

manufactories of the poorest class. Very little capital can be required. Material is obtained by melting down old broken glass. The furnaces are very small.¹ Most of them were in the poorer parts of London - the Borough, Lambeth, Whitechapel and Shoreditch. It seems likely that the number of 'cribs' increased in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1877 W.H. Packwood, the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S., remarked at a joint meeting with the Manufacturers' Association that 'the growth of cribs is of serious importance, both to us, as a Society, and to you, as manufacturers. Our Society has little sympathy with cribs, and we consider it to be to our mutual interest to prevent, as far as possible, its spread. So far as employers are concerned, their part would be to refuse to supply the cribs with cullet, and then it would be impossible for them to obtain broken glass from hotels and elsewhere in sufficient quantities.'² It is clear that the flint glass industry had a dual structure: ordinary flint glass factories and 'cribs'. But even the ordinary factory was far from the large-scale modern factory in size. The small-scale character of production had a bearing on the old artisan consciousness of flint glass makers. They were hostile to 'cribs' men, because 'cribs' produced glass of low quality. Flint glass makers were proud of their trade.

¹C.E.C., p. 234, Q. 124-5.

²F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 241. The joint meeting held on October 12 1877.

Chapter II The Work Situation in the Flint Glass Factory

I. The Production Process of Flint Glass

The manufacture, drying and baking of the melting pots was the first important process in flint glass making, since the preservation and the proper melting of ingredients were essential to the subsequent work on the glass. David Bremner wrote in 1869 that 'The pots are the source of the glass-makers' great anxiety, for, notwithstanding the utmost care in making and annealing them, some give way after being in use only for a week or two; others endure for three or four months; but few reach the age of a year. It occasionally happens that a pot splits when full of 'metal', as the fused glass is called, and then the accident entails a serious loss.'¹ Many glass manufacturers made their own pots.² In making pots the greatest care and delicacy of handling were required. Stourbridge clay was exclusively used. The clay was first crushed into a very fine powder, and then mixed with a quantity of burnt clay. After that it was mixed with water and well kneaded and tempered by the feet of the workmen. Then it was to lie for from five or six weeks to three months till it had acquired the

¹David Bremner, The Industries of Scotland, their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition, Edinburgh, 1869, pp. 377-8.

²'Many manufacturers make their own pots, the quality of which is of vital importance to them, and in these cases a few females and boys are employed in carrying or preparing clay.' (C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 191, Q. 85.)

requisite adhesion.¹ The pots were then built gradually by the workman's fingers. The longer the pots could be left before they were used, the better. Consequently it was important to keep a considerable number on hand. A visitor to the Pellatt Glass Works in London was 'struck with the singular appearance of a large dark room, the floor of which was studded with nearly a hundred of these dome-shaped vessels.... The pots are left in this room for several months.'² Before setting the pots in the furnace they were annealed in a small furnace called a 'pot-arch' during four or five days.³

The melting of ingredients was also an important process. Bad metal was one of the main concerns of glass makers. William Gillinder, a Birmingham flint glass maker and the first C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S. from 1851 to 1854, wrote that 'no matter how clever or practical a man may be in making metal, if he does not have the best of materials, he will

¹ A visitor to the flint glass works in Edinburgh in the mid-1860s wrote that 'The clay is mixed and beaten into mortar, after which it is turned four or five times every week for six months, every time being cut into thin slices and tramped by men with bare feet.' (Scotsman, August 8 1866.) The weight of clay required for one pot was nearly one thousand pounds.

² A Day at a Flint Glass Factory, in Penny Magazine, vol. X, February 1841, Supplement, P.83. The visitor wrote of the pots; 'A little stretch of imagination would have transformed the assemblage into Cassim Baba's oil-jars, and have peopled them with forty thieves; but the damp odour of clay kept the thoughts from wandering from Blackfriars to Bagdad.' (ibid.)

³ A. Ure, Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines, vol. I, 1853, p. 905. The finished pot was about three feet in height, being worth about £10. For the process of making the pot, see George Harrison, op.cit., p. 135.

never produce a first-rate glass, which should have the rich white lustre of silver and colourlessness of water.'¹ The constituents of flint glass were Carbonate of potash 1 part, lead of litharge 2 parts, sand washed and burned 3 parts plus saltpetre oxide of manganese. The flint formerly employed, which gave the name to the glass, was long ago superseded by sand from Lynn in Norfolk, Alum Bay in the Isle of Wight and elsewhere. The French sand from Fontainebleau was, however, found to be the best adapted to the purpose and became almost exclusively employed in glass-making. The potash came from Smethwick near Birmingham, and the manganese from chemical works in Liverpool, Glasgow and London. The proportions in which each ingredient was used varied at different times and in different localities and even in the different glass works in the same district. As Ure mentioned, 'Every different flint-house has a peculiar proportion of glass materials.'² In particular, the proportion of lead, which was the most expensive constituent of flint glass, was kept secret. Harriet Martineau visited a flint glass factory in Birmingham in 1852 and found that 'Red lead is added, to give density to the glass; but in what proportions we did not inquire here, having learned elsewhere that that is the one question which a stranger ought not to ask. It is the grand secret of most glasshouses.'³

¹William Gillinder, A Treatise on the Art of Glass Making, Birmingham, 1851, p. 128.

²A. Ure, op.cit., p. 911.

³Harriet Martineau, Birmingham Glass Works, in Household Words, vol. 5, no. 105, March 27 1852, p. 35. The author of this article is confirmed by Anne Lohrli, Household Words, Toronto, 1973, pp. 357-61.

Generally, the pots were charged every Saturday morning. Each contained about eighteen cwt. of glass, the ingredients for which were put in gradually as the fusion proceeded, from twelve to fifteen hours being required to complete the charging. But the glass was not ready for working by an early hour on Monday or Tuesday morning, because, though the ingredients became melted, the metal was not in a fit state for working owing to the presence of air-bubbles. The bubbles could be excluded only by urging the furnace to its utmost intensity from thirty to forty hours, the mouths of the pots being sealed during that time. Ure wrote that 'Flint glass requires about 48 hours for its complete vitrification... in consequence of the contents of the pot being partially screened by its cover from the action of the fire, as also from the lower intensity of the heat.'¹ While glass mixers prepared the metal at the end of the week, glass makers had holidays.

The glass houses were usually built in the form of a cone, from 60 to 100 feet high, and from 50 to 80 feet in diameter at the base.² The furnace was constructed in the centre of the area. A sufficient weight of melted glass was first gathered or coiled upon the heated end of the hollow iron blow-pipe, varying in length from 5 to 6 feet, and in external diameter from three-quarters of an inch to 2 inches, according to the weight of glass it was intended to gather. The workmen were called gatherers. 'To take more would be to waste, and to take less would be to make the article too thin and light.'³ The right weight

¹A. Ure, op.cit., p. 911.

²Ibid., p. 905.

³D. Bremner, op.cit., p. 379.

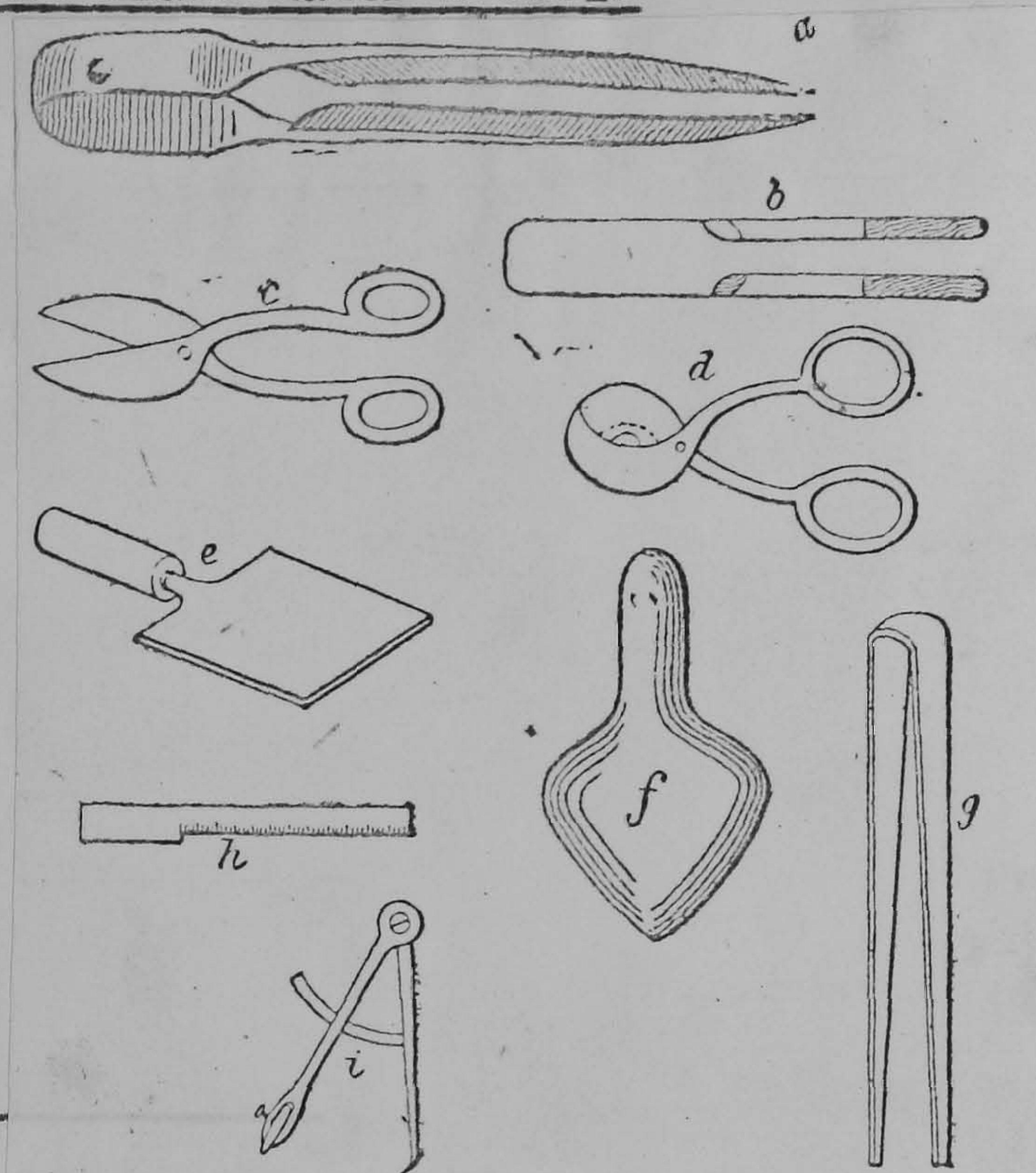
was determined by the nicety of the gatherer's touch. Thus the most skilful work began normally on Monday or Tuesday morning.

Flint glass makers worked in groups of four men known as a 'chair' which consisted of a Workman (sometimes called the 'Gaffer'), a Servitor, a Footmaker, and a Taker-in.¹ Chairs were placed round the furnace and each chair had, on an average, two pots, but varied with the size of the pots and the nature of the work.² The names of the hierarchy were derived from the processes employed in the manufacture of a wine-glass. A Workman, who sat on a peculiar kind of chair before the furnace fitted with a rail on each side, was the principal of these and executed the most difficult parts of the work. The rails were perfectly parallel, but sloped slightly downwards from back to front. On the rails the Workman rested the blowing iron, and rolled it backwards and forwards. 'The lumps of glass projects over the right arm and revolved as the blowing iron or puntil is rolled backwards and forwards, so that by the aid of very simple tools the necessary shaping can be performed.'³

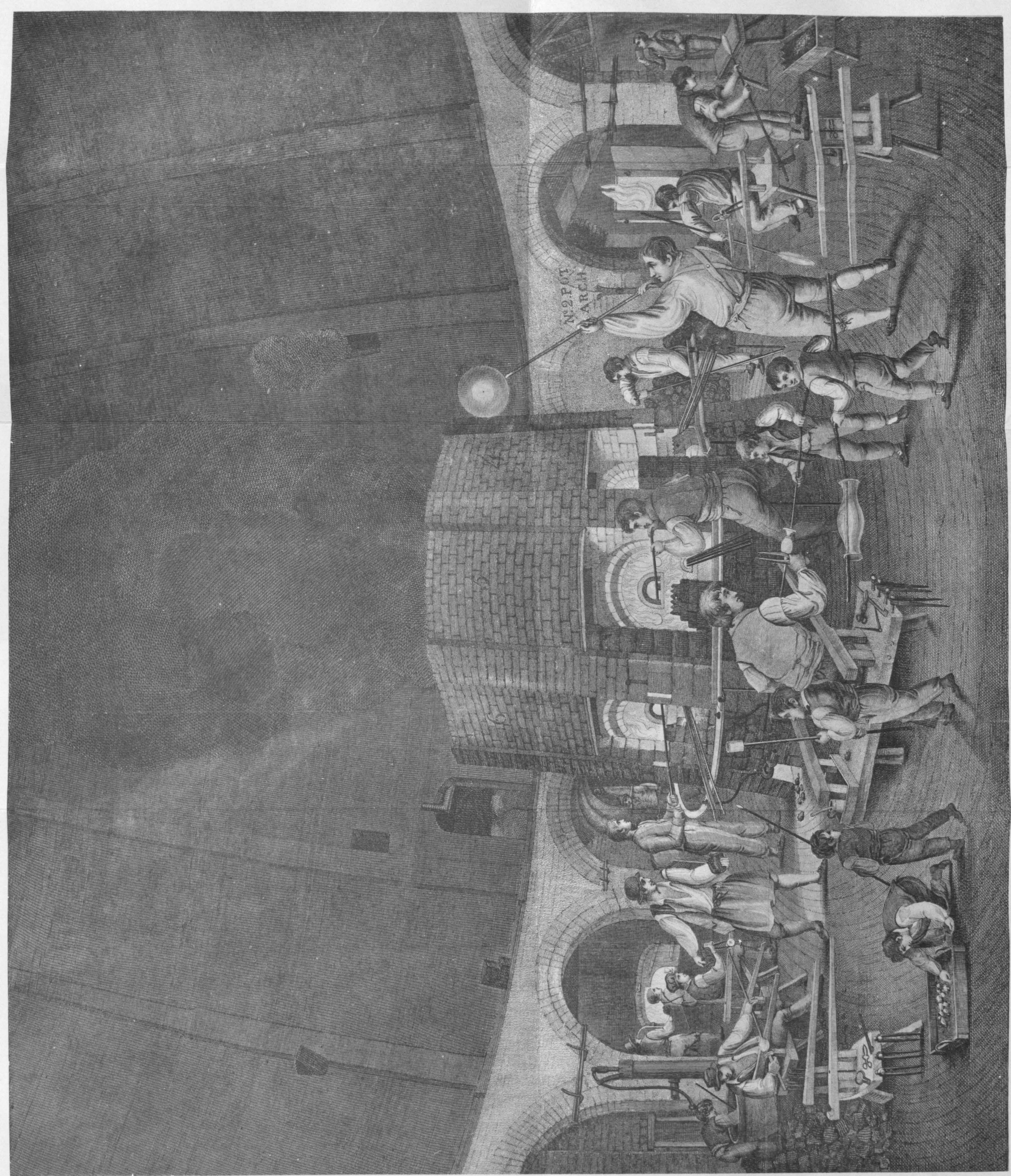
¹In Britain the four man chair was typical in flint glass making, but a five-man system was adopted in Manchester in the 1860s. On the other hand, in the 'cribs', the group consisted of fewer persons; two men and a boy or even one man and a boy. On the Continent 'each chair consists of as many as eight persons.... five boys are employed.... every provision is made to avoid needless waste of skilled labour.' (H.J. Powell, The Principles of Glass-Making, 1883, p. 76.)

²For instance, in Birmingham in 1867 there were 136 chairs with 300 men, 66 apprentices and 130 pots. Since the number of sets were divided by two, because of the two-shift system, about two pots were to each chair. (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 10).

³F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 77.

Figure I. Flint Glass Maker's Tools

- a) is the sugar tong spring tool, the Workman grasping the tool in the middle with his right hand, and compressing the blades upon the glass, to which a rotatory motion is given by his left hand by means of the working or blowing iron, is able to regulate the form of the bulb, or by increasing the pressure, to divide it completely.
- b) is a similar tool, with the blades replaced by movable pieces of wood; it is principally used for opening the bowls of tumblers and wine-glasses, which are liable to become scratched or marked by contact with iron.
- c) is an ordinary pair of shears for removing a surplus of thin glass.
- d) shears for severing the ends of handles or rods of considerable substance.
- e) is a flat square of polished iron with a wooden handle, known as the 'battledore', and used for flattening the square bottoms of tumblers, or other similar purposes.
- f) is a blow-pipe of glass or metal, used for expanding the opened end of a bulb, or for chilling part of a vessel during manipulation, in order that it may retain its form or substance whilst another part is being fashioned.
- g) is a pair of ordinary pincers for seizing and shaping the handles of jugs, or the decorative filagree work on vases.
- h) is a measure-stick.
- i) is a compass for marking with a fragment of wax the amount of surplus to be removed with the shears from the edge of a wine-glass or tumbler-bowl. (H.J. Powell, The Principles of Glass-making, 1883, op.cit., pp. 56-7.)



Interior View of Aston Flint Glass Works, belonging to B. & W. Gibbins, Birmingham.

The Servitor, a chief assistant, extracted the glass from the melting pots and shaped it roughly for the Workman. The Footmaker, a second assistant, assisted the Servitor not only by fashioning the feet and stands of wine glasses and goblets but by doing other miscellaneous work. Hence the F.G.M.M. wrote in the 1860s that 'Rapidly as tumblers or wine-glasses can be turned out by the joint exertions of the three men - it is just possible for them to produce a hundred and sixty of the commonest wine-glasses, or about eighty of the best kind, in six hours - it would be difficult for any one man to work unaided.'¹ The Taker-in or boys looked after the blowing-irons, carried vessels to be annealed, held the 'battledore' and ran errands.

The last process of flint glass making was annealing. Annealing was simply an arrangement whereby the articles were slowly cooled, otherwise they would either fly to pieces immediately with the least touch, or become so delicate as to be unfit for use. The glass articles were placed at once, when finished, and as hot as possible, on iron pans which travelled slowly on a miniature railway downward from the heated end to the cooler end, a distance of about sixty feet. The time for annealing varied from six to sixty hours, the heavier articles requiring the most heat and time.

After that the products were sent to be cut in the same premises in most cases, but sometimes to the independent glass cutting works.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 76.

The work of glass cutting consisted of three processes - roughing, smoothing and polishing. The rougher, or grinder, received the glass and marked the pattern on it, and cut it, by using a circular piece of iron. A visitor to the glass cutting works of John Smith of Leith wrote in 1866 that 'The cutters sat at frames to which spindles and wheels, varying in size from eighteen to one or two inches in diameter, were propelled by belts and drums driven by steam power.'¹ A stream of wet sand ran continually upon the glass when being cut or ground. The smoother received the articles from the rougher, and with stone, commonly called the Warrington stone, smoothed all the cuttings. The article was next 'putted' by the polisher. This putty was a white powder, formed by calcining an alloy composed of equal parts of tin and lead. The difference in effect of cutting and engraving lay principally in the depth of incision. Engraving wheels were copper discs ranging from two inches to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Instead of pumice, emery powder was used as the engraving medium. The wheels were adjusted in a small lathe, which was generally driven by a foot-treadle. Obviously engraving required higher skill than cutting.

¹Scotsman, August 8 1866. Edinburgh glass cutting and engraving were famous. John Smith was 'a noted engraver in Bangor Road, Leith. He was an expert in heraldry on table-ware, his work was both varied and expensive.' (Arnold Fleming, Scottish and Jacobite Glass, Glasgow, 1939, p. 118). By the 1860s the application of steam to the processes of cutting and grinding was universally adopted in the larger manufactories (S. Timmins (ed.), op.cit., p. 530.) Although Timmins wrote the application of steam was 'first done about 1840 by Mr. Benson, at Dudley, and Mr. Dovey, at Stourbridge,' (ibid., p. 530), it could be traced back earlier than 1840. An observer viewed Bower and Sons, of Hunslet in 1828 and wrote of the cutting shop 'urged by a small steam engine, the most elegant ornamented articles are finished for sale.' (Richard Phips, A Dictionary of the Arts of Life and Civilization, 1833, p. 770.)

The production process of flint glass making and cutting required apprenticeship, through which a hereditary knowledge of the glass manufacture was generally acquired. The proficiency thus obtained was 'based on a groundwork of "rule of thumb" rather than of science.'¹ It is clear that glass making and engraving required more skill than glass cutting. But the production of pressed glass required less skill than that of blown glass. Whereas in blown flint glass making the melted metal was shaped by the pressure of the glass maker's breath, in pressed glass it was done by the pressure of a metallic plunger. As David Bremner described, 'An assistant having gathered the proper quantity of glass, drops it into the mould, the pressman severing the connection between the gathering-rod and the glass by cutting it with shears. The plunger is then brought down on the glass, and in a second or two it is raised, and the tumbler is turned out.'² The group consisted of more than four men, normally six.³ At the cost of the quality, productivity in pressed glass was incomparably higher than

¹H.J. Powell, The Principles of Glass-making, op.cit., 1883, p. 1.

²David Bremner, op.cit., p. 381.

³For instance, in the pressed glass firm of E. Moore and Co. in South Shields, 'There are eight chairs in each house, and on the average six persons to a chair, e.g. to take an average set, a taker-in, two stickers up, a gatherer, a presser, and a melter. The three first or lowest in the chair are all boys; the gatherer sometimes so, sometimes not, but generally as old as 16 or more; **the two highest are men.**' (C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 238.)

that in blown. Whereas 160 common wine-glasses were produced by blowing in six hours, from 1,100 to 1,200 tumblers were produced by pressing in seven.¹ The production process of pressed glass making was more extensive and integrated. In the Ellison Flint Glass Works of Gateshead in the late 1880s 'the whole of the iron work for the making of "Presses" is done on the premises, from the handling of the pig-iron to the completion of the elaborate iron mould.'² The less skill required necessitated five-year apprenticeship³, two years shorter than that of blown flint glass makers.

Apart from the production of pressed glass, there was no drastic technical innovation in flint glass making over the period with which this study is concerned, but slightly improved machinery was introduced. It is interesting to examine flint glass makers' attitudes towards mechanisation. Their basic attitude is well illustrated by the following statement of an Edinburgh man.

'I believe it is pretty generally agreed among us that all strikes are bad, and some have gone the length of saying, we will have no more strikes; but, alas! what will that saying go towards preventing the innovations of those who are determined to oppress and grind us down below the level of the common labourer.' 4

¹The number of pressed glasses is taken from an article on "The Sowerby Art Glass in Gateshead", in Newcastle Daily Chronicle, October 21 1882.

²Newcastle and District; An Epitome of Results and Mutual of Commerce, 1889, op.cit., p. 164.

³Rules & Regulations of the Pressed Glass Makers' Friendly Society of the North of England, February 17 1872, (Webb Trade Union Coll., Section C, vol. 42, XVI), provision XXXVII.

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. 1, p. 6.

The introduction of more efficient furnaces was bitterly opposed by flint glass makers. In 1851 R.M. Deeley, the partner of the Dial Glass House of Stourbridge, obtained a patent for a new furnace which would enable cheap slack to be used. This innovation was of importance, because the increasing price of coal in the area, due largely to the development of the iron industry, was imposing a disadvantage upon the glass industry. 'But our Workmen at that time joined a "Trades Union",' R.M. Deeley recalled, 'and objected to work the patent furnaces, and actually stopped working rather than do so. We were then driven to get men from whatever we could, Yorkshire, Bristol &c.'¹ The year 1861 was of some importance with respect to the Siemens patent furnace adopted in the Birmingham flint glass trade. The Lloyd and Summerfield factory introduced the Siemens furnace at their works at Spring Hill and George Lloyd became 'the first person that introduced it into this country.'² Chance and Bro. Company adopted the furnace in the following year at Spon Lane, and F. and S. Osler followed a little later.³ George Lloyd remarked of the furnace before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in

¹Richard Mountford Deeley, Reminiscences, MSS, (Birmingham Reference Library), p. 45.

²R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, (P.P. XXXIX), p. 26, Q. 18493.

³S. Timmins, (ed.), op.cit., p. 531, and V.C.H., Warwick, vol. II, 1908, p. 247.

1869 that:

'I met with the very greatest opposition from my own men in carrying it out, so much so, that if I had not had rather more obstinacy in persisting in what I supposed to be right than they had in the opposite direction, I must have put it out and abandoned it.' ¹

The introduction of the furnace led them to an understanding that it would produce more 'metal' and force them to produce more glass of lower quality at the cost of their skill. In fact, the opposition in the factory, as Lloyd complained, did not come from the furnace men but 'from the glass blowers who have nothing to do with the management of the furnace.'²

Even the adaptation of new small machinery was a serious matter for flint glass makers. When a gadget was introduced in the trade in 1866, the Lancashire glass makers were reluctant to accept it on the ground that the cold gadget would crack the foot of the glass when it was hot. They contended that 'it requires great nicety in adjusting the temperature between the cold iron and the hot glass', and the men say, 'Pay us for the cracked ones till we get used to it.'³

However, it is worth noting that the attitude of flint glass makers towards innovations was gradually changing from absolute refusal

¹R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 24, Q.18408.

²Ibid., p. 24, Q. 18417.

³Ibid., p. 40. Q. 18815. The C.C. of the Society appointed a deputation including representatives from Birmingham, Stourbridge, Manchester, St. Helens and the C.S. to investigate the cause of the dispute. (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 701). Eventually, the introduction of gadget was retarded, but in the early 1870s it came to be used widely.

to conditional acceptance in the third quarter of the century. The transition was marked by a dispute at Tutbury which occurred at the end of the 1860s. Richardson, a flint glass manufacturer of Tutbury, introduced a shearing machine in 1869 and, as a result, a dispute took place. This small machine was expected to replace old-fashioned hand labour in cutting the tops of wine-glasses and goblets. The C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S., 'seeing that in all probability the introduction of this mechanical invention would alter our general system and present style of working,'¹ summoned a special meeting to consider the question, which was followed by a national delegate meeting.² It was significant that two delegates from Tutbury, where the dispute was taking place, agreed to the introduction of the machine. Their reason was; 'To work the machine it requires one machinist, one workman, two servitors, two footmakers, one sticker-up, two boys to gather legs and feet, and one taker-in; total ten; and the workman can work easier with the extra hands than under the present system.'³ A gap appeared between the Tutbury men who expected at a practical level to gain benefits from the machine, and the other delegates who opposed it at a theoretical level. In the end the meeting proposed a compromise that 'the C.S. supply the servitors and footmakers required by Richardson, from the unemployed roll' on the condition that 'no member of our society be

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 581.

²The delegate meeting was held at the Swan Inn, Shude Hill, Manchester on April 30 and May 1 1869. Delegates came from Birmingham, Stourbridge, Manchester, Tutbury, London, Rotherham, Shelton and Glasgow. (Ibid.).

³Ibid.

dismissed to make room for a machine, and that the machinist be a member of our society' and that 'the present rate of numbers be strictly adhered to and that no servitor or footmaker be compelled to blow more.'¹

On May 9 1870 the committee of the Society² met Richardson, who agreed to all the conditions except one in reference to employing members of the Society as machinists. The agreement reached between the two was that two men would work the machine, one of them being selected by Richardson and another by the Society. The Society thus acknowledged the right of manufacturers to introduce the machine and at the same time claimed the right to negotiate the terms under which it was to be used. The address of the C.C. of the Society stated that 'it was not our intention to cripple the machine, but that we simply desired to lay down conditions for working it.'³ Those attitudes were more clearly expressed by the opening address of the C.S. of the Society in 1874.

The address ran:

'The introduction of machinery is generally a fruitful source of quarrel and discontent. But do what we will, we cannot possibly prevent its use. If it be prevented being used in one place, it is certain to be employed in another. And on looking at the gigantic improvements that have been conferred upon society, I doubt whether it be right to prevent its introduction, if we could.'⁴

¹Ibid.

²After the delegate meeting a committee was set up 'to watch the progress of the machine and its bearing upon wages, numbers, and the general supply and distribution of labour in the trade.' The Committee consisted of T.J. Wilkinson of Birmingham, then C.S., W.H. Packwood of Stourbridge, Thomas Hands of Manchester and J. Culley of Shelton. (Ibid.)

³Ibid., p. 584.

⁴Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 7-8.

It is clear that attitudes towards technical innovations among flint glass makers were changing during the period of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, in so far as the innovations were small scale and would not diminish the value of their skill. On the whole, they continued to depend on their skill which was not seriously threatened by machinery throughout the period.

II. Hours of Work

The weekly work cycle of flint glass makers was irregular. Because of the time taken to make the 'metal', they worked generally four days or four and a half days.¹ The F.G.M.M. reported:

'The week's work begins, generally speaking, Monday morning, though it sometimes happens that the glass is not in a fit state to be worked by then, in which case the commencement of operation has to be postponed.'²

¹George Lloyd, a Birmingham glass manufacturer and then chairman of the Midland Flint Glass Manufacturers Association told the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1868 that the working hours of the flint glass makers were 'four days, or perhaps four and a half days, that is beginning with Monday morning and terminating on Friday morning or Friday at noon, rarely working after time.'
(R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., Q.18329, p. 21.)

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 75.

They seldom worked the other days of the week-end, which were therefore 'available for leisure by the glass makers, deducting a portion required for sleep, after the end of the working week.'¹ During these days the metal mixer prepared the metal. There were regional variations however. W.H. Packwood, a flint glass maker in Stourbridge, remarked in 1875 that:

'The custom varies in the commencement of the work in the different districts; some districts are in the habit of commencing work on Mondays, and in other districts according to the custom they commence on the Tuesdays; in Stourbridge we commence regularly working throughout the whole of the district on Tuesday.'²

It is plausible to suggest that because of the prevalence of "St. Monday" among some working people in the Black Country,³ the Stourbridge glass works began their week's work on Tuesday. In fact, Mr. Walker, chairman of the Manufacturers' Association, complained in 1875 that 'as a rule we do not work on Monday because a great many of the workmen will have the Monday, whether we give them or not, so we commence on Tuesday in order that what are termed the chairs may not be broken.'⁴ In 1875 J. Derbyshire, a Manchester flint glass manufacturer, giving evidence before the Factory and Workshops Acts Commission, when asked

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 197, Q.128.

²R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, Minutes of Evidence, (P.P. XXX), p. 559, Q.11549.

³For "St. Monday" in the Black Country, see D.A. Reid, The Decline of Saint Monday, 1766-1876, in Past and Present no. 71, May 1976, pp. 76-101.

⁴R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit., p. 348, Q. 6911.

if it was essential that flint glass makers took Friday, Saturday, and Sunday as holidays, replied: 'In Lancashire it is, in the north of England and the Newcastle district it is not so usual.'¹

To avoid stopping the furnace, the relay-system of six-hour shifts, two shifts a day was adopted in the larger flint glass works. 'When proceedings once begin', the F.G.M.M. wrote, 'there is not intermission until the following Friday night, unless indeed the quantity of glass prepared should run short before then.'² A first batch of workmen, which was called a 'chair' began to work at 6 or 7 in the morning. They worked for six hours until noon or 1 p.m. This was called a 'turn'. Another 'chair' then relieved the first and worked from noon or 1 p.m. until 6 or 7 p.m. This was the second 'turn'. The first set relieved again at 6 or 7 p.m. and worked for six hours until midnight or 1 a.m. when they were once more relieved by the second relay. Therefore a glass maker worked twelve hours a day.³ In flint glass making this had been the traditional routine over several centuries. 'The almost incredible split-shift' could be found in Stourbridge as early as 1624.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 421, Q. 8658.

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 75.

³Working hours of Takers-in were generally longer than those of higher graded men, because 'boys sometimes come half an hour before the men, to get things ready.' (C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 193, Q. 101.)

⁴M.A. Bienefeld, Working Hours in British Industry, 1972, p. 25. D.R. Guttery, op.cit., p. 9.

The arrangement of six-hour shifts was said to have originated in 'the inability of the men, owing to the heat, to continue the work for a period of 12 hours.'¹ Many flint glass makers subscribed to this view, although J.E. White told the Employment Commissioners in 1865 that flint glass work was 'less heavy than other work, such as iron puddling, in which 12 hour turns are the rule, and other kinds of glass work, which men continue for periods of from eight or nine to 12 hours.'² Work in making glass itself may have been much lighter than that in other trades such as iron puddling, but the irregularity of working hours and consequently that of the daily life pattern was most remarkable in flint glass making.

'After leaving off work at the end of the first turn, at one in the day, the men go to dinner, and some of them go to bed till six in the afternoon, and are then able to work pretty freshly till one in the night. They then take another spell of bed; though there are many men who do not go to sleep in the day-time between 'turns' but look after some other business. Some of them keep public-houses. 3

In particular, the relay system prevented the glass maker from having a full night's sleep until the end of the week. It occasionally happened that if someone was absent in the next turn the glass maker had to continue to work. For instance, Henry Benham, a flint glass

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 193, Q. 99. The reason for the existence of six-hour shifts in flint glass making is explained by Bienefeld by the fact that the six hour spells did not require interruption for meal breaks. (M.A. Bienefeld, op.cit., p. 65.) The two explanations are not mutually exclusive.

²C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 193, Q. 99.

³Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

maker in Jackson's Flint Glass factory in London, stated that 'Many a time, even while I was a boy (in the Pellatt's factory in London), I have been on 48 hours at a time, in these small places, till I could hardly hold my eyes open, and I have been that way so as I could not sleep because I was overtired.'¹ The relay system in flint glass making attracted Karl Marx's attention. After quoting some parts from the Fourth Report of the Children's Employment Commission of 1865, which reported a boy working 36 consecutive hours in flint glass making and other boys sleeping only 3 hours before resuming their work, he wrote in Capital:

'Meanwhile, late by night perhaps, self-denying Mr. Glass-Capital, primed with port-wine, reels out of his club homeward droning out idiotically, "Britons never, never, shall be slaves!"'²

Four days work in flint glass making meant 48 hours a week and likewise four and a half days work meant 54 hours. In 1875 in Stourbridge

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 235, Q.130. The Quarterly Review of 1866 abridged the C.E.C. report and wrote the effects of night work on glass makers: 'Night work prevails more or less in all the glass-houses. It is impossible to conceive any system more calculated to ruin the health of growing boys, and to destroy their constitutions; their appearance is described as unhealthy, their frames slight, and they all suffer more or less from languor, head-ache, and the effects of sudden chills after exposure to great heat; their feet are often sore and blistered, and they not unfrequently fall asleep over their work.' (Quarterly Review, vol. 119, 1866, p. 390.)

²Karl Marx, Capital, (English edition, 1889), vol. I, pp. 248-49, fn.1.

the working hours per week ranged between 48 and 56 and in Birmingham between 50 and 54.¹ When compared with working hours of between 56 and 61 in other industries in mid-century,² it is clear that flint glass makers had an exceptionally short week's work. But this does not imply that flint glass makers were privileged. The irregularity of their work and life patterns made it difficult to work for longer hours in a week. As 'An Intelligent Working Man', who had experienced work in a flint glass factory, stated in the Morning Chronicle in 1850, 'No man could stand the work if it lasted the whole week - the strongest man could not do it; and generally it may be said that the glass-blowers have the whole Friday and Saturday to themselves.'³

Unlike flint glass makers, glass cutters had no relay system. In most regions ten hours a day was usual in glass cutting in the 1850s and 1860s. In 1872 working hours were reduced to nine throughout the trade. As Table 2:1 shows, the regional differences in working hours in glass cutting were wide.

¹R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit.,
p. 559, Q. 559. The statement of W.H. Packwood, of Stourbridge.

²M.A. Bienefeld, op.cit., p. 77, Table I. According to the Table, working hours in the glass industry were 56.5 a week, but these figures include the hours of other kinds of glass workers such as crown glass makers, bottle glass makers and glass cutters, at which working hours were longer than those of the flint glass makers.

³Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

TABLE 2:1 Working Hours of Glass Cutters.

Year	Area	Working hours a week
1849	Manchester	51
1859	"	51
1863	Worcester	62
1866	Birmingham	55-60
1867-8	Newcastle	60
1877	Birmingham	54
1883	Sunderland	54
1883	Glasgow	56

Source: Labour statistics - Return of Rates of Wages, Part II, 1887
(P.P. LXXXIX), pp. 243-7.

The peculiar working system in flint glass making was inconvenient for the housewife. The inconvenience was increased when children in the family had jobs on different shifts in the glass trade or other trades. In Stourbridge in 1861, for instance, 85 children of flint glass makers were working. Out of these children 38 were working in glass making itself, 3 were working in glass cutting, 14 were engaged in other jobs in the glass trade and 32 were employed in other trades. Assuming that in 38 cases fathers and children were working on the same shift in flint glass making, it is estimated that wives of glass makers in 47 families had children and husbands working on different shifts. On the other hand, out of 125 young glass makers living with their parents, 72 parents were employed in other trades. Those who were engaged in glass making, glass cutting and other jobs in the glass trade are,

respectively 38, 6, and 10.¹ Therefore, at least in 87 families mothers of glass makers suffered from the irregular working-hours of their sons. In all, glass makers living with other workers in the same family amounted to 137, which was equivalent to 35.2% of the total 389 flint glass makers in the area. We can assume that, apart from the 'pure' flint glass makers' families, about one-third of the wives or mothers of flint glass makers experienced with peculiar intensity the inconvenience derived from the shift system in flint glass making. It was difficult for wives in this kind of family to work outside the home and the role of the wife was necessarily limited to house-keeping. In fact, out of the whole 224 families of flint glass makers in Stourbridge only 7 wives had occupations (3.1%).²

Consequently, the Children's Employment Commission was told by some flint glass makers that 'they like the longer turn the best, as it gives them longer times unbroken for rest, and more of night sleep.'³

¹Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, Stourbridge. See Appendix C.

²Ibid. The occupations of the wives of glass makers were Tailoress (2), Pressmaker (1), Nailmaker (1), Laundress (1), Shopkeeper (1), and Dressmaker (1). Eric Hopkins pointed out that glass makers' wives without any occupation in Stourbridge contrasts with the wives of nail makers who worked with their husbands in their domestic workshop in Lye and Wollescote (in the Stourbridge area). (Eric Hopkins, *The Working Classes of Stourbridge and District, 1815-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1972, p. 351). The wives of glass cutters also tended not to have occupations but the proportion of the wives with occupations was slightly higher than those of glass makers. Out of 255 glass cutters' families 21 wives had occupations (8.2%), out of which Dressmakers were 7 and Shopkeepers were 5.

³C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 193, Q. 99.

It is notable, however, that they would not change the existing relay system. No attempt was made by the F.G.M.F.S. to change the system before the First World War and the six hour shift was not generally abandoned until just before the Second.¹ When any change was attempted, glass makers strongly opposed it. L. Percival, a manager of Osler's Flint Glass Works of Birmingham, for instance, attempted to alter the six-hour shift to an eight-hour shift, but failed. He stated:

'Twelve hours at a time would be too severe for either boys or men to stand continuously, and would not answer so well as the relay system. I once proposed intervals of 8 hours, so as to alternate the day and night work, but the idea was disliked by the men.'²

When the Factory and Workshops Acts of 1867 tried to force a change of the six hour shift into a ten, twelve or fourteen hour shift, a deputation of the glass manufacturers met Spencer Walpole, the Home Secretary, to put before him the difficulties they had to contend with in the glass trade.³ The result was no change in working arrangements until the mid-1870s when an inspector found that the glass trade was breaking the Act. At once orders were given in Stourbridge, Birmingham and Manchester to change the shift into a ten, twelve or fourteen hour shift. The Central Committee (herein after referred to as the C.C.) of the F.G.M.F.S. got in communication with the inspector and George Young, the secretary of the Royal Commission on the Acts, 'claiming to be heard, before any violation was done to our special industry.'⁴

¹D.G. Guttery, op.cit., p. 9, and p. 38. The first firm to abandon the six-hour shift in Stourbridge was the Stevens and Williams factory in 1936.

²C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 221, Q. 57.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 387.

⁴Ibid.

Before the Commission W.H. Packwood, whom we have met before, insisted that 'We are satisfied with the present working of the Act; that is to say, with regard to our hours of work.'¹ T.J. Wilkinson, a Birmingham flint glass maker, also claimed that:

'The Society as a union had nothing whatever to do with it (working hours); it is merely a custom which has been in the trade for a great number of years, and I do not think it would be wise to alter it, but it is not a trade union question at all.'²

The voice of the Birmingham District Secretary, who 'urged the adoption of the Factory Act hours'³ was a lone one. Probably flint glass makers felt that any change in the pattern of traditional working hours might have destroyed a barrier which had been helping to prevent less skilled workers from entering the trade. The labour aristocrats did not necessarily want easier or even lighter work. They were proud of manly, intensive effort. Accordingly, they would not change the custom in spite of the inconvenience caused by peculiar working hours.

A similar attitude to the length of the shift was also seen in the pressed flint glass factories. Sowerby's Ellison Glass Works, of Gateshead, was probably the first to introduce the eight hour shift in the early 1850s. Neville, then a partner of the firm, stated in 1865 that:

'We were the first to introduce this plan about 12 years ago, to do away with the inconvenience of having the hands change in the middle of night. It also saves time by diminishing the number of stoppages

¹R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit., p. 558, Q. 11544.

²Ibid., p. 457, Q. 9217.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 387.

for changing.'¹

The F.G.M.F.S. opposed this new system. The "Nevillonian System", as it was called, became a prime target in the early 1850s. But, as a result of its success in this factory, a different pattern of working hours prevailed in the North of England.² In this new system two 'chairs' of glass makers worked in relays in the same way as the ordinary works, but the turn was eight hours³ instead of six. The first turn began at 5 a.m. or 6 a.m. on Monday, the second at 1 p.m. or 2 p.m., the first came on again at 9 p.m. or 10 p.m. and worked until 5 a.m. or 6 a.m. and so on; the turns changing weekly so as to divide the night work. There was also a break of about two turns in the middle of the week to refill the pots. They 'cease work for that week not later than 6 o'clock on Saturday morning.'⁴ Only Saturday and Sunday were holidays. The F.G.M.F.S. continued to oppose this working system, so that pressed flint glass makers organised their own union in 1872.

Among the 'cribs' employing very small numbers of hands where the furnaces and pots were small, a third system of working hours prevailed - twelve hour relays.⁵ In most cases there were day and

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 239, Q. 153.

²The Newcastle Daily Chronicle of October 21 1882 reported of Sowerby's Ellison Works of Gateshead that 'The factory works continually day and night, all the year around, the hands employed being divided into three shifts of eight hours each. One hour of each shift may be deducted for meals, so that the workpeople labour for no more than seven hours per diem.'

³Pressed Glass Makers of Great Britain - Factory Working Rules, Newcastle, 1872, (Webb Coll., Section C. Vol. 42, XV) Rule I. Rule I includes that they 'work 8 hour turns alternately.'

⁴Ibid., Rule I.

⁵Henry Benham, a glass maker of Jackson's Flint Glass Works of London, stated that 'In all the small works the practice is to

night relays, which changed weekly, but in some very small places they worked by day only, the pots being filled and the metal melted during the night. Blown flint glass makers also rejected this pattern of working hours, because works of this kind produced glass of low quality. An ordinary flint glass manufacturer stated that 'this system would not be possible in large works, and where flint glass of the superior kind is made, one reason being that the metal could not be got sufficiently fine without the larger furnaces and pots.'¹ Men in small factories often worked for five or six days a week, but a commissioner was able to find cases of seven days working - stopping at 7 a.m. on Sunday and beginning at 7 p.m. on the same day.²

The posture of flint glass makers regarding working hours in other trades was surprisingly different to the one which they adopted in relation to their own problem. It was T.J. Wilkinson, a delegate from the F.G.M.F.S., who proposed the shortening of working hours at the first

work in turns of 12 hours for five or six days and nights, beginning at 7 a.m. on Monday, and taking about half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner. Those who work in the night one week work in the day turn the next, because we all take our night's rest.' (C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 235, Q. 130.)

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 193, Q. 98.

²Joseph Leicester, a London flint glass maker, reported of the London 'cribs' in the late 1850s that 'I have seen with my own eyes, men getting their things ready on the Saturday night, work all day on the Sunday, and up to Monday night.' (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 16.)

Trade Union Congress held in Manchester in 1868. He proposed that 'this congress is of opinion that, in order to promote the well being of the working classes, and to neutralise the sad effects of the surplus labour of this country, it is highly essential that the hours of labour should be reduced.'¹ This proposition was carried at the Congress. He also stated in his motion, that:

'this Congress recommends all trade councils and societies to bring before their members the serious consideration of a commutation of the hours of labour, and trade representatives present pledge themselves in the name of their respective societies to render such support as may be in their power, by the general circulation of printed information, and the inter-change of delegates who shall address trade union meetings upon the question. (Applause)'²

But, returning to his own trade he did nothing. Seven years later, as already quoted, he declared that any change of working hours 'is not a trade union question at all.' The Union leaders of the flint glass makers thought that the shortening of working hours was an indispensable policy for promoting the scarcity of the supply of labour in other trades but not in their own. They clung to their custom and this distinguished them from other working men.

On the other hand, flint glass cutters were keen to shorten their working hours. In March 1872 the Stourbridge and Wordsley District of the Cutters Union demanded 54 hours per week 'from 6 a.m. till 5 p.m. the first five days, and from 6 a.m. till 1 p.m. on Saturdays, with

¹Manchester Guardian, June 4 1868.

²Ibid.

the usual allowance for meals.¹ The demand was accepted not only in Stourbridge but throughout the trade in 1872.² This was in the context of the engineers' nine hour movement on Tyneside begun in 1871. However, in 1878 this achievement was lost by the attack of the associated Midlands employers and the week's work came to 58 hours. All the other employers followed this and in some cases 59 hour work was demanded. It was not until 1891 that it was reduced to 54 hours again.³

¹To the Glass Masters of the Stourbridge and Wordsley District (leaflet) dated March 30 1872, issued by 'The Committee. Isaac Coakley, Chairman' (Brierley Hill Library.)

²S. Webb, Questionnaire for the Flint Glass Cutters' Society, (Webb Coll. Section A, vol. XLIII, 5), p. 393.

³In June 1879 'The 9 hours gained in 1871-72 is now practically extinct the Midland associated employers having met and determined to raise the week's work to 58 hours.' (S. Webb, Flint Glass Cutters, MSS, Webb Coll. Section A. vol. XLIII, 5, p. 360).

⁴S. Webb, Questionnaire for the Flint Glass Cutters' Society, op.cit., p. 393.

III Methods of Wage Payment

The wages of flint glass makers were put together in an extremely complicated fashion. The wages were really piece-wage rates,¹ depending on the kind of articles produced, and the number made, but took the 'fictitious' form of time-wages. David Schloss wrote in 1892 that 'An interesting example of a piece-wage rate expressly fixed on a time-basis, which is admitted to be fictitious, is to be found in the flint glass trade.'² This meant that in a dispute, as Schloss pointed out, the argument was not about how much per hour should be paid, but about the 'number' of articles that should be made per hour in order to earn the current standard minimum wage.³ In so far as the F.G.M.F.S. forbade the glass makers to produce more than a specified quantity of work in

¹S. & B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, 1920 edition, p. 286, Table I, and G.D.H. Cole, The Payment of Wages, 1918, p. 13.

²D. Schloss, Methods of Industrial Remuneration, 1892, p. 25. Charles Booth also wrote of flint glass makers' wages that 'The wages are paid upon a complicated system, nominally by time, but actually by piece.' (Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, sec. ser.: industry, vol. 2, 1902-04, p. 82.)

³E.A. Pratt, wrote: 'One of the peculiarities of the (flint glass) trade, and one of the greatest grievances of the employers, is that the men themselves fix the precise amount of work that shall be done in the six-hour turn. In the case of an established design the "number" is given by the union officials in the district, and becomes a "district number". In the case of a new design the master is allowed to ask his own men how many they will consent to produce in a turn, and a half-hour's discussion may follow, in which the men will show a tendency to get as low a number arranged as possible, while the employer will try to get as high a number as he can.' (E.A. Pratt, Trade Unionism and British Industry, 1904, p. 97.)

each turn and strictly regulated the number of articles produced in a given time, the amount of work could be shown on a time basis. The concept of 'move' was used in the flint glass trade as a means of transforming a piece-wage to a time-wage. The number of articles produced by a glass maker in a week was first translated into 'moves', according to the proportions agreed between the employers and the Society. The figures thus obtained were then transformed into hours, according to the principle of 'two moves per turn.' Since one turn was six hours, one move usually meant three hours.¹ It was a custom in the flint glass trade that the nominal week's work of 33 hours consisting of 11 moves was paid for as a weekly wage and anything worked over the 11 moves was paid as 'over work'.² Since actual work was 16

¹Originally the term 'move' meant a certain quantity of glass produced. H.J. Powell writes of 'turn' as 'the period, usually six hours', and 'move' as 'a piece work term an agreed number of glass to be made for an agreed price.' (H.J. Powell, Glass-Making in England, Cambridge, 1923, op.cit., p. 41.) But since 'two moves per turn' was fixed and the fictitious time wages had a reality as actual time, as 'move' became a synonym for three hours. Flint glass makers in the 1970s in Stourbridge say that 'move' means half a turn and so three hours.

²The following Table provides a good illustration of the process of the complex calculation.

Names of glass maker	Number produced	Moves	Nominal weekly wages, 11 moves	'Over work' per move	Wages actually paid
A.	1560	15½	40s.	3s.6d.	55s.9d.
B.	1595	16	28	2s.8d.	41s.4d.
C.	1415	14¼	26	2s.4d.	33s.7d.

The Table is made up from the wages of three workmen chosen at random from the Wages Book of Stevens and Williams for the week ending January 5 1861. The Wages Book shows only names and figures and I have suggested the column headings.

moves or more a week, the over-time was often in excess of the nominal work by about 50%. Hence the 'over work' in flint glass making never meant the actual overtime payment which was often seen in other industries such as building, but meant a purely fictitious difference between the actual week and the 11 moves.¹ In other words, it meant the difference between the amount of glass actually produced per hour and the fictitious amount of glass per hour agreed between the employers and the Society. As Schloss put it, in flint glass making, 'the time allowed for doing a specified amount of work is far greater than that, which is actually spent in the performance of this work by an operative of average capacity.'² The origin of this peculiar custom in the trade is obscure, but it is likely that in flint glass making, as a result of earlier technical innovations, a week's work came to be done in about three days and the 11 moves remained a week's nominal work over centuries. The fact that flint glass makers depended on simple tools which had been unchanged for centuries and introduced only small pieces of new machinery helped to preserve this system.

¹A similar 'fictitious' form of time wages could be found in the handicraft section (bespoke) of the tailoring trade, in which the concept of 'log' was used, instead of 'move'. (D. Schloss, ibid., p. 26). The method of payment known as the 'log' was 'really a schedule of piece-rates masquerading under the guise of time-rates' so that 'there is no pretence that the "log" hour is equivalent to a real hour.' (S.P. Dobbs, The Clothing Workers of Great Britain, 1928, pp. 116-8.)

²For instance, if the glass makers agreed to work at six glasses per hour, then in each turn of six hours 36 glasses were to be produced. But the chair was actually making, say, 50 glasses in each turn, 14 glasses more than the fictitious amount. In this example, 36 glasses were paid for as nominal work and 14 glasses as 'over work'. If this was done throughout the week, beside the nominal weekly wages (11 moves), 4.3 moves would be paid for as 'over work'.

It is of great importance, however, that the fictitious time wages had a certain reality. Flint glass makers thought that, although they actually worked until Friday, their week's work ended on Wednesday, so that on Thursday and Friday they were not bound by the contract with their employers. This illusion became a disputable point for judgement on breach of contract in Court. In July 1874 Thomas Dykes, a Birmingham glass maker, was discharged 'at a minute's notice' without receiving a fortnight's wages, on the ground that he produced many spoilt glasses which were not fit for sale. He sued his employers, Messrs. Lloyd and Summerfield of Birmingham and the following cross examination took place between the Judge and a witness, another flint glass maker, in the Birmingham Court on July 28 1874.

- Judge... I want to know whether, after he has been paid his proper week's wages, he should be paid for overtime work when he had not worked at all?
- Witness... He has to be paid for the extra time, because, if not, his week's work would be done on Wednesday evening.
- Judge... But is it invariably the custom to finish the rest of the week?
- Witness... A man always goes on after Wednesday.
- Judge... Is it compulsory?
- Witness... No, he need not unless he likes. It is optional, it is called over work.
- Judge... My difficulty is to see what right there can be for the man to do the over work.
- Witness... He can stay to work if he likes, or he can go away.
- Judge... Then he need not be paid for the over work?
- Witness... But he always remains. I have never known a case where a man has not been paid for over work.¹

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 642. The verdict given was that the full amount of £3 should be paid to the plaintiff, because of the default of a fortnight's notice.

A similar kind of dispute occurred in 1858. In November of that year at the Wordsley Police Court, five flint glass makers were charged with illegally absenting themselves from the Grazebrook glass factory at Stourbridge. Their discharge was the flashpoint of the long-term strike and lock-out of flint glass makers in 1858-59. When the length of their working week became a point of dispute between the employers and the workers in reference to the validity of a fortnight's notice, Mr. Walker, retained for the defence, stated:

'It was customary to give the fourteen days' notice on the ordinary pay day, or before going to work in the ensuing week, and that in this instance the notice was given before the men went to work; that eleven "moves" constituted a week's work, and that the employer had no control over the men after that number was made.' ¹

This was accepted by the Court. The Court made a decision that after finishing eleven moves, the glass makers were beyond the control of the employers and consequently they 'were at liberty to obtain employment elsewhere.' ²

An additional complication was that wage rates during the 'overtime' period were less than those during the nominal working hours, particularly in the case of Servitors and Footmakers.³ One may

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, November 20 1858.

²Ibid.

³In Birmingham in 1850 during the 'overtime' period, workmen got 7% less than during the nominal working hours. Servitors got 22% less and Footmakers got 10% less. (Calculated from the wages in Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850). In 1861 in the Stevens and Williams factory of Stourbridge Workmen got 1% more, Servitors got 4% less and Footmakers got 23% less. (Calculated from the Wages Book of the factory). The numbers in the sample is 9 for Workmen, 7 for Servitors and 11 for Footmakers.

conjecture that this curious tendency to pay less for over-work originated in the employers' inability to closely control the quantity and quality of the metal beyond the first 33 hours. The quality of production probably tended to deteriorate. This would afford a reason, in his view, for rewarding the work less well than he did in the earlier part of the week. The C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S. stated in the campaign for assimilation of the 'over work' wages in 1873 that 'it seems a ridiculous system for men to be paid less for the work they make at the latter part of the week than the former, and the more so as the work becomes more laborious and difficult with the metal getting done.'¹ The campaign started in Stourbridge and Birmingham and both Districts accomplished the assimilation after negotiation with the employers.² By March 1873 Lancashire had followed it and by July of that year 'nearly the whole trade is paid by that system.'³

Apart from this partial improvement, flint glass makers did not intend to change this 'fictitious' wage system. Firstly because the 'move' system was closely connected with the six-hour shifts. 'Two moves per turn' was their principle. Why flint glass makers opposed any attempt in changing the six-hour shifts has been already explained

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 392.

²Ibid., p. 170. In July 1872 J. Griffin, District secretary of Stourbridge said that 'the system of paying the overwork in the same proportion as is received per move on the first part of the week is a new feature.'

³Ibid., p. 443.

in terms of their Labour aristocratic consciousness. Secondly, they feared that the abandonment of the system might have led to a loss of control over the amount of their labour.

Some aspects of the work required special consideration in so far as payment was concerned. The most notable of these was pot-setting. It was performed not by teasers but glass makers. All glass makers were obliged to be present and absentees were severely fined except for illness.¹ Pot-setting was a hard, hot and arduous task. 'A Potsetter' of Stourbridge wrote in 1853 that 'It is often said that glass makers enjoy privileges that very few working men do, but at the same time our trade has its concomitant evils, and of all the evils that we have to contend with, I think that of potsetting is the worst.'² Nevertheless, a man working at pot-setting received a small amount of money or ale.³ There was no uniformity in payment.⁴ In some Districts it was paid per pot, and in other Districts paid per head. In some districts it was paid per hours and in other districts like Tutbury and Dudley it was paid not in cash but in ale. Even where it was paid in cash, the amount

¹For instance, the contract agreed between John Sowerby, a flint glass manufacturer of Gateshead, and John Coulson, a glass blower on November 25 1846, provided that 'He (Coulson) agreed to attend at pot-setting, pot-searching and repairs of furnaces, whenever his services are required by the said John Sowerby.' (Gateshead Observer, January 30 1847).

²F.G.M.M., vol. I, P. 408. The report from Knottingley on pot-setting said that it was 'more than ordinary work, as it upsets us for a day or two. How often we hear ourselves saying, "I caught cold at Pot-setting, and have not been well since."' (F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 550).

³D.R. Guttery writes that 'workers receive no pay at all' in pot-setting (Gattery, op.cit., p. 117), but this is not correct.

⁴Payments for pot-setting in each District, see F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, pp. 547-52.

covered only drinks.¹ This peculiar system may have originated in the refreshment allowance which compensated for the hot labour.

In the early 1870s the low remuneration for pot-setting became a serious problem for the Society, as longer hours became necessary in pot-setting than before, following on the increase in the size of pots.² A Warrington flint glass maker claimed that he was 'twelve hours at one pot, and coming again the next morning for another seven hours; and for the nineteen hours we got five pence halfpenny!'³ A member of the Society wrote of pot setting in 1875: 'Are we remaining behind the collier, or the agricultural labourer in this respect?'⁴ The Warrington District had the honour to change the situation. In 1875 it issued a resolution, demanding 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's labour at Pot-setting.'⁵ The C.C. of the Society accepted this proposal and suggested 15s. per pot should be paid as the minimum wages to be divided between men engaged in the work.⁶ The 15s. was, according to the C.S.'s recommendation, to be divided on the principle that 'One half the amount a journeyman receives would be sufficient to allow

¹The report from the Shelton district on pot-setting stated that 'We are paid in money and spend it in drink, for it is a hot and hard job, and requires wetting.' (Ibid., p. 552).

²A glass maker of Warrington wrote in 1872 that 'we must remember that when our forefathers were alive, the pots they had to set ran from 5 to 10 cwts. which they could set in an hour-and-a-half, and sometimes in less time than that. Since then the pots have kept growing with the spirit of the age, for we have pots now that hold from 20 to 40 cwts. and yet we have been content with the paltry 5d. to 8d. which it runs in our district.' (F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 222.)

³Ibid.

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 139.

⁵Ibid., p. 546.

⁶Ibid., p. 522.

apprentices and labourers, and the boys be allowed one half the amount the apprentices receive.'¹ Immediately after the approval of the proposition by the members of the Society², negotiations between the F.G.M.F.S. and the Midland Manufacturers' Association took place. Although some Districts, like Birmingham, were really afraid that this demand would 'lead to one of the greatest strikes the trade ever had,'³ employers 'most graciously conceded the 15s.' on the condition that 'the regular attendance of all Glass Makers would be secured and that measures be taken to prevent any more drinking during pot-setting than is really necessary for refreshment.'⁴ This agreement was followed by Lancashire, London, Shelton, Longport and Dublin. In Scotland, despite their employers wishing to pay on a different scale, the problem was settled by the end of January 1876. In Yorkshire flint bottle glass manufacturers associated to oppose the advance and nine informed the F.G.M.M. of their refusal to pay 15s. Instead, they proposed 7s.6d. per pot.⁵ But by mid-February 1876 the Rotherham District settled the problem 'after a long and determined resistance' and by the end of

¹Ibid., p. 559.

²The proposition of the C.C. was carried by 1740 for and 45 against. (ibid., p. 524.)

³Ibid., p. 548.

⁴Ibid., p. 557. The condition is indicated in a letter from J. Walker chairman of the Manufacturers' Association, to W.H. Packwood, C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S., dated December 31 1875.

⁵Ibid., pp. 559-60.

March all other Districts in Yorkshire had settled the question. The delayed settlement in Yorkshire probably stemmed from the fact that more frequent pot-setting was necessary in flint bottle making than in ordinary flint glass making.¹ In the Newcastle District the settlement was long deferred. The reason for the delay was the animosity between the F.G.M.F.S. and the Pressed Glass Makers Union. Members of both Unions 'worked together at the same furnace and set pots together,'² so that brown flint glass makers complained that 'up to the present, the Press have shown no disposition to take any part in the alteration of Pot-setting but are wishful to accept the new advantages, if we will fight them out.'³ The result of this conflict is obscure, but it is likely that the uniform level of payment for pot-setting was established in most areas by 1876.

The pot-setting problem indicates the strength of custom in the trade but also shows why flint glass makers began to realise the irrationality of that custom and to demand a fair wage for fair labour at Pot-setting. But even after accomplishing the claim and receiving the amounts as wages instead of mere refreshment allowance, they were not satisfied. They thought arduous pot-setting should have been done by lower graded workers outside chairs. Therefore, a glass maker was delighted to report in 1878 that 'I am very pleased to state, that the

¹The average duration of pots in ordinary flint glass making was between six and nine months. In bottle works it was 4 to 7 weeks. (George Harrison, op.cit., p. 135.)

²F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 562.

³Ibid.

manager, two teasers, one assistant teaser, one coal wheeler-in, one metal mixer, and two lads have undertaken the work (of pot-setting).¹

He continued:

'Employers know that the fine touches of an elaborate or delicate made glass depends very much upon the condition of the nervous system of the operator, and if the nervous system is not kept in a steady and good working condition, the results of his labour will fall below the expectations of his employer and himself; and I know of no kind of work more calculated to destroy and upset the nervous system of a glass maker than a hard turn's work at Pot-setting.'²

Flint glass makers were proud of their hard manual work but their labour aristocratic consciousness led to their drawing the line at pot-setting. It was not work to be undertaken by 'artists'.³

¹F.G.M.M., vol. XI, p. 368.

²Ibid., pp. 368-9.

³Today pot-setting is usually done by the teasers, although in some glass houses glass makers help. (D.R. Guttery, op.cit., p. 117, fn.)

IV. Other working conditions.

'The glass house which I first entered,' J.E. White wrote in his impression of a flint glass works in South Shields, 'was dark and filled with a strong sulphurous vapour, said to be drawn into it by the strong draught of the furnace from some other furnace or kiln in the process of heating. One of the boys spoke of the smoke as a cause of his cough.'¹ Poisonous ingredients used in making the glass were also potentially harmful, particularly at meal times. A 'medical gentleman' stated that he had known 'one or two narrow escapes from arsenical poisoning from the food being dropped on the floor when arsenic is put into the pots.'² In particular, lead, an indispensable ingredient of flint glass making, made for 'a very unhealthy employment', if it was mixed with other materials by hand. Factories which used machines for mixing materials were very few and hand mixing was almost universally the case.³

The heat was also a great concern. The temperature in the glass house at the mouth of the furnace was estimated between 172°F and 220°F, at the place where the blowers stood from 95°F to 118°F, and at the place where boys "take-in" from 80°F to 196°F.⁴ It might happen that 'A flint

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 238, Q. 143.

²Ibid., p. 186, Q. 42.

³In the mid-1860s only two factories used machinery for mixing materials - the Sowerby and Neville Glass Works in Newcastle and Stone's Flint Glass Works in Birmingham. (Ibid., p. 229, Q. 96 and p. 239, Q. 153.)

⁴C.E.C., 2nd Report, 1843, Appendix I (P.P. XIV), P.F 24, Q. 230.

glass blower has fainted himself, and known other men "turn faint, and obliged to knock off".¹ Beside the absolute high temperature, 'the unequal temperature to which the workpeople are necessarily exposed'² was another peculiar condition in flint glass factories and, of course, it was harmful for the workmen's health. Boys were exposed to much higher temperatures than others. The Children's Employment Commission reported in 1843 that 'the temperature of the place where the men stand to take the metal out of the furnace is 172; and that where the boys stand when they "take in" the glass at the annealing oven is 196°.'³ Because of the heat, takers-in working at night were 'very sleepy and have to sing to keep awake and the same in the day some times.'⁴

Takers-in work was totally auxiliary. As J.E. White reported in 1865, 'The greater part of their time is spent in passing to and fro to take glass to the annealing kilns, carrying and cleaning the men's irons, and in occasionally standing to help the men at their work in

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 200, Q. 149.

²C.E.C., 2nd Report, 1843, (P.P. XIII), p. 36, Q. 234.

³C.E.C., 1843, Appendix Part I, op.cit., P.F 24, Q. 230. The Report of the C.E.C. of 1865 also stated that 'In the flint glass house my thermometer at the mouth of the kiln, where the boys put in articles to anneal, standing there, each time only while they set down the articles, rose quickly to the top, viz., 150°'. (C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 187, Q. 46.)

⁴C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 200, Q. 151.

various ways, or holding irons with or without glass on at the mouth of a furnace.'¹ Takers-in were 'not commonly regarded as glass makers at all, but merely as attendants and helpers to those who are so.'² But menial work did not mean that little effort was involved. Takers-in 'journeyed' a long distance within the works, normally 32 miles a day and sometimes 36 miles a day, sometimes without shoes or stockings.³ The weight of each article was another nuisance. Articles of about 3 lb. held at the end of an iron stick about 7 feet long 'make him out of breath'.⁴ As a Workman put it, 'A man could not do a "taker-in's" work; it would kill him.'⁵ In addition, they were often ordered to run errands. 'Running out for men's drink is a very common errand.'⁶ If the boys refused to do errands for the men, they were ill-treated; 'sometimes boxed on the head, if he did not haste for the men's errands.'⁷

Takers-in were occasionally badly treated in the workshops. Evidence for this is provided by the testimony of employers, glass makers and the boys themselves in the fourth Report of Children's Employment Commission. E. Moore, a pressed flint glass manufacturer in

¹Ibid., p. 189, Q. 67.

²Ibid., p. 188, Q. 60.

³Ibid., p. 240, Q. 157.

⁴Ibid., p. 191, Q. 79.

⁵Quarterly Review, vol. 119, 1866, op.cit., p. 390.

⁶C.H.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 191, Q. 78. 'These errands, however, when they take boys out long distances in cold weather, when "sweaty" and with "only shirt and trousers on" or if "the men won't let you stop for that (i.e. to slip a waistcoat on)", - it may be in a winter midnight - amount to unpleasant work, and are apt to cause colds.' (ibid.)

⁷Ibid., p. 86, Q. 478.

South Shields, stated: 'Boys in a glass-house, I am sorry to say, are very badly treated. The men are brutal and have horrid tempers. They often knock the boys about, i.e. kick them, cuff them too hard....'¹

'Men used to knock the boys about and the boys would run away. I have seen men knock boys down and hit them with the iron or tools, &c. e.g. if the boys did not come up right to their work. I have some nasty cuts on the top of my head now that I got when I was little, but I did not get knocked about much because I generally worked with my own relations, and they took care of me.'²

It seems likely that Takers-in working with their relatives were not only given more chance to learn the technique of glass making, but were treated more humanely. Testimony given by boys themselves shows ill-usage more vividly. For instance, a boy who worked in a flint glass factory in Birmingham or Stourbridge, gave the following evidence:

'Once I was taking in a glass and fell down and broke it, and when I came back and told the master (Workman), he jumped up and ran at me and knocked me down and kicked me. There was a great bruise on my thigh from it. I saw a man hit a boy of about 12 on the back of his head with the blowing iron, which had some glass on the end of it, and cut his head open, and made it bleed. It did not bleed much. We all caught it sometimes. They leathered us sometimes.'³

It is not surprising that the F.G.M.M. did not report such 'dishonorable' behaviour by flint glass makers at all, and the local

¹Ibid., p. 238, Q. 148.

²Ibid., p. 236, Q. 134.

³Ibid., p. 258, Q. 220. Neither his name nor the name of the factory were given in the Report to prevent his master from taking revenge.

papers revealed the ill-treatment only when a father of a Taker-in sued glass makers for an assault on his son. The Brierley Hill Advertiser of February 22 1862, for instance, reported that a glass maker, named George Ridger, of the Holloway End Glass Works in Stourbridge, was sued by the father of a Taker-in named George Green, because Rider accused the Taker-in of 'neglecting to clean his blow-pipe, and then struck him on the head with it. He was knocked down.'¹ The assault was judged in the Public Office and Rider was fined 1s. and costs.² Yet this was an exception. In most cases, glass makers who committed the assaults were not prosecuted and their misconduct was concealed. The Society never tried to explore the matter seriously. The ill-treatment of boys was the dark side of the respectability claimed by flint glass makers.

It seems inevitable that such working conditions must have led to much ill-health, particularly in the case of boys. It was generally admitted that 'Young People cannot bear this kind of work, and that it acts most injuriously on the youngest hands, who are generally pale, thin, ill-grown, and unhealthy, suffering severly from bad eyes, and stomachic, bronchial, and rheumatic afflictions.'³ This was not limited to the young people. Table 2:2 shows the diseases of flint glass makers

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, February 22 1862.

²Ibid.

³C.E.C., 1843, op.cit., p. 109, Q. 596.

TABLE 2:2 Diseases of Flint Glass Makers in Stourbridge, 1867-1880.
(percentages)

Names of sickness	Cases	Names of sickness	Cases
Cold, Influenze, Fever.	25.4	Liver complaint	2.0
Rheumatism, Gout	18.7	Diarrhoea	2.0
Bronchitis	9.1	Gathered hand	1.9
Injury	8.1	Kidney disease	1.7
(Burns)	(0.8)	Insanity	1.6
Dyspepsia, Indigestion	4.7	Abscess	1.4
Eye disease	3.3	Lung disease	1.1
(Injured eye)	(2.3)	Lumbago	1.1
Debility	3.2	Others	9.2
Consumption	2.9		
Catarrh	2.6		
		Totals (N)	1,044

Source: A list of the Receivers of Sick allowance in the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S. between September 1867 and August 1880.

- 1) A flint glass maker who received the sick allowance for more than one week in three months is regarded as one case of sickness, irrespective of the duration.
- 2) The Sick Allowance began to be paid in September 1867 and stopped in September 1880.
- 3) 45 cases in which the name of sickness is not given are excluded from the figures in the Table. The average number receiving Sick Allowance on average in a year in Stourbridge was 82.2. Therefore, 23.3% of the members received Sick Allowance on average in a year.

in Stourbridge between 1867 and 1880. Cold, Influenza and Fever occupied one quarter of all Sick Allowance receivers in the period. Rheumatism and Gout formed 18.7% and Bronchitis 9.1%. These were followed by Injury (8.1%), Dyspepsia (4.7%) and Eye disease (3.3%). The names of the diseases are not entirely reliable, because most of them were self judged by flint glass makers themselves as they claimed the Sick Allowance from the Society. It seems likely, however, that injured eye (2.3%) and Injury (8.1%), particularly Burn (0.8%), were assumed to be directly caused by the work. Even the glass manufacturers agreed that the effects of the working conditions on the health of the boys were bad. Lovibond Percivall, manager of Osler's Flint Glass Works of Birmingham remarked that 'The constant glare and heat of the glory-holes and furnace affect the eye sight at a comparatively early age, and the hand becomes tremulous prematurely.'¹ However, Mr. Horne, a Children's Employment Commissioner, observed in Stourbridge that 'The endurance of the heat does not appear to injure the health of the boys, the ventilation being so well and amply provided.'² This view was shared by the leaders of the F.G.M.F.S. Richard Lester, secretary of the Society, stated before the Commission on Factory and Workshops in 1875 that 'The work is not very laborious. The heat does not at all affect them (boys).'³ The leaders paid no attention to the health

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 220, Q. 57.

²C.E.C., 1843, op.cit., p. 46, Q. 286.

³R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit., p. 455, Q. 9201.

of the boys, simply because boys were not 'glass makers'.

Working conditions in 'cribs' were worse than those in the ordinary flint glass factories. Joseph Leicester of London, who tried to organise the cribs' men into the Society and failed, remarked in the late 1850s that 'We pity and sympathise with poor labourers, weavers, and ploughmen, but under the face of God's beautiful heaven, there is not a more degraded race of being than the cribs men of London.... the boys don't get more than 3s. per day at the most, and the competition is now at such a fearful height that these petty masters watch each other in the shop, and are driving each other down to starvation prices.'¹ J.E. White also reported of the London cribs that:

'The skylight was out and part of the roof off. Work goes on in it only at times, i.e. when there is work to do, and employs at the most four men and two boys. Others were up alleys or stable yards, one in what I was informed is a noted thieves' quarter. Certainly the appearance of the neighbourhood and of the people sitting about at their doors, apparently with nothing to do was wretched enough.'²

'Cribmen' were often called 'rats' by the ordinary flint glass makers.

According to the F.G.M.M., the name of 'rats' was applied to 'all persons working under the wages established by the trade, or working in places where there are a greater number of apprentices than the trade rules countenance.'³

¹F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 198.

²C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 234, Q. 125.

³F.G.M.M., vol. I, pp. 30-1.

Working conditions in glass cutting were worse and less healthy than those in glass making. 'There is a general agreement among both employers and workpeople that flint glass cutting is less healthy than the glass house work, owing chiefly to the use of putty and the more confined and sedentary nature of the work.'¹ Flint glass cutting required 'a fixed leaning posture and close watching with the eyes, with a constant grasp of the glass to hold it properly against the cutting wheel.'² The hands of cutters were continually in water which impaired the muscular power and paralyzed the hands. The putty used in polishing was considered by the working men to be injurious to the hand, if it got under the nails. Mr. Horne, whom we have met, pointed to the injury done by the putty:

'I have seen a boy stand with his head close over the box or trough which contained the putty-powder, so that he was constantly inhaling it while he supplied the wheel of the man who sat or stood above him, and who of course also had his share of the injury, which, however, was of a less degree than that received by the boy. Want of cleanliness in the hands is also a great cause of injury. The putty is sure to get under the nails, and if suffered to remain there a few days it often causes the hand to contract. Meals eaten with unwashed hands in this condition are very injurious, and it is a common occurrence.'³

As a result, the disease called 'dropped hand' was very common among glass cutters. The Morning Chronicle reported in 1850 that a glass

¹C.E.C., ¹⁸⁶⁵ op.cit., p. 201, Q. 162. Because of the worse conditions of glass cutters, 'The Benefit Societies' do not like the glass-cutters and charge them an additional rate, much higher than they charge the glass makers' (Morning Chronicle, December 23, 1850.)

²C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 191, Q. 83.

³C.E.C., 1843, op.cit., p. 46, Q. 286.

cutter 'who had twice been afflicted with "dropped hand" twice regained the use of it, after a twelve months' cessation of the work. It was stated that he had finally quitted the trade, being apprehensive that if he again lost the use of his hand he should never recover it.'¹

Lung disease was also serious in glass cutting. An inspector, J. Kennedy, reported of a St. Helen's glass works:

'On entering the cutting shop I felt great difficulty in breathing partly from the dust from the wheels with which the air was filled, and partly from the heat and the closeness of the rooms... I examined several witnesses very carefully, and many of them appeared to have been attacked by disease of the lungs.'²

It is notable that unlike flint glass makers, glass cutters demanded a reduction in working hours on the ground that it would decrease diseases caused by their unhealthy working conditions. On March 30 1872 glass cutters in the Stourbridge and Wordsley District of the Cutters Union requested a nine hour working day. The leaflet delivered by the Cutters Unions ran:

'You, Gentlemen, are fully cognizant of the fact of the unhealthiness of our Trade; we are constantly, or nearly so, in sitting posture, breathing vitiated air, causing in consequence, - Dropped Hands, Cholic, and almost innumerable diseases;... Gentlemen, we think a most conclusive argument in our favour for the shortening of the hours of labour. Terrible, Gentlemen, is it not? to suffer from disease which for ever prevent us from supporting our Wives and Little-ones; many of us at all ages, are forced to

¹Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

leave the Trade through its unhealthiness.'....
We ask for the time for recreation and the improve-
ment of our minds, which will tend to invigorate
the frame so as to enable us the better to stand
our daily toil, - it would inspire more confidence
between the Employers and Employed, - raise us in
the social scale, - and better fit us for the ordinary
duties of life.' 1

But as we have seen, flint glass makers intended neither to alter their
peculiar working hours nor to improve the environment in the workshops.

¹To the Glass Masters of the Stourbridge and Wordsley District
(leaflet), dated March 30 1872, op.cit.

Chapter III Flint Glass Makers and their Neighbours

I. Stratification of Flint Glass Makers

The wages of flint glass makers depended on the individual's position in the 'chair', whether he was a Workman, a Servitor, a Footmaker or a Taker-in. Their wages were 'collective piece-wages'.¹ As David Schloss pointed out, 'the members of the chair are rated in proportion to the degree of skill demanded by the work allotted to each... the lump sum paid to a group as collective piece-wage should be divided by their employer between the members of the group in such proportion as may be accepted by them as equitable.'² The Servitor and the Footmaker were not paid by the Workman, but by their employers. However, the Taker-in was sometimes paid by the employers, but sometimes by the Workman. Benjamin Stone, a superintendent of the Bacchus and Sons Flint Glass Works of Birmingham, remarked in 1840 that 'the boys who are engaged and paid by the proprietor are much better treated than those who are engaged and paid by the workmen whom they assist; and that boys employed by the men are often subject to ill-usage.'³

Clearly wage differentials within chairs were wide. To begin with, let us examine wage data in the 1860s in four regions - Newcastle, Birmingham, Stourbridge and Rotherham.

¹The method of payment for flint glass makers attracted David Schloss's attention. He wrote that 'The method of collective piece-wage may be illustrated by the case of the operatives employed in the flint glass trade.' (D. Schloss, op.cit., pp.61-2.)

²Ibid., p. 61.

³C.E.C., 1843, Appendix Part I, op.cit., p.f150, Q.411. Stone's evidence might be biased by his position as a superintendant. ~~For the ill-usage, see above pp. 71-73.~~

According to the Return of Wages of 1867-68 in Newcastle (the factory not specified), Workmen, Servitors, Footmakers, and Takers-in were paid, respectively, 36s. to 39s., 31s., 19s. 6d., and 5s. to 8s. 6d.¹ In Birmingham in 1866 the wages of flint glass makers were between 21s. 8d. and 49s. according to six ranks.² The Wages Book of the Stevens and Williams factory of Stourbridge offers us some useful guidance on wage structure. As Table 3:1 shows, wage differentials within each group were fairly wide to the extent that the lower wages of the superior status overlapped the higher wages of the inferior status. This structure derived partly from the difference in the duration of service in the same status and partly from the fact that different chairs produced different articles such as tumblers, goblets and wine glasses of various kinds. Nonetheless, the wage stratification according to each status can be isolated. As Table 3:2 shows, actual weekly wages were, on average, 38s. 5d. for Workmen, 26s. 3d. for Servitors, 14s. 2d. for Journeymen Footmakers, 9s. 8d. for apprentice Footmakers, and 4s. 3d. for Takers-in. Of the Wages of Workmen, therefore, Servitors had about two-thirds, Journeymen Footmakers about one-third, Apprentice Footmakers about a quarter and Takers-in about one-tenth.

¹Labour Statistics - Return of Rates of Wages, part II, 1887, op.cit., pp. 245-6.

²Ibid., p. 244, and Leone Levi, Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes, 1867, p. 116.

The Wages Book of Beatson and Clark of Rotherham provides further information. In this factory there was no status of Footmaker. Apprentice Servitors in the factory had approximately the same position as Footmakers in other districts. The average of weekly wages in the decade of the 1860s were 43s. 7d. for Workmen, 27s. 11d. for Journeyman Servitors and 14s. for Apprentice Servitors. The wages of Takers-in were included in those of Workmen in the Wages Book, probably because Takers-in were paid by Workmen in the factory, so that the actual earnings of Workmen must have been reduced by 4s. or 5s. 'Boys at bye hole', who were different from Takers-in, received also about 4s. It is clear from these wage data in four regions (Table 3:3) that in all regions wide wage differentials existed according to status in the chairs. It is also clear that in Newcastle, not only were Workmen less well paid, but wage differentials between Workmen and other personnel in the chairs were narrower than in other districts. A Newcastle flint glass maker complained about the lower wages of Workmen in the area in the early 1850s:

'Newcastle Flint Glass makers, ought to be the best paid men in our trade instead of being the worst. The manufacturers get their coals at about two shillings and six pence per ton, while the average at the lowest calculation is about nine shillings per ton. ...They are only paying twenty-eight shillings per week, and two shillings per move over, while others are paying their by-place workmen thirty-two and thirty four shillings per week and two shillings and sixpence per move over.' ¹

¹F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 201.

TABLE 3:1 Wage Structure in the Stevens and Williams Factory of Stourbridge in 1861.

(absolute numbers)

Wages. s.	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker Journeyman	Footmaker Apprentice	Taker-in	Totals
50-	2					2
45-49	0					0
40-44	1					1
35-39	3					3
30-34	3	1				4
25-29	1	6				7
20-24		2				2
15-19		1	3			4
10-14			1	2		3
5-9			1	1	1	3
1-4					9	9
Totals	10	10	5	3	10	38

Source: Wages Book of Stevens and Williams, See, Appendix D.

1) Wages are not weekly nominal wages (11 moves) but actual weekly wages.

TABLE 3:2 Wage Differentials in Chairs in the Stevens and Williams Factory of Stourbridge in 1861.

	No. of Sample	Average weekly wages	%	Maximum weekly wages	Minimum weekly wages
Workman	10	38s. 5d.	100.0	52s. 4d.	28s. 10d.
Servitor	10	26s. 3d.	68.3	30s. 6d.	19s. 5d.
Footmaker Journeyman	5	14s. 2d.	36.9	17s. 1d.	6s. 5d.
Footmaker Apprentice	3	9s. 8d.	25.2	11s. 2d.	7s. 3d.
Taker-in	10	4s. 3d.	11.1	5s. 0d.	3s. 9d.

Source: Wages Book of Stevens and Williams, See Appendix D.

TABLE 3:3 Wages of Flint Glass Makers in Four Regions in the 1860s.

(weekly wages)

<u>Status</u>	<u>Region</u>			
	Stourbridge (1860-62)	Birmingham (1866)	Newcastle (1867-68)	Rotherham (1860-69)
Workman	41s.10d.	(49s.)	37s. 6d.	43s. 7d.
Servitor	28s. 9d.	—	31s. 0d.	27s.11d.
Footmaker	14s. 0d.	21s.	19s. 6d.	14s. 0d.
Taker-in	4s. 4d.	5s.	5s.	—

Source: Stourbridge - Wages Book of Stevens and Williams.

Birmingham and Newcastle - Labour Statistics - Return of Rates of Wages Part II, 1887, op.cit., p. 244, 255.

Rotherham - Wages Book of Beatson and Clark.

- 1) Wages in Stourbridge are the average of three years between 1860 and 1862. See Appendix D.
- 2) Wages in Rotherham are the average of ten years between 1860 and 1869. See Appendix E.
- 3) Wages of Workmen in Birmingham are those of best paid Workmen, but wages both in Stourbridge and Rotherham are the average of each status in all chairs.
The factory in Newcastle is not specified.

Relatively narrow wage differentials within chairs in Newcastle may go some way towards explaining the weakness of labour aristocratic consciousness prevailing among Newcastle flint glass makers.

The next step is to trace changes both in wage levels and in wage differentials over the period; to see to what extent flint glass makers' wages increased and to see whether wage differentials between personnel in chairs widened or not. As Table 3:4 shows the wages in Birmingham increased substantially in each status between 1850 and 1877. Over the period the wage of Workmen rose by 23%, that of Servitors rose by 63%, that of Footmakers rose by 59% and that of Takers-in rose by 33%. A similar increase of wages took place among the Stourbridge flint glass makers. According to the Wages Book of Stevens and Williams of Stourbridge (Table 3:5), weekly wages of all Workmen in each decade were, on average, 28s. 1d. in the 1840s, 37s. 7d. in the 1850s and 41s. 10d. in the 1860s. Unfortunately, we have no wages book in the 1870s in Stourbridge. It is clear that between the 1840s and the 1860s the wages of Workmen tended to increase, being 33.8% higher in the 1850s and 49.0% higher in the 1860s than in the 1840s.¹ Yet more significant was

¹ According to Eric Hopkins, the wages of a Workman in the Stevens and Williams factory were 49.6% higher in the 1850s and 72.8% higher in the 1860s than in the 1840s. Eric Hopkins, *Small Town Aristocrats of Labour and Their Standard of Living, 1840-1914*, in *Econ. Hist. Rev.* sec. ser., vol. XXVIII, no. 2, May 1975, pp. 226-7.) His figures appear to overestimate the increase of Workmen's wages, in spite of using the same Wages Book. His overestimation stems from his use of the Workman's wages in the best-paid chair. But the factory had several chairs, ranging between 7 and 10 over the period between 1838 and 1862. As Table 3:5 shows, not only the wages of Workmen in all chairs were not so high, in absolute terms, but the increase of their wages was not so sharp as those of the Workman in the best-paid chair chosen by Hopkins. In addition, according to Hopkins, the year of 1859 recorded especially high wages, the Workman named

the movement of wages for Servitors, Footmakers and Takers-in.¹ For Servitors the average in each decade was 18s. 5d. in the 1840s, 24s. 6d. in the 1850s and 28s. 9d. in the 1860s, so that their wages rose by 33.0% in the 1850s and by 56.1% in the 1860s above those of the 1840s.

John Scriven earning annually £171. 2s. 0d. But Hopkins disregarded the fact that John Scriven was a strike breaker. Before the strike took place at the end of October 1858 Scriven's moves were 14s. 4d. per week on average (from January 1858 until the 4th week of October of that year). The strike originated in the two factories in Stourbridge, one of which was the Stevens and Williams factory. John Scriven went on strike until mid-December, when he, together with two other chairs, disregarded the Society's order and resumed work. Although his nominal weekly wages thereafter remained 40s. with extra wages of 3s. 6d. per move over, he was able to earn as high as about 77s. a week on average from mid-December 1858 to mid-May 1859, one and a half months after the termination of the strike, because after mid-December 1858 under the circumstances in which production was not regulated by the Society, the amount of production of his chair increased surprisingly and the number of his moves went up to 21.75 per week on average (from the 3rd week of December 1858 to the 3rd week of May 1859). (Wages Book of Stevens and Williams, 1858-59). The F.G.M.F.S. labelled John Scriven a 'Traitor' together with another 26 members. (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 424). The point is that a large number of members of the Society in Stourbridge were locked out and were forced to live on the Society's unemployment allowance for six months. John Scriven's wages in 1859 cannot be regarded as the representative wages of flint glass makers as a whole in that year. (See below p.202, Table 4:6).

¹ Hopkins also neglected the wages of Servitors, Footmakers, and Takers-in, He assumed that 'other members of the chairs were paid proportionately' to Workmen (Eric Hopkins, *Small Town Aristocrats of Labour*, *op.cit.*, p. 226). But an examination of the wages of other members in the chairs is vital for the study of the Labour aristocracy and, in fact, they were not necessarily paid proportionately.

TABLE 3:4 Wages of Flint Glass Makers in Birmingham in 1850 and 1877.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Status</u>			
	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker	Taker-in
1850	44s.	24s.	17s.	6s.
1877	54s.	39s.	27s.	8s.

- Source: 1) Wages of 1850s are calculated from the data in the Morning Chronicle December 23 1850. Working hours are assumed to be 52 hours a week.
- 2) Wages of 1877 are quoted from Labour Statistics - Return of Rates of Wages, Part II, 1887, op.cit., p. 244.

TABLE 3:5 Wages of Flint Glass Makers in Stourbridge between 1840 and 1862.
(weekly wages)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Status</u>				
	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker	Taker-in	Workman in the best-paid chair
1840-49	28s. 1d.	18s. 5d.	9s. 8d.	3s. 5d.	32s. 1d.
1850-59	37s. 7d.	24s. 6d.	10s. 6d.	4s. 2d.	48s. 6d.
1860-62	41s. 10d.	28s. 9d.	14s. 0d.	4s. 4d.	56s. 0d.

(index)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Status</u>				
	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker	Taker-in	Workman in the best-paid chair
1840-49	100.0	65.6	34.4	12.2	114.2
1850-59	100.0	65.2	27.9	11.1	129.0
1860-62	100.0	68.7	33.5	10.4	133.9

Source: Wages Book of Stevens and Williams. For the original Table, see Appendix D.

TABLE 3:6 Wages of Flint Glass Makers in Rotherham between 1850 and 1882.
(weekly wages)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Status</u>			
	Workman	Servitor Journeyman	Servitor Apprentice	Workman in the best-paid chair
1850-59	50s. 0d.	30s. 5d.	15s. 4d.	56s. 8d.
1860-69	43s. 7d.	27s. 11d.	14s. 0d.	52s. 6d.
1870-79	50s. 10d.	38s. 7d.	14s. 7d.	59s. 10d.
1880-82	41s. 6d.	30s. 10d.	12s. 7d.	51s. 4d.

(index)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Status</u>			
	Workman	Servitor Journeyman	Servitor Apprentice	Workman in the best-paid chair
1850-59	100.0	60.8	30.7	113.3
1860-69	100.0	64.1	32.1	120.5
1870-79	100.0	75.9	28.7	117.7
1880-82	100.0	74.3	30.3	123.7

Source: Wages Book of Beatson and Clark. For the original Table, see Appendix E.

Compared with the rate of increase of Workmen's wages in the same period, that of Servitors' was almost the same in the 1850s but slightly higher in the 1860s. As a result, wage differentials between Workmen and Servitors remained almost unchanged in the 1850s but increased slightly in the 1860s; Servitors earned 65.6% of Workmen's wages in the 1840s, 65.2% in the 1850s and 68.7% in the 1860s. Broadly speaking, the wages both of Workmen and Servitors moved in the same direction. But the wages of Footmakers moved differently. The average in each decade was 9s. 8d. in the 1840s, 10s. 6d. in the 1850s and 14s. Od. in the 1860s. It is important to see that the rise of Footmakers' wages between the 1840s and 1850s was only 8.6% and consequently the differentials between Workmen and Footmakers considerably widened; Footmakers earned 34.4% of Workmen's wages in the 1840s but only 27.8% in the 1850s. The fall of Footmakers' wages after 1851 was remarkable. Particularly between 1853 and 1856 they fell below 9s. The low wages of Footmakers became a serious problem for the F.G.M.F.S. and it was the demand of 14s. as the minimum wage for Footmakers which precipitated the long strike and lock-out of 1858-59.¹ The strike ended in April 1859 with an agreement recognising 14s. as Footmakers' minimum wages. But afterwards Footmakers continued to move out of the industry because of their low wages.² In the 1860s Footmakers' wages were 44.8% above those of the 1840s and they not completely but nearly recaptured their relative position of

¹For detailed information of the strike see below, pp. 189-216.

²In November 1863 Benjamin Smart, the C.S. of the Society, wrote a letter to George Lloyd, chairman of the Midland Manufacturers' Association, that the shortage of Footmakers was caused not by the operation of the apprentice rule but by the fact that 'the small wages received by footmakers have caused many of them to leave the blowing.' (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 129).

the 1840s when they moved to 33.5% of Workmen's wages in the 1860s. This increase can be explained partly by the fact that the shortage of Footmakers became a serious hindrance to an expansion of flint glass production undertaken on the chair system, and partly by the Society's struggle to protect Footmakers' wages. Meanwhile, the wages of Takers-in remained as low as 3s. to 5s. over the period and their proportion of Workmen's wages continued to fall from 12.1% in the 1840s to 10.4% in the 1860s. It is clear that in the decade of the 1850s, during which the flint glass trade met some recessions and the rate of increase of flint glass production was not so sharp as in the 1860s, both Workmen and Servitors enjoyed an increase of wages but Footmakers and Takers-in did not. It was only after the explosive expansion of flint glass production after about 1860 that Footmakers were able to obtain an equal share with Workmen and Servitors. But even in the 1860s it is doubtful whether Takers-in shared the increase.

The movement of wages in the Rotherham factory between 1850 and 1882 is shown in Table 3:6. Only in the 1850s and the 1860s are the wages comparable with the Stourbridge data. In the 1850s the difference in wage levels were wide between the two areas. Workmen in Rotherham had about one third higher wages than those in Stourbridge (Rotherham 50s. Od. and Stourbridge 37s. 7d.). Servitors had one fourth higher wages than those in Stourbridge (Rotherham 30s. 5d. and Stourbridge 24s. 6d.) Probably these regional variations derived from different situations in the labour market as between the two areas: while in Stourbridge with a long tradition of flint glass making, skilled glass makers had been accumulated, in Rotherham a high level of wages was a necessary means to attract skilled flint glass makers, because

Yorkshire was somewhat late in its development of the glass industry and it was concentrated mainly in bottle glass production. Soon after, however, these regional differences disappeared. By the 1860s wages in the two areas were very similar. Certainly the role that the Society played in this equalisation can not be ignored. In addition, the law of competition in the market seems to have begun to penetrate and helped equalise wage levels: higher wages in Rotherham pushed up costs so that Rotherham flint glass diminished the competitive power. In the 1870s the wages of Workmen and Servitors in Rotherham rose again, probably at the same pace as in Stourbridge. In the late 1870s and the early 1880s both districts suffered from wage reductions. Stourbridge flint glass survived in depression, but in Yorkshire flint glass production was being replaced by bottle glass production.¹ It is also clear from the comparison of both areas that the wages of Workmen and Servitors moved in the same direction but those of Apprentice Servitors, like Footmakers in Stourbridge, moved differently. The wages of Apprentice Servitors in Rotherham gradually declined over the period, although there was a slight increase in the 1870s.

¹The replacement of flint glass by bottle glass in Yorkshire is illustrated by the Wood Bros. factory of Barnsley. Between 1879 and 1885 the number of chairs decreased by 5 to 4 in flint glass, whereas the number increased from 6 to 18 in bottle making. (Wages Book of Wood Bros. of Barnsley).

It is of great importance to see that not only the movement of the wages of Footmakers was different from that of both Workmen and Servitors, but that Footmakers' wages were, in absolute terms, distinguished from those of Workmen and Servitors. Clearly the low wages of Footmakers made the maintenance of families difficult. According to George Barnsby, wages 'just to subsist in the household budget in the Black Country' were 14s. 7½d. in 1840, 12s. 6d. in 1850, 14s. 0d. in 1860, and 13s. 4½d. both in 1870 and 1880.¹ It is clear that the Stourbridge Footmakers' wages were below the subsistence level in the 1840s and the 1850s. In the early 1860s they reached, at most, the subsistence level. The Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 in Stourbridge,² with help from other sources, suggests that the average age of Footmakers was 28.14 and 73.3% were married with, on average, 1.41 children per family. And 73.4% of all Footmakers were responsible for the maintenance of the family as household heads. As Joseph Leicester, a London flint glass maker, put it, Footmakers 'really are men, and not boys, and they are men with families.'³ Their children were still too young to work so

¹ George Barnsby, *The Standard of Living in the Black Country during the Nineteenth Century*, in *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, sec. ser. vol. XXIV, no. 2, May 1971, p. 229. A family is assumed to consist of man, wife and two small children. Subsistence wages were calculated by halving the standard of comfort wage, excluding food, rent and fuel which were necessities.

² The Census Enumerators' Books do not describe the status of flint glass makers of course. Therefore, A list of membership of glass makers in the F.G.M.F.S. of 1857, indicating the status of each member, is used. For the process of identification, see Appendix C.

³ R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 454, Q.492.

that Footmakers' earnings were not supplemented from that source.¹ Although some wives had to work, it was inconvenient for the wives to have jobs outside the homes because of the peculiar working hours in flint glass making. The harshness of the Footmakers' life was repeatedly stressed in the Society. At the Edinburgh Conference held in 1867, for instance, it was regretted that 'any branch of the glass manufacture should be so low paid as the footmakers - whose wages are not sufficient to enable them to support a family and educate their children.'² In the 1870s the situation remained unchanged. In 1873 Richard Leicester, a Manchester flint glass maker, remarked that the Footmaker 'has been greatly underpaid,'³ and justified the appeal of Footmakers in the District which demanded an increase of their wages without the sanction of the Executive Committee of the Society. The appeal well illustrates the standard of living of Footmakers.

'Look at our homes - many amongst us are married and have children, We have to send our wives to the factory, when we would willingly keep them at home, in order to make all ends meet. The consequences are, children are neglected, and home becomes more like a place to run away from, than a home in reality as well as in name, where, when our toil is over, we could repair with feelings of pleasure and recruit (sic) our exhausted strength.... Are we of less importance to the glass maker than what the hod carrier is to the bricklayer, or the teaser as an accessory to glass making?'⁴

¹The number of children working was 0.09 per family in the case of Footmakers. See below, p.104.

²Glasgow Sentinel, June 15 1867.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 357.

⁴Ibid., p. 356. The Manchester District gave the Footmakers 15s. per man, or a sum total of £24 from the local funds with the following statement from the District Secretary; 'when they asked us for very bread, we should have been something inhuman if we had offered them a stone,' (ibid., p. 357) but the Central Committee of the Society did not sanction the decision.

Footmakers' wages were considered low even for a labourer. In 1876 a letter from a member of the Society pointed out that 'It is a well known fact that plenty of good Footmakers leave our trade as soon as they are out of their time, because they can get more as labourers than they can as Footmakers... Eighteen shillings is considered low wages for a labourer.'¹ Clearly then, a sharp distinction existed within chairs between Workmen and Servitors on the one hand, and Footmakers and Takers-in on the other. This was well realised by a contemporary flint glass maker, who stated that Footmakers 'as a class, cannot mix with their more favoured shopmates not being able to appear respectable.'²

High earnings should be regular if both respectability and Labour aristocratic status were to be maintained. Stourbridge flint glass makers suffered from unemployment less than those in other districts. Regional variations in the unemployment rates in five areas between 1853 and 1881 are shown in Table 3:7. Rotherham showed the same tendency as Stourbridge until the late 1870s, when unemployment suddenly increased. In contrast, Newcastle had almost always higher rates than the average in the Society as a whole in the same period. Particularly during the whole period of the depression in the late 1870s and the early 1880s, the rate of unemployment in Newcastle remained double or three times (sometimes four times) higher than that in Stourbridge.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 657.

²Ibid.

TABLE 3:7 Regional Variations in the Unemployment Rate among Flint Glass Makers in five Districts between 1853 and 1881.

(percentages)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Region</u>					All Districts
	Stourbridge	Rotherham	Birmingham	Manchester	Newcastle	
1853-54	6.9	6.1	5.5	6.6	9.2	10.5
1855-59	6.0	1.6	13.4	12.9	22.5	12.7
1860-64	8.1	8.2	9.3	7.7	17.1	9.8
1865-69	4.3	3.5	8.6	8.4	17.8	8.9
1870-74	3.0	0.8	8.6	13.3	17.2	8.5
1875-79	9.3	11.0	8.4	21.4	26.2	15.0
1880-81	10.8	35.9	10.4	20.8	35.8	18.2

Source: Calculated from a list of the receivers of Unemployment Allowance in the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S., from 1853 to 1881; F.G.M.M., vol. I - vol. XI. See Appendix A.

This difference stemmed from the fact that Stourbridge glass of high quality was relatively strong in the markets and less influenced by the down-turn of trade. Both Birmingham and Manchester lie between Stourbridge and Newcastle, moving around the average of the Society between 1855 and 1872. But after 1873 Manchester began to exceed the average and during the depression it reached around 20%. Since the Manchester District was expanding rapidly in the 1870s, the high rate of unemployment in the area helped increase the rate in the Society generally.

In 1877 the crisis deepened. The number of those unemployed in the flint glass trade was 124 in 1876 but it became 255 in 1877, which was equivalent to 12.2% of the total membership of the Society. In 1878 it rose to 491 (24.0%) and in 1879 to 534 (26.4%).¹ This means that about a quarter of the total membership of the Society received the unemployment allowance (at least one week) during the period of three months each year. In Stourbridge, the rate of unemployment was constantly as low as around 3.0% in the first half of the 1870s, but it began to increase in August 1876 and continued to increase, with a temporary slight fall, until June 1879, when it reached 17.8% of total membership in the District.² It is clear that, although Stourbridge glass makers suffered less from unemployment in comparison to those in other Districts, the Stourbridge men's earnings must have been considerably offset by what unemployment there was. More importantly, as Table 3:8 suggests, when the Stourbridge men were once unemployed, the period of unemployment tended to be more prolonged than at Newcastle for example. In Stourbridge glass makers who received the unemployment allowance for less than nine months formed 54.9% of total allowance receivers in the area, while in Newcastle they formed nearly 70% in the area. It is surprising that even in Stourbridge, about 45% of the unemployed were unemployed for more than ten months and 7.2% of those were out of work for more than two years. Needless to say, once they were unemployed, the standard of living deteriorated considerably.

¹ Calculated from the list of those receiving Unemployment Allowance in the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S.; F.G.M.M., passim.

² Ibid.

TABLE 3:8 The Frequency and the Period of Unemployment among Flint Glass Makers in Stourbridge and Newcastle between 1871 and 1881.

(percentages)

Frequency of unemployment			The longest period of unemployment		
No. of times	Stourbridge	Newcastle	Period (months)	Stourbridge	Newcastle
1	65.1	47.2	1-4	35.4	55.3
2	19.5	22.6	5-9	19.5	14.5
3	9.8	15.1	10-14	11.8	6.9
4	3.6	5.0	15-19	8.2	6.3
5	1.0	3.8	20-24	7.7	5.1
6	0.5	1.9	25-29	10.2	6.3
7	0.5	4.4	30-34	3.1	2.5
8	0.5	0.0	35-39	3.1	2.5
			40-44	0.5	0.6
Totals (N)195			159	45-49	0.0
			50-	0.5	0.0
			Totals (N)195		
			159		

Source: Calculated from the list of those receiving Unemployment Allowance in the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S., F.G.M.M. from 1871 to 1881.

- 1) A glass maker who received the unemployment allowance from the Society for more than one week, is regarded as unemployed in the month.
- 2) When the same person experienced unemployment more than one month after the earlier one, this is regarded as the second period of unemployment. The identification of the same person in the ten year period is undertaken by forename and surname, with the help of the indication of his status in chairs, when the status was written in. Also the list of new members of the Society and a list of the names for death allowance are used in the process of identification, both of which were published every quarter in the F.G.M.M.
- 3) When the glass maker experienced unemployment more than twice, the longest period is chosen.
- 4) The period is between June 1871 and August 1881.

TABLE 3:9 The Rate of Unemployment of Flint Glass Makers according to Status in the 1850s.

	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker
Average number of unemployed per annum (1853-59)	242	168	28
No. of organised glass makers (1857)	409	362	165
Rate of unemployment per annum	59.2%	46.4%	17.0%

- Source:
- 1) A list of the receivers of Unemployment Allowance of the F.G.M.F.S. in the Quarterly Report; F.G.M.M. (1853-59).
 - 2) A list of membership of the F.G.M.F.S. (1857); F.G.M.M. vol. III, pp. 228-43.
 - 1) A glass maker who received the unemployment allowance from the Society for more than one week is regarded as unemployed in the year.
 - 2) The number of organised Footmakers (165) does not include Apprentice Footmakers, because Apprentices were not eligible to receive unemployment allowance, even if they were members of the Society.
 - 3) Since the number of unemployed per annum is estimated from three monthly figures each year (June-August), the effects of the great strike and lock-out in 1858-59 are not included in the above Table.

Table 3:9 shows the rate of unemployment in the whole Society according to status in the chair in the 1850s. The only data available relating to the composition of Workmen, Servitors and Footmakers are from 1857 and they are used as a denominator. The result is a higher rate of unemployment for Workmen (59.2%). The rate for Servitors was 46.4% and that for Footmakers was as low as 17.0%. Since the chair system was working, theoretically the rate of unemployment must have been equal among different groups in the chair. The large difference in the rate between the groups could be that Workmen knew their rights well and were more efficient claimants. The Society must have been more sympathetic to Workmen than to the others.

Changes in the wages of the different groups of workers in chairs, which we have seen, and changes in wages in the life-time of individual workingmen are related but different issues. In any study of the Labour aristocracy the analysis of the life-time change is crucial, because with promotion their wages might increase more rapidly. The next investigation is an attempt to examine the life-time experience of an average glass maker in Stourbridge. By combining the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 with a List of the Membership of the F.G.M.F.S. which indicates the status of glass makers in chairs, it is possible to calculate the average age of glass makers according to status. The age distribution of flint glass makers thus obtained is set up in Table 3:10. It is not surprising that under the restricted control of promotion by the Society, socio economic status in chairs correlated with years of service. As Table 3:10 suggests, Workmen under 30 were only 7.8% of all Workmen, those between 30 and 39 were 45.5%, and those over 40 were 46.8%. As far as Servitors were concerned, 69.3% of all

TABLE 3:10 Age Distribution of Flint Glass Makers in Stourbridge in 1861.
(percentages)

Age	All flint glass makers	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker
20-24	19.2	1.3	6.5	40.0
25-29	19.2	6.5	25.8	40.0
30-34	17.8	16.9	30.6	3.3
35-39	14.8	28.6	12.9	6.7
40-44	8.4	13.0	6.5	3.3
45-49	8.1	14.3	6.5	3.3
50-54	6.1	10.4	6.5	3.3
55-59	2.7	3.9	3.2	0.0
60-64	1.3	2.6	0.0	0.0
65-69	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
70-	1.7	2.6	1.6	0.0
Average Age		41.71	34.70	28.14

- Source:
- 1) Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, Stourbridge, see Appendix C.
 - 2) The List of Membership of the F.G.M.F.S. of 1857; F.G.M.M. vol. III, pp. 238-43.
 - 3) Wages Book of Stevens and Williams. For the procedure, see Appendix C.

Servitors were concentrated in the age group between 25 and 39. Only 24.3% were over 40, about half the percentage of Workmen past that age. On the other hand, 80% of all Footmakers were under the age of 30. As a result, the average ages of Workmen, Servitors and Footmakers were respectively 41.71, 34.70 and 28.14. Meanwhile the Wages Book of Stevens and Williams of Stourbridge provides the average wages in the 1840s, the 1850s and the 1860s, which has already been discussed in Table 3:5. If we regard the data from the factory as the average wage of flint glass makers in Stourbridge, it is thus possible to estimate the changing wages of individual glass makers during their lifetime, by combining the data of ages with that of wages in each status. In the estimation it is assumed that glass makers began to work at the age of 12 and that there was little or no change in the average age of each status in each decade concerned. Since the wage data in Table 3:5 are nominal wages, they must be converted into real wages with the help of the following index of the cost of living in Stourbridge.

TABLE 3:11 The Index of the Cost of Living in Stourbridge
(1840=100)

Year	1840-9	1850-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89
Index	93	92	100	122	96

Source: Eric Hopkins calculation, *Small Town Aristocrats of Labour*, op.cit., p. 225.

1)The index was constructed from prices of meat, bread, coal and clothing, obtained from the Report of the Old Swinford Hospital School, Stourbridge.

The result is: if a glass maker started in 1830 with 3s. 5d.¹ as Taker-in, his wage increased to 10s. 5d. when he was a Journeyman Footmaker and to 26s. 8d. when he was a Servitor. When he was a Workman in the 1850s his wages became 40s. 10d. Similarly, if he started with 3s. 5d. in 1840, his wages passed 11s. 5d. and 28s. 9d. and they became 41s. 10d. in the 1860s. If he started in 1850 with 4s. 2d. his wages went through 14s. 0d. and 32s. 0d. and reached 44s. 3d. in the 1870s.² This result does not mean that every glass maker was automatically promoted and reached the top of the ladder, provided he survived. The result indicates what amount of wages the glass maker received after passing through the restricted promotion in the chairs.

It is clear that in the third quarter of the nineteenth century changes in the real wages of different generations of flint glass makers in a lifetime followed almost the same pattern, irrespective of their starting years, although the general level of real wages moved up slightly as time went by. The rise of wages of individual glass makers in a lifetime was extremely sharp, if they obtained average promotion; probably incomparably sharper than that of the labourers.³

¹Since we have no wage data in 1830, the wages in 1840 are used.

²Since we have no wage data in the 1870s in Stourbridge, the wages in Birmingham in 1877 in Table 3:4 are used.

³The material on the flint glass makers is not directly comparable to Neale's Labourers in Bath, because the data which he deals with relates only to the period before 1851. But it seems likely that after the 1850s skilled workers like flint glass makers and the labourers had different wage experiences in their lifetimes. Neale shows that the wages of the long serving labourers increased from 10s. to 12s. in the period between 1836 and 1851. (See Neale's 'age-cohort approach' in *The Standard of Living, 1780-1844; a Regional and Class Study*, in Econ. Hist. Rev., sec. ser. vol. XIX, no. 3, December 1966, pp. 590-606.)

The fixing of the demarcation line at 28s. to distinguish the Labour aristocracy from the rest of working men, as Eric Hobsbawm, following Dudley Baxter, has done,¹ is debatable. The composition of the Labour aristocracy changed from time to time and from region to region, according to the relationship with other strata. Certainly to set up a fixed dividing line in wages and then to treat being on the right side of this as a criterion of the Labour aristocracy is meaningless. If the dividing line is required, it must be set up separately in specific occupations, in specific regions and moreover in specific periods. R.Q. Gray is right in saying that 'the analysis of economic differentiation has thus to penetrate beyond aggregate wage-figures, and examine comparatively the situation of specific occupations in specific localities.'² Nonetheless the 28s. line had a reality for Stourbridge flint glass makers in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, because the line corresponded to the minimum standard of comfort in the Black Country. According to George Barnsby, 'wages at a minimum standard

¹Eric Hobsbawm, *The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-century Britain*, in *Labouring Men*, 1964, p. 279. Dudley Baxter regarded men earning more than 28s. a week as 'highly skilled workers' and he divided this section into two - subsection I earning 35s. a week and subsection II, earning 28s. to 30s. (Dudley Baxter, *The National Income*, 1868, p. 89, Appendix IV). G.D.H. Cole revised Baxter's figures and concluded that 14.4% out of 7,784,000 men, women and juveniles were 'highly skilled'. (G.D.H. Cole, *Studies in Class Structure*, 1955, p. 57.) For extended discussions of the concept of the Labour aristocracy, see below Conclusion.

²R.Q. Gray, *Class Structure and the Class Formation of Skilled Workers in Edinburgh, C. 1850- C. 1900*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1971, pp. 31-2.

of comfort to maintain man, wife and two small children' in the Black Country were 29s. 3d. in the 1840s, 25s. in 1850, 28s. in 1860 and 26s. 9d. both in 1870 and 1880.¹ This line is of significance for analysis of the career over a lifetime. It establishes that the wages of Footmakers were merely subsistence level. It is now clear that with the promotion to Servitors the standard of living improved to the level of the minimum standard of comfort. A further promotion from Servitor to Workman must have guaranteed a higher standard of life.

The wage curve of flint glass makers in a lifetime must be considered in relation to family size, because the increase of earnings with promotion might be offset by the increasing number of dependent children, but it might, on the other hand, be supplemented by children's earnings. The results obtained from the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 Stourbridge are summarised in Table 3:12.

TABLE 3:12 The Average of Ages, Marital Status, Household Position and the Number of Children of Flint Glass Makers in Stourbridge in 1861.

Status	Age	Married	Head of household	No. of children (per family)	No. of children working (per family)
Workman	41.71	100.0%	98.7%	2.84	0.58
Servitor	34.70	88.7%	83.8%	2.13	0.24
Footmaker	28.14	73.3%	73.4%	1.41	0.09

Source: see Appendix C.

¹George Barnsby, op.cit., p. 229.

Out of a total of 389 flint glass makers in Stourbridge 165 were single (42.4%) and 224 were married (57.6%). The relatively high proportion of those who were single stems from the fact that the figures obtained from the Census Enumerators' Books included many Takers-in and Apprentices. According to the Marriage Registers in the four churches in Stourbridge the average age of marriage of flint glass makers between 1850 and 1885 was 23.78. About three quarters of flint glass makers married between 20 and 25 in the same period. (See Appendix C). The fact that 73.3% of Footmakers were married has been established. As Table 3:12 shows, for Servitors the proportion became higher (88.7%) and as for Workmen, all were married. The same tendency can be found in the household structure. Out of a total of 389 flint glass makers there were 217 heads of households (55.8%) and 125 sons (32.1%), 44 lodgers (11.3%) and 3 others (0.8%). According to work group, percentage of heads varied from 73.4% for Footmakers, to 83.8% for Servitors and 98.7% for Workmen.

The average number of children per glass maker's family was 2.38. Mainly because of the difference of ages in each work group, the number of children varied from group to group as Table 3:12 shows: 2.84 for Workman, 2.13 for Servitor, and 1.41 for Footmaker. It is difficult to give an exact answer to the question of the extent to which the increased earnings were offset by the increasing number of dependent children, because no data for the household budget of glass makers is obtainable. Clearly the number of children working is an important element in the calculation. Glass makers' families in which more than one child was working formed only 23.7% of all glass makers' families.

But 33.8% of Workmen's families had more than one child working, and 16.7% of families had more than two children working. Out of 45 children working in Workmen's families, 30 were sons and 15 were daughters. Out of the 30 sons, 25 followed their father's job and were employed in the glass factories as Takers-in. Although the wages of Takers-in were as low as 4s. to 5s. a week, such a supplement of the family budget was better than nothing. If more than two children were working (16.9% of Workmen's families), then the family income was probably increased by as much as 8s. - 10s. a week. Out of the Servitors' families 18.5% had more than one child working, but only 5.5% had two children working. It is absurd to think that the increase of wages by 16s. - 18s. a week obtained by promotion from Journeyman Footmakers to Servitors was completely offset by an increase in consumption for on average 0.72 children. It is more likely that after promotion the standard of living improved to a considerable extent and began to enter the territory of the Labour aristocracy.

The age at marriage of the children of flint glass makers is also an important indicator of the time of their independence from parents' household budgets. According to the Marriage Registers in Stourbridge, the average age of marriage between 1858 and 1885 was 23.64 for sons and 22.77 for daughters. About 4 in 5 sons and daughters married before the age of 25 and about 1 in 3 daughters married before 20 (see Appendix F). Therefore, we can assume that children began to be independent, when glass makers became around 50. According to the Quarterly Report of the Death Fund of the F.G.M.F.S., the average death age of all flint glass makers in Stourbridge between 1858 and 1882 was 48.9, 2.4 years higher than the national average for flint glass

makers.¹ Since the data obtained from the Report do not include the death of Takers-in and most of the Apprentice Footmakers, the real figures may be slightly higher than those of all glass makers. But Table 3:13 shows that about 30% of glass makers in Stourbridge died before the age of 40, and about half glass makers before 50, when their children began to be independent. About 39% of all glass makers lived to be over 55 and 28% lived to be over 60. As T.J. Wilkinson stated, 'The whole of those men (who died) have worked up to a very recent period of the time of their death.'² So it is likely that between 50 and until their death Workmen really enjoyed increasing wages without having to maintain their children. It is generally accepted that not only in childhood and in early middle life when they had a family of dependent children, but in old age, Victorian labourers were underfed. In contrast to the labourers, flint glass makers, skilled workers, were able to enjoy the highest standard of life in the later stages of life.

¹ Before the Royal Commission on Factory and Workshops Acts of 1876, Richard Leicester, one of the secretaries of the Society, stated that 'the average life is 46 years which I think is a very good average compared with other trades in the country.' (R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit., p. 457, Q. 9221). My calculation that the national average death age is 46.5 is therefore approximately the same as Leicester claimed. The total number of deaths of glass makers between 1858 and 1882 was 594 and the average membership of the Society in the same period was 1725, so that the death rate was 14.3 per 1000 per annum. T.J. Wilkinson's statement before the same Commission that 'the death rate does not amount to 12 per 1000 per annum' (Ibid., p. 455 Q. 9201) seems a slight underestimate.

² Ibid., p. 455, Q. 9201.

TABLE 3:13 Death Age Distribution of Flint Glass Makers between
1858 and 1882.

Age	(percentages)	
	Stourbridge	All Districts
20-24	5.1	6.1
25-29	3.9 (9.0)	8.8 (14.9)
30-34	9.0 (18.0)	10.1 (25.0)
35-39	12.8 (30.8)	12.4 (37.4)
40-44	14.1 (44.9)	11.5 (48.9)
45-49	6.4 (51.3)	9.7 (58.6)
50-54	11.5 (62.8)	8.5 (67.1)
55-59	9.0 (71.8)	9.9 (77.0)
60-64	11.5 (83.3)	9.5 (86.5)
65-69	11.5 (94.8)	5.9 (92.4)
70-	5.1 (100.0)	7.6 (100.0)
Totals (N)	78	444

Source: The Quarterly Report of the Death Fund published in F.G.M.M. from September 1858 to May 1882.

- 1) The death age unknown (17 in Stourbridge and 150 in all Districts) is not included in the Table.
- 2) The Death Fund of the F.G.M.G.S. started in September 1858.

Also they could consider the relatively bright prospects of their children. Indeed, the son's work was probably considered by parents in terms of its potential rather than for its addition to the parental income.¹

So far, the career of flint glass makers over a lifetime has been analysed. Real wages in absolute terms and wage differentials in the chair must have been the main concerns of individual workingmen. In addition they must have paid much attention to the course of wages in the past and the expected wages in the future, but this was closely related to promotion. Therefore, the analysis of the career over a life time must be supplemented by the examination of the degree of promotion. This problem will be discussed later in this thesis and it will be shown how difficult it was to be promoted to a higher status in the chairs.

¹For occupational continuity between father and children, see below pp. 114-17.

II. Flint Glass Makers and Glass Cutters

A study of the flint glass makers as members of the Labour aristocracy, must examine their relations with glass cutters. Since glass cutters were often working in the same premises as flint glass makers and, if they were working in different premises, the production processes of glass making and cutting were related to each other, there was a complicated relationship between the two groups. An observer from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (herein after referred to as the A.S.E.) who participated in the conference of the flint glass makers in 1852, found that 'the glass cutters have hitherto held aloof from the other departments of the trade, or rather that the trade has been arbitrarily divided in society into two bodies who, instead of co-operating with each other, have viewed each other with mutual distrust, and unfriendly feeling has prevailed between them.'¹ 'Unfriendly feeling' prevailing between glass makers and cutters was also observed by J.E. White, the chief commissioner of the Children's Employment Commission. He reported in 1865 that 'Flint Glass Makers are a set as distinct even from flint glass cutters, though in most cases working in the same manufactory, as if they were engaged in totally distinct manufactures.'² Flint glass makers distinguished themselves from glass

¹The Operative, 1852, p. 447.

²C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 203, Q. 176.

cutters as 'a distinct class of men.' As a Birmingham flint glass manufacturer, Mr. Hughes, put it, 'Though working on the same premises, one never passes into the work place of the other. It would not do. They may speak perhaps in the streets if they happen to know one another.'¹ Basically this feeling stemmed from the different working conditions of the two groups. The fact that working conditions in glass cutting were worse and less healthy than those in glass making has been indicated in Chapter II. Wage differentials between the two groups were also wide. The wages of the highest rank both of glass makers and cutters are shown in Table 3:14. According to the Table flint glass cutters

TABLE 3:14 Wage Differentials between Glass Makers and Cutters
(weekly wages)

Region	Year	Glass maker	Glass Cutter
Birmingham	1850*	40-48s.	20-34s.
"	1866	49s.	32s.
"	1877	54s.	28s.
Manchester	1849	45s.	32s.
"	1859	45s.	32s.
Newcastle	1867-8	36s.-39s.	24s.-40s.
Sunderland	1883	40s.	30s.
Glasgow	1883	40s.	30s.

Source: 1) Labour Statistics - Return of Rates of Wages, Part II, 1887, pp. 243-47, except data of Birmingham 1850.

2) Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

(*) Originally wages are given as 4s. 8d. per day.

received wages one-third or one-fourth less than glass makers. But the actual wages glass cutters received were less than the amount shown in the Table, because there was a strange custom in the cutting shops that employers deducted more than 12s. a week for the steam power from each cutter. This custom derived from the fact that before the application of steam power to glass cutting, cutters had to pay out of their wages for men or boys to turn the wheel for them. Even after the introduction of steam power the employers insisted that the men should pay for the turning of the wheel. The Morning Chronicle reported in 1850 that 'In some establishments the "turning" or steam power, is reckoned at one-third of a man's earnings; so that, if a man nominally earns 36s. a week, he only receives 24s.'¹ Therefore, it seems likely that the actual wage differentials between glass makers and cutters were much wider than the Table indicates.

The wage differentials do not necessarily disclose the difference in the standard of living between the two groups. As has been shown, wages differentials are linked with the standard of living, after being mediated by many factors such as the marital status and the family size. The Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 showed that in Stourbridge there was no large difference in the average age between the two groups, glass makers being 30.23 years old and glass cutters being 30.99. There is no possibility, therefore that glass cutters were young workers and bachelors. The data shows that out of 389 glass makers in Stourbridge,

¹Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

224 (57.6%) were married and 217 (55.8%) were responsible for maintaining their families as heads of households. On the other hand, out of 432 glass cutters in the same area, 255 (59.0%) were married and 259 (60.0%) were heads of household (Appendix C). So there was no large difference in marital status between glass makers and cutters, but the difference in the family size between the two was fairly large. 41.1% of married glass makers and 49.1% of married glass cutters had more than three children. 15.2% of married glass makers and 18.1% of married glass cutters had more than five children. As a result, the average number of children per family was 2.38 for glass makers and 2.60 for glass cutters. Obviously this means that glass cutters had more children to maintain. Despite this fact the proportion of working children was almost the same as between glass makers and cutters. Out of 224 glass makers' families 53 families (23.7%) had a child or children working, whereas out of 255 glass cutters' families 57 families had a child or children working. Therefore, the difference in the number of children to be maintained between the two groups can be assumed as a measure of the difference in the pressure over the household budget without being supplemented by children's earnings. Wives might of course have jobs. But, as I have already pointed out, out of 224 glass makers' families only 7 wives had jobs and out of 255 glass cutters' families 21 wives had jobs. The earnings of 8.2% of married glass cutters were supplemented by those of their wives.¹ It is thus clear that wage differentials

¹For the jobs of wives of glass makers and cutters, see above p.51.

between glass makers and cutters were not offset by other factors.

Clearly it is important to examine the relationship between glass makers and cutters in the wider social framework. Enquiry into recruitment of the labour-force throws some light upon this problem. Glass making was said to be a hereditary job. George Lloyd, a Birmingham Flint glass manufacturer, stated in the mid-1860s that 'we have had in our glass-house at the same time members of three successive generations, one, a man of 74, who began at the age of 10, whose father, also a glass-blower lived to upwards of 100.'¹ It is not surprising that glass makers of superior status wished to make their sons glass makers. A boy aged 11 working at the Birmingham glass factory stated that 'mother wished me to come to glass making as soon as I was big enough.'² As observed by J.E. White, 'The wish of the mother arose from her husband having held a good position as a glass worker.'³ Glass cutters also seem to have been self-recruited. The Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 for Stourbridge provide some information on this question. It records the occupation of the father and that of his child, if both of them worked and if they lived in the same household. It is thus possible to pair them to produce a Table of occupational continuity in the year of 1861. The results are shown in Table 3:15. In the Table both rows and columns are meaningful. Rows show the parental occupation of glass makers, glass cutters and other glass workers, and suggest from where

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 227, Q. 89.

²Ibid., p. 221, Q. 58.

³Ibid.

TABLE 3:15 Occupational Continuity between Fathers and Children
Stourbridge, 1861.

<u>Occupation of child</u>	<u>Occupation of father</u>				Totals
	Glass maker	Glass cutter	Other jobs in the glass trade	Other trade	
Glass maker	37 (29.6%)	6 (4.8%)	10 (8.0%)	72 (57.6%)	125(100.0%)
Glass cutter	3 (2.3)	44(34.4)	6 (4.7)	75 (58.6)	128(100.0)
Other jobs in the glass trade	14 (15.4)	10(11.0)	13 (14.3)	54 (59.3)	91(100.0)
Other trade	31	33	24	—	(88)
Totals (N)	85	93	53	(201)	—

Source: Census Enumerators' Books of 1861. See Appendix C.

glass workers were recruited. Columns show the child's occupation and therefore suggest recruitment for the next generation. (This includes not only sons but daughters, although only a few daughters get jobs.)

The most interesting fact to emerge from this table is that there was a surprisingly strong barrier to recruitment between glass makers and glass cutters. Rows in the Table indicate that out of 125 young glass makers, there were 37 persons (29.6%) whose parents were also employed in glass making. 72 glass makers (57.6%) had parents who worked at other trades and 10 (8.0%) at other jobs in the glass trade.

But only 6 glass makers (4.8%) came from glass cutters' families. Similarly, out of 128 young glass cutters 44 (34.4%) were recruited from glass cutting families, 75 (58.6%) came from families of other trades, 6 (4.7%) coming from families of other jobs in the glass trade. But only 3 cutters (2.3%) came from glass makers' families. It is clear that both in glass making and cutting there was a fairly high degree of "self-recruitment," but there was "inter-recruitment" between glass makers' families and glass cutters' families.

It should be admitted, however, that the information obtainable from the Census Enumerators' Books has considerable limitations, because when children formed their own households after marriage or when their children were too young to be employed as workers, the occupational continuity between parents and children could not be traced. The Marriage Registers are able to overcome these limitations to some extent. The Register records the occupation of the father of the groom as well as that of the groom himself so that the Register makes it possible to trace the occupations of parents and children even in the separate households, although the occupations of boys before marriage cannot be discovered. The results obtained from the Marriage Registers in the four churches in Stourbridge are set out in Table 3:16. Rows and Columns in the Table have the same meaning as those in Table 3:15. Here again the high degree of self-recruitment both among glass makers and cutters is clearly revealed: 61.0% of glass makers and 33.6% of glass cutters were self-recruited. Much higher percentages of glass makers are self-recruiting in the Table 3:16 than was indicated by the Census Enumerators' Books. This discrepancy will be discussed in Chapter V-I when examining the issue of promotion prospects. In contrast, we can find again that the inter-recruitment between glass

makers and cutters was rare: only 8.1% of glass makers were recruited from glass cutters' families and only 9.2% of glass cutters from glass makers' families. It is thus clear that in Stourbridge glass makers and glass cutters are distinct groups in terms of occupational continuity.

TABLE 3:16 Occupational Continuity between Fathers and Children
Stourbridge, 1850-1885.

<u>Occupation of son</u>	<u>Occupation of father</u>				Totals
	Glass maker	Glass cutter	Other jobs in the glass trade	Other trade	
Glass maker	75 (61.0)	10 (8.1)	3 (2.4)	35 (28.5)	123(100.0)
Glass cutter	14 (9.2)	51 (33.6)	5 (3.3)	82 (53.9)	152(100.0)
Other jobs in the glass trade	0 (0.0)	4 (25.0)	3 (18.8)	9 (56.3)	16(100.0)
Other trade	26	25	8	—	(59)
Totals (N)	115	90	19	(126)	—

Source: Marriage Registers in Stourbridge. See Appendix F.

The recruitment argument must be supplemented by a consideration of geographical factors; were the glass makers and cutters recruited from the men in Stourbridge and its vicinity or from those who migrated from other regions? According to the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, the birth place of 90% of 389 glass makers in Stourbridge was Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire or Shropshire. 9.0% came

from other parts of England, 0.2% from Scotland, 0.6% from Ireland and 0.2% from foreign countries. On the other hand, the birth place of 78.9% of 341 glass cutters in Stourbridge was one of the above four counties. 11.4% came from other parts of England, 1.4% from Scotland, 8.1% from Ireland and 0.2% from foreign countries.¹ It is clear that a larger proportion of glass makers came from Stonebridge and nearby four counties than glass cutters, although the difference between the two groups was not very large. It is notable that 8.1% of glass cutters came from Ireland, probably because of the decay of the Irish glass cutting industry in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The causes of the formation of the strange relationship between flint glass makers and cutters have been examined. Economic factors in the trade such as the interrelated production process between glass making and cutting, and the differentials in wages and other working conditions between the two groups were closely connected with the specifically fixed patterns of labour-force recruitment. These factors contributed to the existence of the complicated institutional relationship between the two groups. Flint glass makers and cutters had their own Unions and they never amalgamated. The relationship between the two organisations throws further light on the relationship between the two occupational groups.

The United Flint Glass Cutters' Society was established in 1844, when the preceding tramping society 'almost broke down for want of funds there were so many on the road that they could not all be supported.'²

¹The birth place was not necessarily the same as the place from which they migrated, but provides a useful indicator. For the method of interpreting the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, see Appendix C.

²S. Webb, Questionnaire for the Glass Cutters' Society, op.cit., p.367.

It was changed to the unemployment benefit society and as such it was more defensible against the manufacturer's attack. On November 12 1845 the meeting of the Master Flint Glass Cutters in Stourbridge and Birmingham pledged itself not to employ any glass-cutter who has left his work in consequence of a strike having taken place either on account of prices or any other pretext, and who does not produce a written discharge from his last employer.¹ But the Union could survive. Even in 1848, when the membership decreased to 500 and the funds were not merely exhausted but the Society was deeply in debt², the Unions survived. It was in this year that the glass makers in a Birmingham flint glass factory were involved in a strike and lock-out³ and soon after the glass makers' Union broke down. In 1849 the Union was reorganised. After that year until 1880 both unions came into contact institutionally on only three occasions - in 1858-59 when the great glass makers' strike took place, in 1865-66 when a glass cutters' strike took place and in 1873 when the amalgamation of both Unions was proposed. An examination of each of these three cases will throw some light on the Labour aristocratic consciousness of flint glass makers and how it informed their institutional relations.

The process of evolution at the time of the flint glass makers' strike in 1858-59 will be fully described in Chapter IV-V, but it is necessary here to give some account of the problem relating to contacts

¹ Report of a Meeting of Master Cutters in 1845, (leaflet), (Stourbridge Reference Library). This leaflet is introduced in D.N. Sandiland, *The History of the Midland Glass Industry with Special Reference to the Flint Glass Section*, University of Birmingham M. Com. Thesis, 1929, p. 248.

² Bee-Hive, February 18. 1865, *The Half-Yearly Report of the Glass Cutters' Society*.

³ For an extended discussion of this strike, see below pp. 147-48.

with glass cutters. The strike which took place in October 1858 in Stourbridge was on the glass makers' problem. The glass cutters had never declared a strike but they were necessarily involved in it and locked-out, because they had no glass to cut. In December of that year, the Brierley Hill Advertiser reported that 'the glass cutters are sadly interfered with, and their employment shortened, by the blowers not supplying them with the customary amount of material to operate upon.'¹ The glass cutters' loss of work and wages was felt by them to be unreasonable. In December 1858 Idas Ogle, a glass cutter of the Mills, Stewart and Webb factory in Wordsley claimed for £3 under Master and Servant Acts because in spite of no declaration of a strike, he and his colleagues had been discharged on November 28. On that day, he was told by Mr. Stewart that 'there was no more work for him in consequence of the glass-blowers having ceased to work'.² A man who appeared for the defendants insisted that 'The law never contemplated that when the master had no work through the glass-blowers having struck, the employers should pay the cutters as though they were at work.'³

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, December 24 1858.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., February 26 1859. On February 21 1859 the case was examined again at the monthly County Court, which was crowded with 423, principally by men employed in the glass trade.' (Birmingham Journal, February 26 1859). The judgement was not given at this court and no further reference to it can be found in the local newspapers. The end of the strike in April of that year might have resolved the difficulty.

In Birmingham the glass cutters were still working in mid-January of 1859, in spite of the increasing shortage of glass to be cut. The Birmingham Journal gave a warning, however, that if both glass manufacturers and glass makers failed to settle the dispute immediately, the result would be disastrous, for 'though at the present time the cutters have not ceased working, they will shortly be compelled to do so for want of material. Thus a large body of men, who really are not involved in the disagreement, will be deprived of the means of earning their daily bread, and the result will be deplorable.'¹ By the end of January the shortage of material for glass cutting had become critical. The financial crisis worsened. The total balance in hand was only £700 in January.² At the beginning of February the Flint Glass Cutters' Society appealed from Birmingham for assistance to the various trades and the public. After reporting that the Society was paying weekly to 300 cutters the unemployment allowance of 10s. a head, the appeal ran; 'this number will soon be greatly increased, as there are a number of the employers, who, having no dispute with the glass cutters, are keeping the men employed to cut up what stock they have on hand; this, you will be well aware, will soon be exhausted, unless a settlement with the glass blowers is effected.'³

¹Birmingham Journal, January 15 1859.

²Bee-Hive, February 18 1865.

³Reynolds's Newspaper, February 6 1859.

The F.G.M.F.S. paid little attention to the glass cutters' unemployment, contending that 'the battle solely belonged to the glass makers and their employers, and that our Society could not be held responsible for the conduct of the employers towards the glass cutters.'¹ The F.G.M.F.S. 'deeply regretted the unavoidable circumstances, but to share our funds with them (glass cutters), or what was collected from kindred Societies, was to waste our ammunition and play into the enemy's hands. It was our business to go on with the battle to the end, as best we could, and afterwards consider what was best to be done for the sister Society.'² It is not surprising that this experience worsened the relationship between makers and cutters. As W.H. Packwood recalled twenty years later, in 1878, it began to bear the semblance of a strike within a strike, or our Society against the employers and the glass cutters, and the employers against both.'³ The glass cutters had to act independently.⁴ It was not until March 5 that a joint

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 455.

²Ibid.

³Ibid. W.H. Packwood recalled in 1878: 'We still have a very vivid recollection of the turbulent and unhappy ending of the first amalgamated meeting (date not specified), that met, at the "Little Pig Inn," for the sake of giving strength and unity to the principles of the strike and lock-out. The meeting broke up in confusion, lights were extinguished, threats were used; and no wonder, when it was a question of living with these men; their cry was for bread and the salvation of their Society, not principles, as they were not called upon to sacrifice any.' (Ibid.)

⁴In mid-February 1859 a deputation of the Cutters' Society went to the Glasgow Trades Council to explain that 'the "Cutters" were a distinct society from the "Blowers". That they had no quarrel at present with the employers. That they were not "locked out"; but thrown idle from want of materials to work, in times of need; and that they now wished the trades to help them on their present difficulties.' (Glasgow Sentinel, February 19 1859).

circular was issued in the name of the Glass Makers' Society and the Glass Cutters' Society. After that day donations from other trade societies came to be divided by both Societies but the financial damage to the glass cutters was severe.¹

After the end of the strike the financial condition of the Cutters' Society improved. In February 1864 the Society had £2,210 and its Half-Report was proud of being 'one of the best trade societies in the United Kingdom.'² In 1865 the Society organised more than 1,100 which was equivalent to about two-thirds of all the glass cutters of which there were some 1400 to 1500, in the United Kingdom.³ But the glass cutters' own strike in 1865-66 changed the situation. In July 1865 the strike began in Dudley, near Stourbridge and over 200 cutters were thrown out of work. According to the appeal issued by August William Doody,⁴ general secretary of the Glass Cutters' Society, the cause of

¹The Cutters' Society received donations from other trade societies which amounted to about £50 as gifts and £340 as loans. (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 618), but the expenditure of the Society for the first half of 1859 amounted to £2,612, mainly to support the unemployed varying between 300 and 370 from January to April of 1859. (Bee-Hive, February 18 1865).

²Bee-Hive, February 20 1864.

³Ibid., August 5 1865.

⁴William Doody of Birmingham was probably the permanent general secretary of the Glass Cutters' Society. United Kingdom First Annual Trades' Directory published in February 1861 indicates that Doody was general secretary and it was he that gave a report as a general secretary of the Glass Cutters' Union for the limitation of apprentices at the second T.U.C. held in 1869. (Bee-Hive, August 28 1869).

the strike was that: 'Two men who had formerly been active members of our society, and staunch advocates for our apprentice law, started as small out-door masters, or sweaters, and immediately broke through all restrictions.'¹ The strike continued over fifty weeks, and ended in defeat for the men in July 1866.² Flint glass makers were not involved in this dispute, because the stoppage of the cutting process did little damage to glass making itself. This situation was totally different from that of the glass makers' strike in 1858-59, when glass cutters were necessarily involved in the glass makers' strike. Flint glass makers were reluctant to support the cutters' strike. On October 10 1865 Benjamin Smart, the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S. wrote to the Bee-Hive from Glasgow:

'As several parties have been inquiring of me as to whether the flint glass makers and the flint glass cutters were an amalgamated society, I beg to state that they are not amalgamated, and are distinct trades, and their trades' unions have no connection with each other. The flint glass makers have no strike at present in their trade.'³

¹Bee-Hive, August 5 1865, and S. Webb, Flint Glass Cutters, MSS. (Webb Coll. Section A., Vol. XLIII, 5, p. 354).

²Eric Hopkins writes that the strike continued for eight months (Eric Hopkins, An Anatomy of Strikes in the Stourbridge Glass Industry, 1850-1914, in Midland History, vol. II, no. i, Spring 1973, p. 25), but this seems to be an error. Sidney Webb was more accurate when writing that in the strike and lock-out in 1865, £9500 was spent in this struggle which lasted 12 months and ended in defeat'. (S. Webb, Flint Glass Cutters, MSS, op.cit., p. 361.)

³Bee-Hive, October 14 1865.

But the Stourbridge District was an exception. In December 1865 Stourbridge contributed £12 to the cutters' strike fund. At the beginning of January 1866 the Stourbridge District appealed to the members of their own Society

'We are no strike advocates, nor do we seek, by supporting such a justifiable strike, and intelligent body of men, "to make their quarrel ours." We only wish to do for them the same as we have generally done for others similarly circumstanced.' ¹

In response to this proposal, the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. proposed to give £10 to assist the cutters. The Birmingham District made another proposition for giving £100 per week for thirteen weeks. But both proposals were defeated because other Districts were reluctant to give aid to the cutters.² When on March 28 1866 William Doody of the Cutters Society made the second appeal for financial aid, 'either by loan or gift, and thus prevent a society, which has existed nearly a quarter of a century, from being crushed or starved into submission to just such terms as employers may dictate',³ the F.G.M.F.S. as a whole unanimously decided to support the cutters' strike and the Stourbridge and Birmingham Districts contributed £25 each to the Cutters' Society.⁴ It was in the

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 618.

²The C.C.'s proposition was defeated with 411 votes in favour and 816 against. Stourbridge (279) and Manchester (269) opposed it and Birmingham abstained. The Birmingham proposal was also defeated by 821 to 646. Birmingham (308) and Stourbridge (279) agreed to it but many other Districts opposed it. (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 616).

³Bee-Hive, April 7 1866.

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 746. Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S. ending May 26 1866.

forty-first week of the cutters' struggle that the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. made the above proposal. Gifts and loans from outside amounted to £882. The members of the Cutters' Society paid 2s. per week for twenty seven weeks, 3s. for four weeks and 4s. for seventeen weeks. But expenditure during the strike amounted to £9486¹ so that the Society was in a critical condition. As a result of the defeat, the apprentice restriction was ignored by the employers. As Table 3:17 shows, membership began to decrease after 1866 and in 1870 the financial crisis deepened. It was not until 1871 that funds began to increase again.

In 1873 an amalgamation between flint glass makers and glass cutters was seriously considered. The proposal for amalgamation originated in Manchester. On January 6 1873 both the Committee of the Manchester branch of the Glass Cutters' Society and the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. issued an appeal to both societies. J. Rudge, the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S., stated in his address that:

'As a great deal of the work made is for cutting, and we are generally employed on the same premises, by the proposed Amalgamation we should be better able to

¹Bee-Hive, December 29, 1866; 'A Balance Sheet of the Gifts and Loans from Trades' Societies and Friends in Great Britain, Ireland and America.' George Potter wrote in August 1870 that 'The Flint Glass Cutters spent nearly £10,000 in calling for a limitation of apprentices; in addition to which, they are now paying £3,000 a year to unemployed hands, because the masters would not be restrained. (George Potter, Strikes and Lock-outs, From the Workman's Point of View, in Contemporary Review, vol. 15, August 1870, p. 49).

act together, coupled with the fact that we are all working for one object, namely to ameliorate our condition as working-men. On these grounds, we can not see any reason why we should remain disunited, as at present; and if any prejudice exists on either side, let it be at once removed for ever. 1

TABLE 3:17 Membership and Finance of the Glass Cutters' Society between 1864 and 1885.

Year	No. of branches	Member-ship	Balance in hand	Year	No. of branches	Member-ship	Balance in hand
1864	20	1066	£2639	1875	19	1226	5391
65	20	1133	3719	76	19	1223	6362
66	20	1159	631	77	21	1203	4083
67	21	1024	106	78	21	1176	1252
68	20	886	116	79	21	1000	228
69	19	877	171	80	19	976	231
70	19	915	74	81	19	925	356
71	19	865	497	82	19	956	757
72	20	1119	1879	83	19	853	568
73	20	1123	2599	84	19	824	718
74	18	1212	3854	85	19	803	808

Source: S. Webb, Flint Glass Cutters, MSS, op.cit., p. 357.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 271.

C. Warburton, secretary of the Manchester Branch of the Cutters' Society remarked that 'There are few trades whose interests are more closely connected than ours. We are both engaged in branches of workmanship depending on each other... Then let our cry be "Amalgamation".¹

Clearly the engineers' strike on Tyneside begun in 1871 had an impact.

Warburton continued:

'When the Smiths, Mechanics, and Engineers were in separate Societies, they were easily beaten and broken up, and the men scattered about the country, when they dared to stand out against oppression and tyranny.... What a noble battle they fought last year at Tyneside! by the firmness of the men, the Tyneside employers now give both the nine hours and an advance of wages too.'²

Continuous discussions on the proposed amalgamation took place among the members of the F.G.M.F.S. for nearly one year. It is significant that the proposal appeared not at the time of depression but at the most prosperous time for the flint glass trade. However, the proposal met strong opposition and ended without any concrete results. The difficulty was three fold. In the first place, the interrelated production process in flint glass making and cutting was vital. The glass makers' fear was simply the fact that, if glass makers went on strike, glass cutters would necessarily lose their jobs as a result of the absence of articles to cut. So, if the societies were amalgamated, glass makers would be under an obligation to give financial support not only to their own members but to glass cutters. In the

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VII, pp. 272-3.

²Ibid., p. 273.

reverse case, however, if cutters went on strike, it would not be necessary for cutters to support glass makers, because glass makers would be able to continue to work without glass cutters. This circumstance seemed to put glass makers at a great disadvantage. As already noticed, they had experienced both cases in the past: in 1858-59 and 1865-66. James Cuthbertson, District secretary in Glasgow of the F.G.M.F.S. wrote in September 1873 that 'Amalgamation with the Cutters would do no good, but rather a deal of harm, inasmuch as they could not keep us when on strike or lock-out, because, they would have to support their own men; whereas if they went on strike, we would have to support them for God knows how long, for I don't know.'¹

The second difficulty concerned the difference in the accumulated funds of the two bodies. By this time the F.G.M.F.S. had banked about £8,000, while the Glass Cutters' Society had only £2,660. Naturally this made flint glass makers reluctant to amalgamate. Although the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. stressed in their address in January 1873 that what was involved was 'amalgamation between us, not of funds, but a mutual understanding to assist each other all we can',² the amalgamation excluding funds seemed to some glass makers to be nonsense. For instance, J. Husselbee, a Dudley flint glass maker, contended:

'Amalgamation means every element combined: laws, policy, every thing-must have a uniform basis of monetary interest. A single element, as that of morality, has not adhesive power; has not combining force; and lacks that essence of amalgamation by which bodies of men are indissolubly bound together.'³

¹Ibid., p. 467.

²Ibid., p. 313.

³Ibid., p. 344.

The difference in the effective strength of the two bodies also led glass makers to be negative towards amalgamation. To glass makers who were proud of their firmly established apprentice restrictions, the failure of the glass cutters to maintain their control over apprenticeship after the disastrous strike of 1865-66 seemed an irreparable weakness. Husselbee wrote in October 1872 that since the glass cutters' strike of 1865-66 'the Cutters' apprentice law has been almost wholly disregarded by every employer:

'Few yards from where I write, so near that I can almost hear the groaning of its wheels, is a cutting shop crowded with apprentices, with only one solitary unionist among them; and yet your apprentice law of 1844 allows one apprentice to every five men.' ¹

Because of these difficulties, amalgamation failed. Superficially there seemed to exist a possibility of amalgamation, because glass makers and cutters worked, in most cases, in the same premises and engaged in the same industry. But, as our occupational continuity analysis indicated, they were totally distinct groups particularly in Stourbridge. It is noteworthy that the proposal for amalgamation originated in Manchester, where artisan consciousness was wearing relatively thin as a result of the rapid expansion of flint glass manufacture particularly after the 1860s. On the other hand, opposition occurred in the West Midlands and Scotland, where traditional artisan consciousness remained strong and reproduced itself among flint glass makers. As already described, Stourbridge and Birmingham were strong supporters of the glass cutters on strike in 1865-66, but they never agreed to amalgamation with them, because amalgamation would have damaged their own interests. This exclusiveness was a reflection of the Labour aristocratic consciousness, which came to the fore by the strategic and practical needs for protection of their organisation.

¹
Ibid., p. 463.

III. Flint Glass Makers and Glass Bottle Makers

Flint glass makers possessed not only artisan consciousness but artistic pretensions. The F.G.M.M. wrote in 1858 that 'The members of our society may count themselves among those who have the honour of contributing daily to the luxuries of the tables of the nobility of the land, including Her Majesty the Queen. Seeing, then, that we labour at a beautiful art, is it not our duty and privilege to excel in the same - to be ambitious for our own credit and attainments, and to study taste, richness, and beauty.'¹ They were proud of their luxurious products which differed from other kind of glass ware. The Magazine also stated in 1851 that: 'The Crown Glass Maker, the German Sheet Blower, and the Bottle Maker are all confined to one article each and all of them are the same thing over again, there is no variety; every day's work is but a repetition of the former days always the same no changing of patterns.'² Bottle makers had 'none of their mental powers at work as a flint-glass maker has. A flint glass maker has to set to, it may be different patterns in six hours.'³

Certainly flint glass makers looked down upon mere bottle makers, although it seems likely that in Yorkshire the position of flint glass

¹F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 293.

²Ibid., vol. I, p. 178.

³R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit., p. 457, Q. 9220.

makers was deteriorating in relation to bottle makers. The flint glass trade was gradually waning there and was being replaced by the bottle trade. In the Wood Bros. glass factory of Barnsley, for instance, in the mid-1870s 'after full consideration it was considered advisable to go fully into the Medical Bottle Trade as the Table glass trade we were carrying on was no longer remunerative.'¹ In December 1875 two chairs of medical (flint) bottle makers began to work and by June 1876 six chairs were working. The flint glass makers in the factory therefore complained that they 'had not sufficient room for them to work in the furnace with the press chairs and they caused a deputation of their officials from Stourbridge to wait upon us on the subject.'² But the deputation of the F.G.M.F.S. 'did not support the men in their contention. In fact, they reproved them for their interference and told them to go to work quietly.'³ After 1880 glass makers' replacement by bottle makers took place with increased rapidity. Between 1880 and 1885 the number of chairs in the flint glass section in the factory decreased from five to four, the number of workers from 19 to 15, whereas the number of chairs in the flint bottle section increased from seven to eighteen, the number of bottlemakers rising from 28 to 72.⁴

¹ A.C. Logan, Memoranda collected from books and various Documents respecting the History and Rise of the Glass Works at Pontefract Rd. Barnsley and at Station Rd. Worsbrodale, 1905, MSS (Sheffield Central Library), p. 24.

² Ibid., p. 26. No information about the flint glass makers' complaint in the factory can be found in the F.G.M.M.

³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴ Wages Book of Wood Bros. of Barnsley

This relative decline of flint glass makers was reflected in shifting differentials between the two groups. Table 3:18 shows the wages both of flint glass makers and flint bottle makers in Beatson and Clark's factory at Rotherham between the 1860s and 1880s and those in Wood Bros. of Barnsley in the 1880s. Wage differentials were wide, but it is significant that the differentials were narrowing between the 1860s and 1880s. The weekly wages of flint glass makers tended to decline from 39s. 10d. in the 1860s to 28s. 7d. in the 1880s. On the other hand, those of flint bottle makers were ranging between 23s. and 27s. in the same period.¹ In 1875 the wages of flint bottle makers were standardised throughout Yorkshire and the regional difference was disappearing, as a result of the negotiation between the F.G.M.F.S. and the employers.² In the Beatson and Clark factory bottle makers received 57.7% of flint glass makers' wages in the 1860s, 71.1% in the 1870s, and 87.2% (88.4% in the Wood Bros. factory) in the 1880s.

¹No other district in the flint glass trade had greater regional variations of wages than Yorkshire. Particularly the wages in York itself were low and 'very little in advance of a day labourer's... the bottle makers' wages were 20s. per week, 3s. per move over and £5. 5s. paid as yearly money.' (F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p.728-9).

²On September 10 1875 the Bottle Section in Yorkshire and the employers drew up a wages agreement allowing 29s. per week and 2s. 6d. for an extra per move over for bottlemakers, and 26s. and 2s. 2d. for bottle blowers (Ibid., pp. 445-9). This achievement was the first step toward equalising wages in Yorkshire. In October 1895 the Yorkshire Districts finally obtained the Standard Rate (see, S. & B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, 1901, op.cit., pp. 280-1).

TABLE 3:18 Wage Differentials between Flint Glass Makers and Bottle Makers in Rotherham and Barnsley.

(weekly wages)

Year	Flint Glass Makers		Flint Bottle Makers		Wage Differentials Flint Glass Maker = 100 All workers
	All workers	Best paid worker	All workers	Best paid worker	
1860-69	39s. 10d.	52s. 6d.	23s. 0d.	30s. 0d.	57.7%
1870-79	37s. 10d.	59s. 10d.	26s. 11d.	31s. 6d.	71.1%
1880-89	28s. 7d.	51s. 4d.	24s. 11d.	27s. 0d.	87.2%
" (Wood Bros.)		37s. 7d.		33s. 3d.	(88.4%)

Source: Wages Book of Beatson and Clark of Rotherham and that of Wood Bros. of Barnsley. See Appendix E.

- 1) Flint glass makers include Workmen, Servitors (both of Journey-men and Apprentices), but do not include Takers-in.
- 2) Bottle makers include all men from 1st class to 5th class.

Although flint glass makers appear to have been losing their superiority in wages in Yorkshire, flint glass makers in the Midlands and Scotland and other areas were maintaining their privileged position. Consequently, the F.G.M.F.S. which was overwhelmingly dominated by the skilled glass makers in these areas had rather complex relations with the Yorkshire Bottle Section. The Bottle Section decided its own policy independently from the Executive of the Society, so that the complexity was twofold: the Executive of the Society sometimes supported the policy which was decided by the Bottle Section, but sometimes it did not. Conflict appeared when the Bottle Section attempted to amalgamate with the London flint bottle makers. Support appeared when the Bottle Section found itself in dispute with the ordinary bottle makers in Yorkshire.

Whereas blown flint glass makers in the West Midlands and other areas were competing with pressed glass makers in the Newcastle area, the great competitor for the Yorkshire flint bottle makers was in London. The London flint bottle makers were producing cheaper products than the Yorkshiremen. As the F.G.M.M. stated in 1875, 'The London Bottle Trade will always be a source of anxiety to the bottlemakers in our trade. They work with the same kind of tools, same moulds, and make the same class of bottles that are made in Yorkshire, and could with a little forebearance and practice, master the better class of work and yet we have no control over their operations'.¹ The London men had established their own trade union - 'The Glass Bottle Makers' and Blowers' Society of London' (herein after referred to as the London Society) on April 27 1874.² The men in the Society were 'originally cribmen who were looked down upon and despised by the factory men.'³ There had been 'a little public house club' among them, which was 'never properly managed, nor able to exert much influence over the trade, and it had financially collapsed about 1868-70.'⁴ In 1875 the reorganised London Society had a membership of about 200 but fell away during the

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 210.

²Rules of the London Glass Blowers' Trade Society, 1875, 1875 (Webb Coll. Section C, vol. 42, IV), p.1.

³S. Webb, Glass Blowers, MSS (Webb Coll. Section A, vol. XLIII, 2), p. 260.

⁴Ibid., p. 257.

next year or two until its membership was reduced to about 160.¹ Therefore, there existed three Societies in the London glass trade in the mid-1870s and they were in conflict with each other. According to the evidence given to Webb by the secretary of the London Society: 'Joseph Leicester who is the secretary to the London branch of the Flint glass makers, is the cause of the trouble by allowing his men to make disputed jobs at prices below those contended for by this Society, Leicester defending his cause by saying "that so long as men can get a living at them, they ought to do them". But he wants more than a mere "living", and will not be satisfied with less than a "good living"'.² However, the Yorkshire flint bottle makers in the

¹Ibid. In 1877 the London Society organised 18 bottle houses out of 22 or 23 in London. (F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 942). Membership of the Society remained about 160 until the end of 1891, when 'a revival took place and the membership increased rapidly until at the end of 1891 there were 320 members in the Society.' (S. Webb, Glass Blowers, op.cit., p. 257). Charles Booth indicated that at the end of the century the London Society had 300 members, the F.G.M.F.S. had 91 members, the Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society had 21 members, and the Glass Painters' Union (organised in 1889) had 120 members. All together, therefore, in the glass industry 532 males were organised out of a total of 1993 in London (Census of 1891) over twenty years of age, or 27%. (Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, sec. ser.: industry, vol. 2, 1902-4, op.cit., p. 93.)

²S. Webb, Glass Blowers, MSS, op.cit., p. 260. But Webb's note may be biased by his support for the Junta, Joseph Leicester was a close friend of George Potter's, (see blow, p. 288). Joseph Leicester himself wrote of the London cribmen in 1858 that 'We have visited them (cribmen), we have presented them with printed circulars pointing out the importance of belonging to society [sic], we have got them together in the club room and spoken kindly to them; but it seems as if this damning system, under which they are placed, has so eaten out all moral principles, that one would think they had abrogated their manhood; and now what to do we don't know. I hope the conference (of the F.G.M.F.S.) will take this affair seriously into consideration. (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 200).

F.G.M.F.S. wished to amalgamate with the London Society so as to diminish competition. At the Half-Yearly County Meeting of the Bottle Section held on June 19 1875 it was resolved that 'this meeting thinks it highly desirable that an Amalgamation should take place between this and the London Flint Bottle Makers' Society.'¹ It was also requested that the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S. should take immediate steps to convene a meeting of the representatives belonging to the two Societies, because 'it would prove beneficial to the trade in general.'² Nonetheless, other Districts of the F.G.M.F.S. opposed the amalgamation, declaring that 'the London bottle makers would hang as a dead weight round the neck of our Society.'³ Other Districts already felt that the Yorkshire Bottle Section itself was 'a dead weight in the Society. As a result the C.S. of the Society merely recommended the 'moral amalgamation' which only aimed 'to keep back men from going to work in each other's District to your mutual injury.'⁴ On the other hand, G. Rose, secretary to the London Society, was for a short time 'desirous for an understanding to be agreed upon between the two bodies.'⁵ But soon after he came to realise that the F.G.M.F.S. as a whole was reluctant to amalgamate. Rose wrote to the F.G.M.F.S. in February 1877

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 275.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 211.

⁴Ibid., p. 733.

⁵Ibid., pp. 722-3.

of 'how the members of the Flint Glass Makers' Society sympathize with us; they take every opportunity to sneer and scoff at our endeavours to elevate ourselves.'¹ In the event, the amalgamation did not take place.

The support of the Executive of the F.G.M.F.S. for the Yorkshire Bottle Section appeared when the dispute between the Section and the Yorkshire Bottle Makers' Society took place in 1877. After the dissolution of the amalgamated society, the "Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society" was reorganised in 1860.² From 1862 to 1865 it was merely a kind of federation of the various districts with Castleford as a central district. But in 1865 an Executive Committee was established and Castleford was appointed the governing branch with power to deal with disputes.³ From that year onwards membership increased. Three years later, in February 1868 the total membership was 646 in ten branches.⁴ In 1870 membership was 792, in 1875 1120, in 1880 1001, and in 1885 it reached 1522.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 942.

²Manchester Guardian, June 3 1868. The report of J. Wild, a representative of the Yorkshire Bottle Makers' Society, read at the first Trade Union Congress. The history of this Society is written in the preface of Rules of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society, 1906, 1906. See also, David Brundage, op.cit., chapter II, pp. 32-58.

³S. Webb, Flint Bottle Makers, MSS, op.cit., p. 275.

⁴The Bee-Hive of May 8 1869 reported that the number of members was about 720.

⁵S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, op.cit., pp. 746-7, Appendix VI.

Since the flint bottle makers in Yorkshire were not organised by the Protection Society, but by the F.G.M.F.S. a complicated dispute took place. The 'Bottle Section of the F.G.M.F.S. also rapidly expanded in the 1870s, and in 1875 the Section had a membership of 280 in eight branches,¹ about one fifth of all organised bottle makers in Yorkshire. From the view point of commodity markets flint bottle makers and table flint glass makers had no common interests. On the other hand, it was extremely difficult to define the real difference between the class of work done by flint bottle makers and ordinary bottle makers. The ordinary bottle makers made general market bottles such as wines, mineral waters, and large medical bottles, while the flint bottle makers concentrated on medical bottles, usually small ones.

It had long been a custom in the bottle trade that any earnings above those gained by the tantum, should be placed in the coffers of the Society.² In 1877 the bottle makers in Sykes, MacVay and Co. factory of Castleford put on a 'tantum' of £2 per hole per week. The employers declared that 'if the tantum was not taken off they should have to get hands elsewhere to come to work.'³ The Council of the Yorkshire Bottle Society was of opinion that the tantum should be removed,⁴ but the workmen refused and were discharged immediately.

¹See Appendix B.

²'Tantum' was a limitation of individual output fixed by the Society. They were not allowed to exceed it. If they did, that amount of money was paid into the funds of the Society. See, S&B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, 1901, op.cit., p. 447 and David Brundage, op.cit., p. 45.

³The Quarterly Report of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society, ending November 12 1877, no. XLVIII, p. 210.

⁴Ibid.

The employers tried to open the bottle house by employing flint bottle glass makers and began to negotiate with the F.G.M.F.S. On April 9 1877 the Council of the Yorkshire Bottle Society opened a correspondence with the F.G.M.F.S. and in about a fortnight it became apparent that preparations were being made for the flint bottle makers to start one of the bottle houses.¹ Although the Quarterly Report of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society reported these affairs in great detail, the F.G.M.M. did not comment on the negotiations with the Yorkshire Bottle Society at all, probably because the F.G.M.F.S. thought it was dishonourable behaviour for them. The F.G.M.F.S. tried to conceal from its members the dispute with the Yorkshire Bottle Society but, by chance, a secret letter from Hargreaves, secretary to the Hunslet District of the F.G.M.F.S., to R. Sykes was revealed in the Magazine by MacHenry, a 'sole manager' of the Sykes, MacVay and Co.² Probably personal rivalry for the position of manager in the company between Hargreaves and MacHenry led to the letter's publication. The upshot was that it became public knowledge that the District secretary had applied for a position in the firm which Sykes was about to start. He had to acknowledge that he had written the letter, and said; 'When the offer was made me of the situation as shop manager, I felt desirous to improve my position.'³

¹Ibid.

²F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 22. The letter was dated April 22 1877.

³Ibid., p. 134.

On May 5 of that year the Council of the Yorkshire Bottle Society convened a special delegate meeting at Normanton. It was resolved that 'the central secretary communicate with the Flint Glass Makers' Society, and ask them if they will meet a deputation to consider the subject.'¹ The Council appointed representatives to meet the delegates from the F.G.M.F.S. and on May 12 delegates from both Societies met at Castleford and discussed the problem for seven hours.² At the meeting 'the glass bottle hands demanded from the glass makers a definite statement as to what they considered their proper work. Nothing came of the conference. There is really no distinct line of demarcation it would be impossible to make one.'³ Thus the conflict between the two Societies came to a crucial point. The C.S. of the Yorkshire Bottle Society wrote on May 17 that 'our society has to fight not only the Masters' Association and the men of the North of England District who have come to Thornhill and Conisbro', but also the National Flint Glass Makers' Society.'⁴ By this time some flint glass makers had started to work in one of the bottle houses. According to Greenwood, general secretary of the Bottle Society, 'The Flint hands say they are justified in starting the houses which are changed for them, and that they shall work them and make any kind of

¹The Quarterly Report of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society, ending November 1877, op.cit., pp. 211-2.

²Ibid.

³S. Webb, Questionnaire for the Yorkshire Bottle Makers' Protection Society (Webb Coll. Section A, vol. XLIII, 3) p. 263.

⁴The Quarterly Report of the Glass Bottle Makers, op.cit., p. 214. My emphasis.

Bottles they can.'¹ The Bottle Society was thus forced to agree at the Special Delegate Meeting held in Normanton on July 14 that the Tantum would be removed 'unconditionally.'² But the situation was worse than had been expected. Sykes MacVay and Co. 'would not engage to take all the men back who had been discharged when it stopped.'³ Every bottle maker 'condemned the Flint hands for taking their trade from them.'⁴ Without the flint glass makers' intervention, bottle makers would have been not so easily deprived of their traditional 'tantum'. Flint glass makers clung to their own customs, but did not pay much attention to those in the kindred Society. The executive of the F.G.M.F.S. authorised the right of the members of the Bottle Section to play a role as 'black-legs'. This was an extreme example which illustrated the exclusiveness of the F.G.M.F.S. Hardly any sign of sympathy from the skilled workers with the less-skilled can be found, if the production process required them to work closely together.

¹Ibid., p. 215.

²Ibid., p. 220.

³Ibid., pp. 222-3.

⁴Ibid., p. 223.

Part Two THE FLINT GLASS MAKERS FRIENDLY SOCIETY

Chapter IV Structure and Development

I. From the Tramp Society to the "New Model" Union.

Documentary evidence relating to the activities of flint glass makers prior to the reorganisation of the Flint Glass Makers Friendly Society in 1849 is fragmentary. As early as 1755 glass makers in Newcastle-upon-Tyne formed their Friendly Society and it existed at least until the turn of the century.¹ The contribution was 1s. 4d. every six weeks in 1800.² The activities of the Society are unknown, but its aim was to provide the members with sick and death benefits.³ The subsequent history of the Society is also obscure. It was not until the mid-1830s that a national federation of the flint glass makers was established with sufficient strength to challenge the position of the manufacturers. This was a tramp society with 646 members in 25 branches

¹ Articles, Laws, and Rules, of the Glass-Makers' Friendly Society, held at the House of Mr. William Wilson, 1800, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, (British Library). This rule book tells us that the Friendly Society began on November 15 1755.

² Ibid., Provision IV. A new member had to pay, at his entrance, 2s. 9d. and nobody above the age of 35 was, on principle, accepted. Also 'No Pitman, Collier, Sinker, or Waterman to be admitted this Society' (Provision XXIV) and 'If any member of this shall enter into any other society, he shall be expelled and excluded from all benefits, allowances, and advantages' (Provision XXIII)

³ Ibid., passim.

throughout England, Scotland and Ireland.¹ Birmingham was the centre with 111 members, Dudley being the next with 51 and Newcastle third with 50.² Stourbridge had only 29 members. During a period of one and a half years from December 1835 to July 1837 the total number of tramps was 615, and £352 was spent on them. This constituted 43.7% out of the total expenditure of £805. It was significant that the purpose of the Society was not only to aid tramping. The strike funds which were expended upon at least 32 strikes in the same period, amounted to £143, forming 17.7% of the total expenditure. Nonetheless the financial condition of the Society was sound, leaving £124 in hand.³ The response of the employers seems to have been aggressive. On December 5 1837 the flint glass manufacturers of Birmingham and Stourbridge gathered at the Dudley Arms Hotel in response to a circular urging them 'to consider the best means to prevent the injurious combination of workmen.'⁴ They

¹An Account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Glass Makers' Friendly Society, From December 30 1835 to July 28 1837, 1837, (Brierley Hill Library). Questionnaire for the F.G.M.F.S. undertaken by Sidney Webb notes that 'Previous to that (the reorganisation in 1849) a federation of local societies for tramping purposes existed, of which Birmingham was the centre. But it was divided into districts and established upon something like its present basis in 1849' (S. Webb, Questionnaire for the F.G.M.F.S., Webb Coll. Section A, vol. XLIII, I, p. 213).

²The other branches with more than 10 members in 1837 were; Edinburgh (47), St. Helens (45), Manchester (41), London (38), Deptford (35), Dublin (28), Belfast (19), Bristol (17), Warrington (17), South Shields (16), Cork (16), York (12), Plymouth (12), Longport (12), and Greenock (11). An Account of Receipts and Expenditure of the Glass Makers' Friendly Society, 1837. op.cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Pottery Gazette, November 1 1880. At the meeting there were present Thomas Hawkes, M.P., Isaac Badger, Thomas Budger, Gammon (Birmingham), Green (Birmingham), Harris (Birmingham), Shakespeare (Birmingham), Greathead, Richardson (Stourbridge), Stevens (Stourbridge), Davis (Stourbridge), and Wheeley (Stourbridge).

eventually resolved:

'That it is the opinion of the meeting that the union formed in 1836 will, if persevered in, operate very prejudicially to the trade; that the meeting pledges itself, individually, to express to his workmen their disapprobation of all combinations and that he will not take into his employ any workman who is a member of the Glass Makers' Union. 1

Being attacked by the glass manufacturers, the Society appears to have faded away.

Afterwards the 'powerful'² United Flint Glass Makers' Society was organised in 1844,³ when 'a marked revival in Trade Unionism took effect.'⁴ The Society extended all over the Kingdom. In 1846 the membership was 850, out of which 360 were Workmen (42.4%), 372 were Servitors (43.8%) and 118 were Footmakers (13.8%).

Although considerable numbers of flint glass makers seem to have been left unorganised,⁵ this association was powerful, so that an attempt to establish a national organisation of manufacturers was made in 1847 again in order to counter-attack. A circular was issued from an anonymous flint glass manufacturer in Gloucester to the Flint Glass

¹Ibid.

²S. and B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, p. 181.

³Godfrey Lushington, An Account of the Strike of the Flint Glass Makers in 1858-9; Trades' Societies and Strikes, 1860, op.cit., p. 105.

⁴S. and B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit.

⁵The Worshipful Company of Glass Sellers of London, Essays on the Glass Trade in England, 1883, p. 13. The author wrote that 'I find that in 1846, being the year following that in which the duty was taken off Glass, there were 850 operative Glass-makers in the Society of Glass-makers at the time. I am unaware, personally, but no doubt there would be considerable numbers of them in the country who were not in the Society.' (p. 13).

Manufacturers of the United Kingdom for the purpose of regulating price and fixing wages.¹ E. & J. Webb, a manufacturer of Holloway End Glass Works of Stourbridge, immediately replied;

'The time has now arrived, something must be done, to raise prices, and increase our profits, Wages and Materials being very high. We can only say that We perfectly concur in your suggestions, and do hope the trade generally will concede with your views as it is to the interest of one and all that we should be united, and which is very easily accomplished.'²

But another firm, the Worsbrodale Glass Works, showed reluctance to accept the proposal:

'Glass Masters Meetings have been tried before and the Faithful have been the dupes of the Faithless... We thank you for your letter. But we fear the results of a Meeting would be similar to previous ones.'³

The Glass Makers Society was not crushed.

By this time a new tendency had appeared in Stourbridge and Birmingham. In both areas 'the men became very dissatisfied with the tramping system and the result of that was a split in the Old Society.'⁴ It is of great importance that the 'self-support' Society emerged in Stourbridge and Birmingham where the most skilful glass makers had been concentrated. Members of both new and old Societies went 'side by side for some years, they were closely connected with each other.'⁵

¹The circular does not exist but six replies from the Holyrood Flint Glass Works, Edinburgh (Mr. Ford); the Holloway End Glass Works, Stourbridge (E. & J. Webb); the Haverton Hill Glass Works, Haverton Hill; The Phoenix Flint and Bottle Glass Works, Bristol; the Worsbrodale Glass Works (Wood & Perkes) and the Grazebrook Glass Works, Stourbridge are preserved in the Brierley Hill Library.

²A letter from E. & J. Webb of Stourbridge, dated March 31 1847, MSS. (Brierley Hill Library).

³A letter from Worsbrodale Glass Works, dated April 3 1847, MSS. (Brierley Hill Library).

⁴S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, (Webb Coll. Section A, vol. XLIII, 1) p. 238. The date of the split in the Old Society is not specified.

⁵Ibid.

A great strike began in 1848, however, which led both of these Societies to destruction. The strike took place at the Five Ways Flint Glass Works of Rice Harris, Birmingham in July 1848. Harris, one of the flint glass manufacturers who had adopted pressed glass production, put some of his blown flint glass apprentices to supply the deficiency in the number of men engaged in the pressed glass process. But, 'they, after continuing at it for a few days, began to get dissatisfied, and a large number, after giving notice to Mr. Harris on Monday evening that they would not work at press-work any longer, absented themselves, and had not gone near the works since.'¹ Behind this lay the recognition that a would-be skilled blown glass maker could not master the skill if he was employed in pressed glass production. Harris sued several apprentices for breach of contract and the case was examined at the Public Office in Birmingham on July 20, 1848. W.P. Roberts, a well-known solicitor of Manchester, and the "Miners' Attorney-General"², was engaged on behalf of the defendants. He insisted:

'The defence which I have to make is that the work which the lads have been called upon to do is not that which they are bound apprentice to learn. I am instructed that it is totally different, and that to be able to blow well requires more than ordinary skill and practice, whilst pressing requires very little - (hear, hear from the crowd) - so little that any man taken out of the street is able to do it. ... If I could succeed in convincing the Bench that the glass-blowing is a distinct business, and the lads were required to do press-work when they ought to be learning blowing, which required a great

¹Birmingham Journal, July 22 1848.

²For W.P. Roberts, see S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., pp. 182-3. He was an able Chartist lawyer (see Dorothy Thompson (ed.), The Early Chartists, 1971, pp. 252-63), and the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland appointed him their standing legal adviser at a salary of £1,000 a year in 1844. For his activities in the Miners' Union see also E. Welbourne, The Miners' Unions of Northumberland and Durham, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 66-72, 78, 142-5.

deal of time and practice bestowed upon it to acquire anything approaching to perfection - then I might show that the lads were justified in refusing to do the work which is set them.' ¹

The Magistrates eventually ordered the charge to be dismissed, but the settlement of the strike was protracted. About 100 men besides a number of boys were brought out on strike. Harris imported twenty-six black-legs from France. The Morning Chronicle remarked: 'The Frenchmen were hooted and pelted in the streets of the town, and rows often occurred. The union offered the Frenchmen 26s. per week each, if they would join the strike and undertook to pay their expenses back to France, if they preferred to go; but they all refused.'² The Society borrowed money from 'private individuals' to enable workmen who had sacrificed their places for the good of the trade, to take home 2s. on a Saturday night - 2s. to support, in many cases, a wife and family!³ The funds of both Societies were completely exhausted. The strike lasted until March 1849 and the employers eventually succeeded in beating their men. A few months later, in September of that year, a Birmingham flint glass maker recalled that 'the funds used in the strike were all dissipated and nothing was left for fighting the battle of the trade.'⁴ Thus both

¹Birmingham Journal, July 22 1848.

²Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

³F.G.M.M., vol. I, pp. 79-80. William Gillinder, 'An Appeal for the Birmingham Debt, dated March 8 1851'.

⁴The statement of the Birmingham Delegate at the Conference of the F.G.M.F.S. held in September 1849; in S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, op.cit., p. 228.

Societies died out leaving debts of £88.¹

In September 1849 the Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society was reorganised.² On 13-15 of the month the delegates assembled at the house of Mr. Deakin, Brown Cow, Ruler Street, Manchester from Warrington, St. Helens, Rotherham, Catcliff, York, Hunslet, Dudley, Holly Hill, Dublin, Edinburgh, Tutbury, Longport, Manchester and Birmingham.³ From their bitter experiences in the previous years, there was 'a general consensus of opinion among all the delegates that "Strikes are no good to any body" for they only starve the men for months and then force them to go back at the employers' terms.'⁴ All the delegates 'complain of the very bad state of trade and the continual reductions of wages consequent upon the various districts underselling each other. This chief grievance in every case seems to be that of too many apprentices.'⁵

At the first annual conference held on July 11-12 1850 in Birmingham, the same opinions were expressed. It was literally a national conference.⁶

¹Whereas the total income for the Five Ways strike was £1408. 12s. 3½d., the total outlay was £1496 12s. 5d. (F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 80).

²Mr. Bamford, a Manchester flint glass maker, recalled in 1854 that 'At the commencement of 1849 the Society was bankrupt - in fact, there was no Society at all. A few friends, among whom was Mr. Nixon of Birmingham, and now in Australia - he, in connection with a few Manchester persons, thought it desirable to call a conference, who took upon themselves the responsibility of reorganising the trade.' (F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 106).

³S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, op.cit., p. 228.

⁴Ibid., p. 227.

⁵Ibid., p. 226.

⁶The conference was attended by delegates from London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, York, Bristol, Belfast, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Waterford, St. Helens, Warrington, Tutbury, Longport, Rotherham, Catcliff, Haverton Hill, Dudley, Stourbridge, Wordsley, Hunslet, and Worsbrodale. (Birmingham Journal, July 13 1850).

The delegates 'representing near upon 1000 operatives', assembled 'chiefly with the view of determining on the best course to be pursued in removing the vast amount of surplus labour at present prostrating the manufacture, and as to the necessary steps to be taken to benefit the condition of the workmen generally'.¹ The Birmingham Mercury of July 13 1850 reported:

'We are given to understand that the society does not recognise the general necessity of strikes, but prefers a withdrawal and support of such of its members as may have good grounds of complaint. It has also abolished the old tramp system, and substituted for it a general plan of registration, by which vacancies are ascertained and filled, and the unemployed equally distributed in the various markets of their labour. Altogether the glass makers' society appeared to be one of the very best of its kind.'

At first sight this appears to be double-talk. 'A withdrawal and support of such of its members as may have good grounds of complaint' i.e., provision for strike action. However, the intention was that such strikes should occur seldom; be local in character and subjected to central control which would keep them low key and try to prevent them from escalating into the major confrontations which had been so disastrous in the past.²

The novelty of the new Society was stressed by William Gillinder, the first C.S. of the Society, at the dinner party which was held in the evening after the conference. In front of 150 men and their wives he contended that there had come 'a new era in the trade, when the men

¹Ibid.

²See a letter on "The Evil Consequences of Strikes", in F.G.M.M., July 1850, quoted in S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., pp. 199-200; 'As man after man leaves, and no one [comes] to supply their place, then it is that the proud and haughty spirit of the oppressor is brought down, and he feels the power he cannot see.'

would be able to make themselves more independent of masters, who chose to be tyrants, without running the risk of being left to starve.'¹

These opinions expressed at both of the conferences serve to indicate the essential features of the newly organised Society. The belief, which they had taken from their experiences, was that not the strike, but the limitation of the supply of labour would raise wages and subsequently make them independent of their masters.

Theoretically, the "New Model" Unions of skilled workers had six major policies to create a permanent scarcity of skilled labour:

1) the restriction of apprenticeship, 2) the control of labour mobility between areas of slack and full employment, 3) the restriction of production, 4) the encouragement of emigration, 5) a reduction of working hours and 6) the restriction of overtime. Around the middle of the nineteenth

century in England, these policies were, more or less, pursued by skilled workers, Unions, which had learnt "the rules of the games."²

Meanwhile, their experiences in the 1840s made them realise that unemployment was unavoidably created by cyclical trade depressions. The men, once unemployed, had to be rescued, otherwise the scarcity of labour would not have been guaranteed. For this purpose two methods were devised:

1) the unemployment allowance which would prevent the unemployed from selling their labour power too cheaply, and 2) co-operative production which would absorb the unemployed. If such policies for both restricting

¹Birmingham Journal, July 13 1850.

²Eric Hobsbawm, Custom, Wages and Work-load in Nineteenth-century Industry, in Labouring Men, 1964, p. 345.

the supply of labour and increasing the demand for it were to be effectively realised, then the old localised Societies had to be reconstructed into a national Society. Funds had to be accumulated so as to provide members with necessary Friendly benefits and to start co-operative production. Consequently, membership was limited to well-paid workers, who were able to pay contributions as high as 1s. a week. In many Unions, in order to manage the Friendly Society functions and the complicated national policies, professional full-time secretaries came to be required. Gradually, they became reluctant to put the hard won national organisation at risk by big strikes. 'Defence not defiance' was their motto. It is in this context that the Societies which were reorganised around the mid-century represented a decisive institutional innovation in the transition "from custom to calculation." However, the transition does not necessarily mean that the Societies totally abandoned strikes. When their national organisation was once threatened by the enforcement of 'documents', they fought it by a strike. When their superior position as skilled workers was threatened by, for instance, the breach of apprentice regulations or the introduction of new technology, they went on strike. In most cases, they were locked-out by employers and defeated. It should be understood that old artisan consciousness was deeply rooted and reproduced itself and that the transition "from custom to calculation" "was not fully but only partially effective. The weight of each policy varied from Society to Society, according to the different work situation in each trade. For instance, flint glass makers did not intend to shorten the length of working hours as a means towards the creation of labour scarcity because, as we have already seen, they felt that any change of their peculiar working hours might facilitate the entry of less-skilled workers into the trade. Organisationally, the incompleteness of the transition was shown in the fact that local autonomy still remained fairly strong within the national organisation. The governing body in

the Society occasionally collided with local independence. Moreover, the gradual disappearance of 'Primitive Democracy' was one of the particular characteristics of the newly organised trade unions. It is in this context that the concept of the "New Model" is acceptable. The newly organised F.G.M.F.S. certainly emerged as a "New Model", although, as the following chapters will show, it is a description requiring some qualification.

II. The Members of the Society.

According to the First Quarterly Report of the Society in 1852, it had 1017 members in 20 Districts, covering England (16 Districts), Scotland (2 Districts) and Ireland (2 Districts). Afterwards membership continued to increase each year until 1877, although 1855, 1861 and 1868 showed slight decreases. There were 912 members in 1855; 1300 in 1860; 1612 in 1865; 1762 in 1870 and 1994 in 1875.¹ It is clear that during the third quarter of the century membership more than doubled. In 1877 it reached 2088, but after that year it began to fall until it reached 1937 in 1881. The fall was largely the result of the trade depression. Table 4:1 shows the percentages of membership in the major Districts every five years. The high concentration of membership in some areas was characteristic. As the Table shows, the total membership of both Stourbridge and Birmingham formed about one third of the whole of the Society over the period. In 1852 the Birmingham District with 186 members was the largest District, with Stourbridge, 137, coming second. By the end of the 1850s Stourbridge overtook Birmingham and became the largest District for a short time. Afterwards the Stourbridge and Birmingham Districts competed with each other for the prize. The Stourbridge District had 279 in 1865; 298 in 1870; 353 in 1875; and 399 in 1880, while the Birmingham District had 297 in 1865; 334 in 1870; 362 in 1875; and 345 in 1880. Certainly the heavy concentration of members in both these

¹Membership in each District of the Society between 1852 and 1881 is given in Appendix B.

TABLE 4:1 Membership of the F.G.M.F.S. in the Major Districts
(percentages)

<u>District</u>	<u>Y E A R</u>						
	1852	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880
Stourbridge	14.6	16.8	22.1	17.3	16.9	17.7	21.7
Birmingham	19.9	19.9	19.7	18.4	19.0	18.2	18.8
Manchester	8.4	8.3	11.3	16.6	18.2	17.1	18.7
Newcastle	8.1	6.8	8.3	4.4	4.7	5.0	5.4
Edinburgh	2.7	2.9	3.8	4.4	3.8	3.0	4.0
Glasgow	5.1	5.8	4.2	4.3	4.9	3.8	4.4
London	7.8	3.1	2.5	3.1	3.1	3.6	3.6
Warrington	3.3	4.7	4.5	5.4	5.2	4.8	4.4
York	6.5	4.4	3.0	3.4	3.3	3.9	4.6
Totals of nine Districts	76.4	72.7	79.4	77.3	79.1	77.1	85.6
Totals of other Districts	23.6	27.3	20.6	22.7	20.9	22.9	14.4
Totals of all Districts (N)	937	912	1300	1612	1762	1994	1977
No. of Districts	20	23	22	22	23	25	26

Source: Calculated from the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S., in
F.G.M.M. vol. I- Vol. X.

1) the third quarter (June-August) is chosen every year.

neighbouring Districts had a great impact on decision making within the Society as a whole. On the other hand, the increase of members in Manchester was substantial particularly after 1860. Its share in the total membership of the Society went up from 8.4% in 1852 to 18.2% in 1870, when Manchester overtook Stourbridge and became second to Birmingham. In contrast to the expansion of Manchester was the declined membership in Newcastle. In 1852 the Newcastle District had almost the same proportion as Manchester, but its share had fallen to 4.3% in 1865. The Belfast District met a similar fate. In 1852 it had about 20 members but after 1855 it began to decrease and by 1868 it had disappeared. Both Glasgow and Edinburgh kept stable shares of total membership during the period, whereas the small Districts in Yorkshire increased their representation from 4 branches in 1852, to 7 in 1861, 8 in 1871 and 11 in 1881. This rapid increase in membership and influence of Manchester and Yorkshire brought in the 'unsettled state' of affairs in the Society and this became one of the serious problems after the mid-1860s.

What types of glass-maker became members of the Society; Workmen, Servitors, Footmakers, or Takers-in? Who were left unorganised in the chairs? Were there any regional differences in the degree of organisation? It is important to examine these problems. The qualification for membership of the Society was laid down by the 1858 rule that: 'Every man who has served an apprenticeship to Flint Glass Making, and in employment at Flint Glass Making shall be eligible to become a member of this society, by being proposed and seconded by two members of the Society and paying entrance money.'¹ Takers-in were not eligible to be

¹Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule 1. The entrance money was to be paid according to age in the case of Workmen and Servitors in 1858 probably because when they grew older the possibility of retirement and sickness increased. The scales in the 1858 rule

members. Although Apprentices who had served for five years (according to the 1858 rule) or six years (according to the 1867 and 1874 rule) were admitted to membership, they were entitled to receive benefits from the Society only after promotion to Journeymen; Apprentices paid the full contributions for one or two years as a preparatory stage to the 'clear' membership. A Factory Inspector reported of the F.G.M.F.S. in 1879 that 'Not infrequently apprentices become "joining members" at the age of 18 or 19, upon payment of a small fee, and take part in the deliberations of the society.'¹ Journeymen Footmakers were fully entitled to membership by the rule of the Society and they were well organised. According to the national survey undertaken by the Society in 1857,² 84.3% of 1110 Journeymen flint glass makers employed in 15 Districts were organised in the Society; 84.0% of Workmen, 80.4% of Servitors and probably more than 90% of Footmakers were organised in the Society. If we include Apprentices, then the rate of organisation was 77.4% for Servitors and 48.6% for Footmakers. It is clear that seven in ten flint glass makers (including

and the 1859 rule were as follows (Brackets are those in the 1867 and the 1874 rule). Under 21 years old 7s. 6d. (10s.); under 25, 10s. (20s.); under 30, 15s. (30s.); under 35, 20s. (40s.); under 40, 50s. (60s.); under 45, 40s. (80s.). All above the age of 45 were 'to be sent around the trade for approval; their entrance money not to be under £3 not more than £5.' (The 1858 rule, Rule 1).

¹Factory Inspectors' Report ending October 31 1879, 1880,
(P.P. XIV), p. 31.

²The Society had 23 Districts in 1857, but the following 8 Districts did not return the questionnaires relating to the number of flint glass makers employed in those areas; Glasgow (70 members of the Society), London (36), St. Helens (34), Tutbury (23), South Shields (13), Bolton (12), Catcliff (12) and Hunslet (12).

TABLE 4:2 Differences in the Degree of Organisation of Flint Glass Makers in the Chairs in 1857.

	Workman	Servitor	Footmaker	Totals
No. of membership	409	362	165	936
No. of Journeymen employed	487	450	173	1110
Rate of organisation of Journeymen	84.0%	80.4%	95.4%	84.3%
No. of Journeymen and Apprentices	487	468	356	1311
Rate of organisation of Journeymen and Apprentices	84.0%	77.4%	48.6%	71.4%

- Source: 1) The number of glass makers employed is taken from the returns of a national survey undertaken by the F.G.M.F.S. late in 1857; in F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 248. Takers-in are not included in the returns.
- 2) The number of members is taken from 'Names of the Members of the F.G.M.F.S., for the Year ending December 31 1857; in F.G.M.M., vol. III, pp. 228-43.
- 3) The 8 Districts which did not send back the returns on the number of glass makers employed are not included in the Table.

Apprentices but not Takers-in) were members of the Society, the degree of organisation gradually diminishing as status in the chairs diminished. As a result, the two highest groups in the chairs formed 78.4% of the total membership of the Society. Out of 1119 members of the Society in 21 Districts in 1857, 472 (42.1%) were Workmen, 406 (36.3%) were Servitors, and 181 (16.2%) were Footmakers.² Although the data indicating the degree of organisation in other years is unobtainable, there seem to have been no substantial changes in the components of the Society over the period of the third quarter of the century.

However, regional differences in the degree of organisation existed, largely corresponding with the rise and fall of the flint glass industry in those areas. As Table 4:3 shows, four groups can be isolated. The first group consisted of Stourbridge and Birmingham. More than 90% of glass makers were organised in these large Districts. The second group consisted of Manchester and Newcastle. Although these Districts had relatively large memberships in 1857, the rate of organisation

²Glasgow and Catcliff did not report the number of members in the Districts, so that the two Districts are excluded in the calculation. Besides Workmen, Servitors and Footmakers, there were 24 Melters, and 37 Pressers, forming 5.4% altogether, in the Society. (F.G.M.M., vol. III, pp. 228-43.)

was as low as between 50% and 60%. In 1851 a Manchester member named 'Alpha' remarked that 'the number of apprentices is greater in Manchester than any place in the United Kingdom... there are about forty chairs, and out of this vast number we have only seven journeymen foot-makers, all the rest being filled with apprentices, and besides these we have a number of apprentice servitors which make a total of about forty-two or forty-three for Manchester alone.'¹ On the other hand, in 1854 William Gillinder reported of the Newcastle situation that 'There is about 180 glass makers at work in the district; out of these there are 75 members in society, [sic] leaving above 100 black rats in the district. These black rats are cooped up, or rather all under the employ of four employers; they cannot get work in the society houses, when they change it is only amongst the four employers.'² The third group consisted of many small Districts such as Edinburgh, Dudley, Rotherham, Warrington, Dublin and so on.

In each District there were only a few glass factories but the glass makers were well organised. The final group consisted of York and Longport where the rate of organisation was low despite the small numbers employed. The Yorkshire Bottle Section of the Society should be classified in the final group. Particularly in the 1870s the Bottle Section was a burden for the Society as a whole, because of many black glass houses existing in the area. The leading article of the F.G.M.M. in

¹F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 70.

²F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 351.

TABLE 4:3 Regional Differences in Degree of Organisation of Flint Glass Makers in 1857.

No. of glass factories		No. of glass makers employed (A)	No. of Journey-men employed (B)	No. of membership (C)	Rate of organisation (gross)	Rate of organisation (net)
					C/A x 100	
Group A						
Stourbridge	11	311	271	266	85.5%	94.2%
Birmingham	10	305	271	253	83.0	90.1
Group B						
Manchester	2	197	144	80	40.6	52.2
Newcastle	7	178	151	91	51.1	57.3
Group C						
Edinburgh	2	52	44	41	78.8	88.6
Dudley	3	52	49	47	90.4	94.2
Rotherham	1	47	42	42	89.4	96.8
Warrington	2	43	39	34	79.1	84.2
Dublin	1	16	16	16	100.0	100.0
Westbrodale	1	10	10	10	100.0	100.0
Bristol	1	9	9	9	100.0	100.0
Belfast	?	9	8	8	88.9	96.5
Haverton Hill	?	2	2	2	100.0	100.0
Group D						
York	?	64	36	29	45.3	65.9
Longport	1	24	18	9	37.5	45.7
Totals		1319	1110	936	71.0	80.1

- Source:** 1) The number of glass makers employed is taken from the Returns of national survey undertaken by the F.G.M.F.S. in late 1857; in F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 248. Takers-in are not included in the returns.
- 2) The number of membership is taken from 'Names of the Members of the F.G.M.F.S., for the Year ending December 31 1857; in F.G.M.M., vol. III, pp. 228-43.
- 3) The 8 Districts which did not send back the returns on the number of glass makers employed in the areas are not included in the Table.

- Source: 4) Gross rate of organisation is a proportion of membership to all glass makers employed which is given as $C/A \times 100$.
- 5) Net rate of organisation is a proportion of the membership to all glass makers eligible for membership, so that Apprentices who had not served for more than five years are excluded in the calculation; so that this is given as $\frac{C}{(B)+((A)-(B))} \times \frac{2}{7} \times 100$.

1875 remarked upon the unsettled state of affairs in Yorkshire:

'Members have lost their situations, to be filled up by Non-Society men; Black-houses have been made, where Society-houses existed before.... Even the Apprentice Law has in one or two instances been attempted to be violated, and would have succeeded, had not strong remonstrances and opposition been given to it.'¹ In contrast to the table glass producing houses, the small scale of bottle houses provided a condition whereby the bottle makers might relatively easily turn themselves into small producers. 'Most of the annoyances spring from the small Houses, wherein employers work themselves, or have a man to manage, who is trying himself to become a partner in the firm; or lift himself out of the

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 208.

chair altogether, by becoming a little employer, or being made a "Walking Manager".... It creates a spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and envy, only known to themselves.¹ Thus, as the C.C. of the Society stated in their address in 1877 'Our Society is and we fear always will be, weakest in Yorkshire.'² These regional differences were reflections of local economic structures, the different degree of discipline of the Society and the varying consciousness of flint glass makers.

¹Ibid., pp. 208-9.

²F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 113.

III. The Financial System of the Society.

A necessary and fundamental procedure for establishing the Society as a national body was the foundation of its financial system. William Gillinder, the first C.S. of the Society, reformed the old financial system, by which each District had decided individually on the disposal of its funds. He endeavoured to centralise the funds in the hands of the Central Committee. Gillinder declared that 'Taking the principle that we are a national society, I hold that as soon as a man has paid his contribution to the society, the money for ever ceases to be his. Under this consideration I hold that money in districts no more belongs to these districts individually, than it does to individuals.'¹ Gillinder issued an account-book to every District to put down their income and expenditure and published them in the quarterly F.G.M.M. in order that all members could see the existing financial situation of the Society. Without doubt their financial reorganisation distinguished the new Society from the tramping society of the pre-1849 period.

The effect was remarkable. In October 1853 the Society succeeded in banking the first thousand pounds at the Western Bank in Glasgow,²

¹F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 311.

²The rules of the Society provided that 'when the surplus moneys in the various districts amount to the sum of one thousand pounds the whole shall be banked in the names of six trustees to be chosen by a majority of the members of this society, who shall likewise choose the bank and the locality that it shall be banked in.'
(Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule XXXIX).

and held a meeting at Vauxhall in Birmingham to commemorate the deposit on October 7 1853, attended by 'upwards of 170 workmen'.¹ Delegates attended from most of the districts. Gillinder, having taken the chair, 'earnestly hoped that the universal cry would be "Let us have more thousands."² The Birmingham Mercury reported that 'such a gathering had never been witnessed at any of the societies' meetings before, so that the greatest liberality and enthusiasm prevailed.'³ Since the deposit of the money for the Society was an unprecedented event, 'the great difficulty was the establishing of confidence to accomplish the banking of the money.'⁴ In fact, Gillinder had been suspected of having run away with the money,⁵ but after the success of banking it the suspicion vanished. In September 1854 Benjamin Smart, the second C.S. of the Society was able to report that the second thousand pounds was deposited in the Bank of Birmingham. But, soon after, the Society met with some financial difficulty as a result of the increased payment of unemployment allowance,

¹Birmingham Journal, October 8 1853.

²Ibid.

³Birmingham Mercury, October 8 1853

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 38; Gillinder's Address, dated August 17 1854.

⁵Gillinder recalled at the farewell party before his emigration in 1864 that 'When I took the office, I found there was £116 in debt, and yet they boasted of what they had done. I know that my measures were not popular, and I was denounced as a second Napoleon.... I knew that if I proposed to have a fund of one thousand pounds, it would be said I wanted to run away it, and it was said so.' (F.G.M.M. vol. II, p. 107-8).

so that the Society was compelled to draw out the thousand pounds from the bank. The C.C. of the Society noted in July 1857 that 'we had two years of very dull trade, during which there was expended upwards of £4,000 to the unemployed; and to enable us to meet the demands of the Society, we had to draw £1000 from our Bankers.'¹ Moreover, the suspension of the Western Bank at the end of 1857 made the finances of the Society even more difficult.² The failure of the Western Bank, followed quickly by the lock-out of 1858-9 produced something of a financial crisis for the Union. But recovery was rapid as trade picked up in the 1860s, so much so that the Society had banked one thousand pounds by the end of 1860 and another thousand pounds by March 1863.³ Benjamin Smart, the C.C. of the Society, contended at the celebration meeting in March 1864 that 'the day was not far distant when they would be able to say that the Flint Glass Society had £20,000 in the bank.'⁴ In September of that

¹F.G.M.M. vol. II, p. 546.

²F.G.M.M. vol. III, p. 109. The failure of the Western Bank was precipitated by dislocation in America and by the bankruptcy of D.J. MacDonald & Co., muslin producers. The debts to the Bank totalled two millions. (W.H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland, 1936, pp. 75-6 and pp. 122-3.)

On May 4 1858 the Western Bank announced that it would begin to pay to its creditors (Glasgow Sentinel, May 8 1858). The C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. remarked on July 19 that 'Perhaps the most cheering information we can give to many is that the Western Bank of Scotland has paid, on May 10th, to its creditors, one half of their money.' (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 274.)

³F.G.M.M., vol. IV, pp. 265, 686.

⁴Bee-Hive, March 12 1864.

year, when another thousand pounds was deposited at the Stourbridge and Kidderminster Bank of Stourbridge, making a total of four thousand pounds about 250 glass makers assembled at the Corn Exchange in Stourbridge to partake of a dinner. Smart stated there that 'it was not generally understood what they were collecting their funds for. The money was collected for defending their rights, and their object was something like that of the volunteers - "defence and not defiance"... He believed that strikes would continue to occur as long as the present system of trade was carried on.'¹

It is interesting to note that the flint glass makers used to compare their funds with those of the A.S.E. to judge the solidity of the organisation.² In 1861 Alexander Campbell, an old Owenite and an honorary member of the F.G.M.F.S., made a speech at the Edinburgh and Glasgow Flint Glass Makers' Yearly Meeting in which he explicitly compared the F.G.M.F.S. with the A.S.E.; 'Even now the glassmakers as a society were equal to the best organised trades in the kingdom in wealth proportionate to their members, and in intelligence second to none. Take for example the Amalgamated Engineers with their 22,000 members, and their £60,000 capital, and compare their numbers with their money and it will be found that the glassmakers have fully more money in proportion to their members than the engineers.'³ In July 1866 at the meeting to

¹Stourbridge Observer, September 10 1864.

²The A.S.E. had devoted its attention to the strengthening of its own organisation after the defeat of the strike in 1852 and membership figures grew from a bare 9737 in 1852 to 33,007 in 1866, while funds in the same period increased from £7,103 to £138,113. J.B. Jefferys, The Story of the Engineers, 1800-1945, 1945, p. 75.

³F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 305. His statement overestimated the funds per capita of the F.G.M.F.S. in comparison to those of the A.S.E. in 1861. See Table 4:4.

celebrate the banking of the sixth thousand pounds of the Society's funds, Campbell again stated that the Society was 'the best organisation of working-men in the three kingdoms', because 'the funds counted £5 per member as compared with £3 of the A.S.E.'¹ To flint glass makers the A.S.E. set a target to surpass. In August 1869 T.J. Wilkinson, the C.S. of the Society, declared that the total of nine thousand pounds banked by the Society 'is nearly £6 per paying member, and shows that we rank as the richest trade society in Great Britain, as the Amalgamated Engineers, who are said to be the wealthiest society, have only £2.18s.11d. per man in their funds.'² As Table 4:4 shows, in the period between 1863 and 1874 the F.G.M.F.S. surpassed the A.S.E. in terms of the funds per capita.³ In 1876 the balance in hand of the F.G.M.F.S. reached a peak, amounting to £12,264, but in terms of funds per capita, they were surpassed by the A.S.E. which had over £6 per capita. Consequently, the glass makers stopped using funds per capita as an index of the wealthy Societies and claims of this kind disappeared from the F.G.M.M. in the mid-1870s.

It is hardly surprising that with the accumulation of funds, the Society came to stress Friendly Society functions rather than Trade Union ones. The editorials of the Bee-Hive were full of accusations of the A.S.E.'s loss of militancy in 1868. After reporting that the funds of the A.S.E. reached over £3.7s. per capita, the Bee-Hive remarked that

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 720.

²Bee-Hive, August 21 1869.

³The F.G.M.F.S. surpassed the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (herein after referred to as the A.S.C.J.) in terms of the funds per capita between 1860 and 1877.

TABLE 4:4 The Funds of the F.G.M.F.S. between 1852 and 1880.

Year	F.G.M.F.S.		A.S.E.		A.S.C.J.	
	Balance in hand	No. of Members	Balance in hand per head		Balance in hand per head	
1851	-	-	-	£1.16s. 7d.		-
52	£211	919	£0. 4s. 9d.		0 11 0	-
53	1553	1013	1 10 7	1 13 2	-	-
54	2945	989	2 19 4	1 14 10	-	-
55	2200	897	2 9 0	2 16 10	-	-
56	1938	1086	1 15 7	3 4 5	-	-
57	3200	1228	2 12 2	3 7 0	-	-
58	3376	1294	2 12 2	1 19 11	-	-
59	2362	1286	1 16 9	2 1 4	-	-
60	3742	1355	2 15 2	2 17 6	£0.10s. 2d.	
61	3311	1343	2 9 2	3 4 2	0 18 2	
62	3384	1383	2 9 0	2 15 10	0 17 10	
63	4083	1485	2 15 0	2 11 9	1 3 9	
64	5443	1590	3 8 4	3 0 4	1 7 10	
65	7102	1606	4 8 4	3 14 6	1 9 4	
66	8894	1668	5 6 7	4 3 8	1 12 7	
67	9012	1693	5 6 4	3 15 2	1 17 9	
68	9178	1692	5 8 4	2 19 0	1 19 3	
69	9000	1722	5 4 4	2 5 5	1 17 10	
70	8962	1776	5 1 0	2 7 6	1 14 6	
71	9202	1790	5 2 9	3 1 7	1 14 5	
72	10562	1893	5 11 7	3 17 1	1 15 3	
73	11728	1894	6 3 9	4 14 10	2 7 7	
74	11018	1983	5 11 2	5 10 9	3 1 2	
75	11479	2005	5 14 7	6 0 2	3 14 1	
76	12264	2094	5 11 2	6 3 5	4 7 5	
77	11025	2079	5 6 0	6 2 1	4 8 2	
78	7403	2040	3 12 7	5 10 5	4 6 1	
79	5401	2014	2 13 7	3 4 0	2 17 3	
80	4498	1963	2 5 9	2 18 2	2 6 6	

Source: Calculated from S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, op.cit., p. 17. For the A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J. calculated from Tables in George Howell, The Conflict of Capital and Labour, 1890 (2nd. edition), p. 497, 517.

'The amalgamated Engineers do not, therefore, encourage quarrels between employed and employers, having been even occasionally blamed for an indisposition to meddle with these matters.'¹ The situation was the same in the F.G.M.F.S. At the celebration meeting for the banking in 1864 Mr. Oxbury, a delegate from York 'clearly showed that it was not the interest of the men, nor the employers either, to have a strike or lock-out. He stated that the funds of the society were not accumulated for the purpose of upholding strikes, but simply to protect the interests of the trade, to provide in case of sickness, and to assist in decently interring a member after he has passed the barrier of this life.'² Friendly Society benefits were more strongly expected. They would strike if need be, but only prudently engaged in.

Just as the amount of funds of the Society was approaching its peak in the mid-1870s, embezzlement took place. Joseph Rudge, the C.S. of the Society was arrested on August 6 1874. In Court it was revealed that he used about £564 of the Society's funds for his own purposes.³ £30 for the Agricultural Labourers Union was not sent but went into his pocket. His lawyer used the same defence as in the Hornby v. Close case and contended that 'this society was not registered, and therefore the partnership of the members was not a legal one. The prisoner could not be indicted for stealing money the property of the

¹Bee-Hive, June 27 1868.

²Bee-Hive, March 12 1864.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VII, pp. 742-3.

partnership'.¹ But the contention was rejected. At the Manchester City Sessions Court on January 7 1875 Rudge was sentenced to eight months imprisonment, 'as the prisoner had before borne a good character, and he had already been in prison some two months.'² The embezzlement by the C.S. was followed by that of the District Secretary of Manchester, William Thompson, who stole £186 and ran away in September 1876.³ The District employed two detectives and printed 1000 bills and 36 photographs to be sent to 'all the most important Sea Ports, and principal places in the three Kingdoms!⁴ £5 Reward was offered by his late employers for his apprehension, but there is no evidence that he was ever arrested.

Soon after, the District secretary of St. Helens became a defaulter to the sum of £40.⁵ These cases stimulated a good deal of argument among the glass makers and led them to look for more secure ways of controlling access to the funds. Perhaps labour historians have been inclined to make a little too much of the integrity of trade union officers. Departures from that rule were more common than has been sometimes admitted and constituted a definite obstacle to the growth of the movement.

¹ F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 691; The Report of the City Police Court, August 13 1874. The Report of the trial of Joseph Rudge at the Manchester city Session (August 29 1874) and that in the Court of Criminal Appeal, Westminster Hall (November 14 1874) are preserved in the F.G.M.M., vol. VII, pp. 692-740.

² Ibid., p. 743.

³ Ibid., vol. VIII, pp. 808-9.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 827.

In the mid-1870s more attention drawn to the desirability of devising some other method for investing the surplus funds than banking, where the interest earned was low. In 1876 the Manchester District proposed to withdraw the £1,040 banked in Heywood Borthers' Bank and to re-invest it in the Victoria Permanent Benefit Building Society of Manchester.¹ Richard Leicester, District secretary, in making the proposal remarked: 'We think it high time that we should put our large surplus funds out at greater advantage than one and a half per cent interest upon the capital invested, which was all we got from the bank last year in Manchester.'² The new rate was expected to be 5% per annum. He noticed that the Boilermakers and the Ironship Builders invested their funds in Corporations and the A.S.E. invested them in the Queen's Building Society. Another motive for the proposal was to prevent the funds from being withdrawn from the bank by Joseph Rudge who was legally entitled to do so. The proposal was carried by the vote of the whole membership of the Society. About the same time, the Warrington District recommended to invest £3000 or £4000 in the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, Liverpool, which will bring us in double the amount of interest we now receive from the bank for the same sum.³ The rate was expected to be $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum. However, before this proposition was decided, the depression attacked the flint glass trade in 1877. As Table 4:4 shows,

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 626.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 581.

the balance in hand of the Society decreased rapidly due to the increased cost of unemployment benefit, and by 1880 the funds were about one third of what they had been in 1876. Thus, the plan of investing funds in other organisations faded away with the coming of the depression. The problem of how far investment in general or any particular type of it might adversely affect the trade union spirit was not considered. Building Societies or Utilities, like Banks, were presumably favoured on prudential grounds and quite apart from all ideological considerations.

IV. The Government of the Society

The first step in the transition from a loose alliance of separate local clubs into a national organisation was 'the appointment of a seat of government or "general branch".'¹ The officers of the general branch were charged with the responsibility of conducting the current business

¹S. & B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, 1901, p. 12.

of the whole Society and accordingly it became the central authority within it. The seat of government in the F.G.M.F.S. was changed not by simple rotation but by periodical vote of the whole membership. The 1858 rules of the Society provided that 'there shall be a Central Secretary elected annually by majority of the vote of the trade.'¹ But it seems likely that the C.S. was elected every three years.² The rule also provided that the C.S. elected 'shall have power to nominate a Central Committee, in whose hands the executive power of this society shall be vested from year to year.'³ Among many British Trade Unions the F.G.M.F.S. was the only union which gave the C.S. the power of nominating the Central Committee.⁴ This nomination system enabled the C.S. to select members with similar ideas to himself for the Central Committee. Consequently the system made for a strong policy, and, potentially, it was hardly in conformity with "primitive democracy". The only way to prevent arbitrary imposition of the policy of the Committee was the election of the C.S. There was always an election: no C.S. was ever

¹Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule III.

²Before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions of 1868, T.J. Wilkinson, the C.S. of the Society, was asked the frequency of change of secretary of the Society and answered; 'There is a change every three years.' (R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 32, Q.18641.

³Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule III.

⁴This rule survived until 1893 when it was modified, in so far that seven members were elected, the C.S. nominated four from the district in which he resided. The Webbs paid special attention to this nomination system. They wrote that 'The only Trade Union in which this example still prevails is that of the Flint Glass Makers, where the rules until lately gave the Secretary "the power to nominate a central committee (open to the objection of the trade), in whose hands the executive power of the society shall be vested from year to year.' (S. & B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, op.cit., p. 8, fn. 2).

returned unopposed. The rules of the Society did not prohibit the C.S. from being re-elected but, in fact, there was no instance of this apart from the election of 1870. But even when, in 1870, the existing C.S., T.J. Wilkinson of Birmingham, declared his willingness to serve another year on the grounds that the Government Trade Union Bill was not published in that year as expected, a second candidate W.H. Packwood of Stourbridge, appeared. The result of the vote was a victory for T.J. Wilkinson by the small majority of 121,¹ but he could extend his stay in office only one year. Thus the general branch normally moved every three years and this worked as rotation de facto.

As the activities of the Society expanded and as the secretarial work became more complicated, the institution of a permanent secretary began to be considered. At the conference of the Society held in 1871 it was resolved that 'considering the increasing duties devolving upon the C.S. and the very great demand upon his time, (we) recommend the trade to consider the propriety of making the office a permanent one.'² Soon after, letters favourable to the decision of the conference appeared in the Magazine. One writer insisted that 'it is utterly impossible for any C.S. who follows his work as a glass-maker to keep such a set of books as is kept by other societies, and are absolutely necessary as a safeguard for the Society's interests, and as such affecting the interest

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 868.

²Ibid., p. 1151.

of every one of us individually and collectively. ... In electing a C.S. permanently, we should centralize the power of the Society, and if we elected a permanent Central Committee and a central place this would be true.'¹ It was thus proposed that '£2 per week as wages' should be paid to the permanent secretary.² The centralisation of power in the hands of a permanent secretary would provide efficiency at the cost of "primitive democracy". Even the members in favour of a permanent secretary still thought that the secretary should move from Division to Division after a certain interval.³ Because they still proposed rotation as a means of securing primitive democracy, the proposal was impracticable and had its contemporary critics:

'Who is to pay for the removing of his wife, family and furniture? He cannot do it out of wages, and it takes a deal of money to take a family from Birmingham to Glasgow.' 4

Opposition also centred upon another aspect of the expenses. £2 a week proposed as a salary for the secretary was 'a large item in our expenditure' and 'it is too little if he has devoted his whole time and energy for the benefits of our Society', because 'he could make far more at glass making, if he is anything of a glass maker, and have no responsibility at all.'⁵ Thus the post of permanent secretary was not set up in the

¹Ibid., p. 1164. The writer's name is not given.

²The C.S. of the Society was paid a salary of £20 per annum by the 1858 rule, £30 by the 1867 rule, and £50 by the 1874 rule.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 1164.

⁴F.G.M.M. vol. VII, pp. 167-8.

⁵Ibid.

F.G.M.F.S., partly because the scale of the Society was not so large as the A.S.E., but more substantially because "primitive democracy" still permeated the F.G.M.F.S. at least in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The flint glass makers might be suspicious that a professional secretary would have to differentiate his functions from those of the ordinary members of the Society.

The depth of primitive democratic sentiment in the F.G.M.F.S. and its gradual supersession by the idea of representative democracy was well reflected by the changing role of the general conference of the Society over the period. In the early 1850s the general conference was regarded as an important organ which enabled delegates from all Districts to discuss and to decide the future policy of the Society. One group of flint glass makers clearly recognised that the holding of the conference was one of the new features (together with the publication of the Magazine) which distinguished the reorganised F.G.M.F.S. from the tramping society of the pre-1849 period. 'The great safety valve of our present society is the Annual Conference; - and although the expense is great, it amply repays back all the cost by the good it does - by the impetus that it gives to our principles.'¹ On the other hand, at the 1849 conference of the Society 'the establishment of a monthly Magazine for the Trade'² was recommended, although it appears that it did not materialise. However, the Birmingham conference held in July 1850

¹F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 129.

²S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, op.cit., p. 229.

decided 'to establish a penny monthly magazine, to disseminate information on all points connected with the manufacture abroad and at home, to uphold the interests of the working men, and to communicate scientific knowledge and information of a nature calculated to improve the morals and elevate the social condition of the general body.'¹ It may be that an attempt was made to implement the decision of the conference immediately. The Birmingham Mercury of July 13 1850 reported that the F.G.M.M. was a 'well edited monthly paper.' But the monthly Magazine was probably ephemeral. It was in September 1850 that the F.G.M.M. was first published as a Quarterly Journal.² From that year onwards the Magazine was published every quarter as 'a powerful engine that Glass-makers have never called to their assistance in battling with the giant Capital for the rights of Labour.'³

¹Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

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Although the Webbs wrote that the Magazine was an octavo monthly of ninety-six pages, (S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 197) it was not a monthly one. The F.G.M.M. explained the reason for the decision of quarterly publication that 'a previous attempt to support a Monthly Magazine had failed, and there was a strong doubt that we should not be able to carry it out in this instance.' (F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 97)

³F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 1.

It should be admitted, however, that there was another group of the flint glass makers who feared that both the holding of the conference and the publication of the Magazine would undermine the finances of the Society. 'One of the Good Old School', a member of Birmingham, called the utility of both into question in 1852:

'I think it is a scandalous shame that we should spend £60 and £70 a year for it, specially now that the expenses on the funds are so heavy. Add this expense to the Conference and we have nearly £200 per year thrown away foolishly. In the good old times, our forefathers had neither Conferences nor Magazine and I don't see what we want with them.' ¹

Immediately 'one of the New School' of Newcastle criticised the statement:

'He says, our forefathers had no Magazine, no conferences, &c. One good reason why; because they could not. In his good times it would have taken some of the delegates a week each way to have travelled to a conference. A reason why they could not have a Magazine, is, the expense would have been as great for that alone, as both conference and it cost now.' ²

The "New Model" unionism was not an invention of the Webbs and not a 'historical fiction'.³ It is clear that contemporary flint glass makers realised the novelty of their union in the early 1850s, otherwise the dispute between the 'Old School' and the 'New School' would hardly have

¹ Ibid., p. 231. According to the first Quarterly Report of the Society ending September 1852, 1000 copies of the Magazine (vol. I, no. 13) printed cost £4.10s., which was 4.3% of the total expenditure of the C.C. of that period. (£105.13s.)

² F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 248.

³ V.L. Allen, Abstract of "a Methodological Criticism of the Webbs as Trade Union Historians", in Bulletin, Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 4, Spr. 1962, pp. 4-6.

taken place. As the organisation came to be more firmly established by the mid-1850s, support for the 'Old School' disappeared.

The conference came to be held in principle, every three years.¹ The 1858 rule of the Society provided that 'a general conference of this society be held every three years; such conference to be moveable, the society choosing the next place of meeting. The triennial conference to meet in the early part of the first week in June; in case of emergency the executive to have power of calling a special conference.'² The Webbs clearly felt that the conferences were less than all powerful. 'The delegates came together only for specific and strictly limited purposes. Nor were even these purposes left to be dealt with at their discretion. In all cases that we know of the delegates were bound to decide according to the votes already taken in their respective branches.'³ In the case of the F.G.M.F.S. many important issues such as the form of the quarterly report, payments for the unemployed, the introduction of the promissory note during the strike and lock-out in 1858-59, the foundation of the death funds, the benevolent funds, and sick funds,

¹After the inaugural conference in 1849, the triennial conferences were held in Stourbridge in 1852; in Glasgow in 1855; in London in June 1858; in Birmingham in December 1858 (special for the long strike); in Manchester both in 1861 and in 1864; in Edinburgh in 1867, and in Manchester in July-August 1871.

²Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S. 1858, Rule XLIV.

³S. & B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, 1901, op.cit., p. 19.

were decided outside the conference, by the decision of the C.S. of the Society or by a vote of members. The Magazine played an important role in decision making. The propositions made by the C.C. or other Districts were communicated through the Magazine and the results of the votes were also published in the Magazine. Therefore, in the late 1860s and the early 1870s the inexpediency of holding the conference was seriously taken into consideration.

The issue of delegates' expenses for the Edinburgh conference in 1867 became a focal point of opposition to the general conference. Regarding the delegate allowance for the conference, the first conference held in 1849 fixed it as low as 1s. a day on the ground that 'there were no funds to pay more.' The next conference in 1850 allowed 5s. per day.¹ At subsequent conferences the allowance question had been discussed but no alteration was made until the Manchester conference in 1864, when the allowance was advanced to 6s. per day. The Edinburgh conference in 1867 revised upwards the allowance once again; 'That every delegate to the general conference shall receive 7s. 6d. per day for his expenses, and 7s. 6d. per turn during the time the factory is at work where he is employed; but on no account shall any delegate suffer any loss through attending trades conference, and every delegate shall receive second-class fare.'² As a result, the Edinburgh conference in 1867 cost £324, whilst the Manchester conference in 1864 had cost only £113.³ The

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 67. At the Birmingham Conference in 1850 William Keedy, a delegate from Edinburgh, proposed to reduce the allowance to 4s. per day, but this was rejected. (ibid.) The 1858 rule of the Society provided 5s. per day (Rule XXVII).

²Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1867, Rule XXII.

³The costs of other earlier conferences were Glasgow (1855) £107, London (1858) £119, Birmingham (1858) £51 and Manchester (1861) £66. (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 68).

upshot was that the extravagant expenditure in 1867 gave rise to a 'great amount of unfavourable criticism and chronic dissatisfaction amongst members of our Society.'¹

In connection with the allowance, the delegates' train fares became the critical point. Joseph Leicester strongly advocated that the delegates should receive second-class fares, which were paid mainly by middle class people until the mid-1870s. He remarked;

'Our Society is the richest Society in the world, yet, it is the only Society giving third-class fare to those who are delegated on its business. Men who are used to every comfort at home desire comfort when away from home. Twice in my life I have taken second-class tickets and only charged third-class fare, because I would not be boxed up for a journey of four hundred miles in a third-class carriage.'²

According to the reminiscences of an old friend, about twenty years earlier, in 1847, Leicester 'had walked thirty miles' to attend the conference of the Society, where 'the supper was provided for the delegates at 1s. 9d. per head, but such was the depth of poverty in which he was placed, that with a full heart and an empty pocket he walked about the streets during the time of supper.'³ Yet twenty years later, this self-sacrificing spirit was replaced by a more Labour aristocratic consciousness. Leicester continued:

'When the £1000 was banked in Glasgow, the trustees from Birmingham denounced the system of third-class fares. They travelled in the night, and when they complained to me about it, I told them I had taken a second-class ticket. I made myself a bed and was comfortable, which the trade would not begrudge; while

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 68.

²Ibid., p. 284.

³Ibid., p. 924; a reminiscence of J. Roberts in 1870, when the testimonial to Joseph Leicester was given. Roberts was a secretary to the Testimonial Fund.

they, poor devils, were packed up like negroes on a Middle Passage. ... It must not be forgotten that this rule regarding third-class fare was made when we had no funds, in 1849. ... but the state of things is gone; the Trade can now afford to make its servants as respectable as other societies, and it is only an act of justice and right which the Conference passed when it put our rules on a footing with other respectable trades.' 1

Criticism of the conference reached its peak in 1870. The Warrington District made a drastic proposal in September of that year that the Conference itself should be abolished:

'Seeing that to hold another Conference next year will devote upwards of £300 of our funds and our present expenditure these last few quarters being above our income, and there being nothing of importance to call a Conference for, that cannot be done through the pages of our Magazine, we deem it would be unwise and inexpedient to think of another Conference. ... We move that we hold no more general conferences, except something very special and important calls for one, and then only with the sanction of the trade.' 2

The result of the vote was 1104 for and 447 against. The general conference was thus abolished. As the Webbs wrote, 'The delegates meeting became, in fact, superseded by the Referendum.'³ The leaders

¹Ibid., p. 284.

²Ibid., p. 998.

³S. & B. Webb, Industrial Democracy, 1901, op.cit., p. 21. They pointed out that 'The great bulk of the members saw no advantage in incurring the very considerable expense of paying the coach fares of delegates to a central town and maintaining them there at the rate of six shillings a day, when the introduction of penny postage made possible the circulation of a fortnightly or monthly circular, through the medium of which their votes on any particular proposition could be quickly and inexpensively collected.' (Ibid.) But if the abolition of conferences, attended by delegates, is associated with more reliance upon the Magazine and more use of the referendum then it looks like the reduction of representative democracy in favour of a return to a more direct, primitive and participatory sort.

of the Society seem to have been embarrassed by the decision, although they took the official attitude that 'we neither supported nor opposed the resolution.'¹ They stated that 'the rule clearly states, "That a General Conference be held every three years, if necessary." The proposition means that one shall be held "when necessary".² They tried to reconcile the contradiction between the Rule of the Society and the decision to abolish the conference. Thereafter every conference came to be held as 'a special conference in cases of emergency.'³ Soon after the decision was made, a conference was convened in July 1871. Because the C.C. of the Society thought that 'the conference is not the right place at which to fix the rate of pay for delegates,'⁴ the following proposal was made in advance:

- 1) Delegates to Conference to receive 7s. per day.
- 2) Deputations who are sent upon the above conditions to other districts 5s. per day, but if compelled to stay all night, 6s. per day.
- 3) In both cases second-class railway fare, also an insurance ticket shall be allowed.'⁵

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 1057.

²Ibid.

³The Manchester Conference held in July-August 1871 substituted the preceding rule relating to the calling of a general conference; 'That the trade, through its executive, shall have the power to call a General Conference at any time when it may be considered necessary.' (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 1154; Minutes of the 1874 Conference, July 31-August 5 1871). This was fixed in the 1874 rule of the Society (Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1874, Rule XLVI).

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 1087-8.

⁵Ibid., p. 1081.

The reason for advocating the second-class fare was that 'we always expect them (delegates) to be well dressed; that, and many reasons, convinces us that second-class railway travelling should be allowed.'¹ The proposal was approved and fixed in the 1874 rules of the Society.²

In many important respects the F.G.M.F.S. was a "New Model" Union, but in one highly significant respect it was not. It resembled the A.S.E. or the A.S.C.J. organisationally in that it was a national union; actuarially in that it stood for high contributions and high benefits; strategically in its insistence on 'defence not defiance' while leaving its local branches to defend and advance job control through unilateral regulation with discreetly exercised central control to prevent escalation; and "spiritually" through its miser mentality which was not inconsistent with a certain generosity towards its own kind. But in the case of the flint glass makers - who were relatively few in number compared with engineers or carpenters, and had no amalgamated union - a quantitative change led to a qualitative one. Glass makers could persuade themselves that they had neither need for - nor resource to supply - full-time officials like Allan or Applegarth. This was to their advantage in so far as it did not involve the need for so sharp a break with "primitive democracy" and the rapture in a valued aspiration and tradition.

¹ Ibid.

² Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1874, op.cit., Rule XXXIX.

V. The Impact of Changing Industrial Relations.

The Webbs wrote that the F.G.M.M. between 1850 and 1855 is full of the denunciations of strikes and that this justified their view that the "New Model" Unionism opposed them. They also pointed out that 'in 1854 the Flint Glass Makers, on the proposition of the Central Committee, abolished the allowance of "strike-money" by a vote of the whole of the members.'¹ This description may give the impression that the F.G.M.F.S. abolished the right to strike after the year 1854. As already shown, the F.G.M.F.S. declared to avoid strikes, particularly in the early 1850s.

The F.G.M.F.S. did not abandon the strike in the 1850s however. The abolition of the allowance of "strike-money" in 1854, to which the Webbs paid much attention, never meant the abolition of the strike itself. When the editor of the F.G.M.M. appealed for the abolition of the "strike-money", stating that 'We believe that strikes have been the bane of trade Unions' (only this part is quoted by the Webbs),² he added: 'It must not be thought from the above that we have abandoned the idea of strikes in all cases; we know that in some cases they cannot be avoided.'³ The context of the proposition of the C.C. was not a proposal for the abolition of the "strike money". It was: 'So long as the unemployed allowance continues at ten shillings per week, the unemployed allowance and the strike allowance be alike',⁴ viz. the strike allowance

¹S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 199.

²Ibid.

³F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 145-6.

was to continue to be paid like the unemployed allowance. It is clear that the Webbs' interpretation of "strike money" in 1854 was misleading. In fact, flint glass makers often went on strike in the 1850s and a great strike took place in 1858-59. The C.C. of the Society sanctioned some of these strikes. It is important to understand that the C.C. sanctioned strikes taking place in the well organised Districts, but did not approve of strikes in the badly organised ones. The strike at the Lloyd and Summerfield factory in Birmingham in 1851 was the first big strike since 1849. William Morrel, a glass blower, was suddenly discharged without any notice or given reason, at dinner time on May 20 1851, and the strike began.¹ The F.G.M.F.S. supported Morrel and on September 16 1851 he sued the firm for the sum of £1. 16s. as a fortnight's wages, due from May 20,² and the case was brought to Court. The hearing took place at the Public Office in Birmingham and W.P. Roberts, appeared on behalf of the plaintiff. The F.G.M.M. published a special issue on 'The Trial of Morrel versus Summerfield.'³ According to this version 'the case was put off from the Saturday till the Tuesday, specially, we believe, to prevent the glass makers from attending; but the very opposition was the means of all the factories in the district stopping simultaneously for the men to go and hear the trial. And such an interest was felt in it by them, that several who got into the Court at 10 o'clock in the

¹Birmingham Journal, June 21 1851.

²F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 149.

³Ibid., pp. 145-66.

morning, never left the place till the trial was over at 8 at night. It was one of the strongest moral demonstrations ever made in our trade.¹ However, the case was dismissed and Morrel was defeated. It was in this dispute that W.P. Roberts supported Morrel in the Court and wrote a letter to the F.G.M.F.S., from which the Webbs made a long quotation.²

Another instance which the C.C. of the Society sanctioned was the strike which occurred in London in 1854. The owner of the Pellatt Flint Glass Works in London discharged all the men who would not leave the Society. Joseph Leicester, a flint glass maker in the Whitefriars Glass Works, and a District secretary of the Union reported that Mr. Pellatt to be revenged on the father who would not leave society, discharged the son; we advanced him eight shillings for a week's money and paid his fare to Stourbridge but he didn't suit the place.³

When a strike took place, or was threatened in the badly organised areas, the C.C. refused to sanction it, because they judged that the risk was too large. In 1854 the employers of Prices's Flint Glass Works in Newcastle wanted an output as large as the 'Black Rat Shops' in the area. The glass makers in Newcastle requested the sanction of the C.C. of the Society to strike, but Gillinder the C.S. deliberately deferred a decision. He remarked that:

'I wrote to them that before we could sanction them to strike, that the votes of the trade must be taken, and that if they did strike without such being the case, they would not get no strike money, and that they would not

¹Ibid., p. 146.

²S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., pp. 183-4.

³F.G.M.M. vol. II, p. 427.

get any unemployed money. They then requested me to send a circular out to the trade, but I delayed for two or three weeks, as I knew if I stated the state of things in the districts to the trade, that the votes would be against them striking.' ¹

In 1854 the men at South Shields demanded an increase of wages and gave their employer a week's notice not to fill any more metal. The C.C. of the Society sent a deputation to Newcastle and succeeded in ending the strike which had continued for a week. In the Newcastle area, as I have already shown, there were many black rats' workshops. In these areas, the C.C. judged that the black rats would have welcomed a strike in a Society house, since that would have extended their places of employment. Certainly the flint glass makers attempted to avoid strikes as a means of raising wages, but it is a mistake to think that they abandoned strikes altogether. They calculated the risk of the strike, according to the degree of organisation in each District. The great strike which began in 1858 clearly shows that the New Model Union did not abandon the strike weapon.

The great strike and lock-out began in the flint glass trade in 1858 and lasted for six months. The strike and lock-out both of engineers in 1852 and of builders in 1859-60 have attracted much attention from historians, but those of the flint glass makers have been relatively

¹F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 351.

neglected in spite of their arousing a good deal of contemporary interest.¹
 An examination of the flint glass makers' dispute not only provides material for the study of trade union understanding that particular body of workmen but throws interesting light on the development of the Trade Union movement as a whole in the 1860s.

Early in October 1858 at the Stevens and Williams factory in Stourbridge, the employers proposed that one of the apprentices should be taken on as a Journeyman footmaker at something less than 14s. (nominal wages) per week,² disregarding the rules and regulations of

¹ An account of the strike of the flint glass makers in 1858-59 was given by Godfrey Lushington, at the fourth annual meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1860; Godfrey Lushington, An Account of the Strike of the Flint Glass Makers in 1858-59, in Trades' Societies and Strikes, 1860, pp. 105-14. Jacob Waley referred to the strike in On Strikes and Combinations, with Reference to Wages and the Conditions of Labour in Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. XXX, part I, March 1867, p. 16. Secret Organisation of Trades, in Edinburgh Review, vol. 110, October 1859 also referred to the strike. (pp. 539-40). George Howell described this strike in Labour Legislation, Labour Movement and Labour Leaders, 1902, pp. 120-22, but his description relies entirely on Lushington's account. The Webbs only briefly referred to this strike. (S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 228 and p. 230.) The first attempt to investigate the strike was D.N. Sandilands, The History of the Midland Glass Industry, M. Com. thesis, University of Birmingham 1929) op.cit., chapter 8, pp. 71-5. George Barnsby's research on the strike is inaccurate; he traced the strike only until December 1858 and writes that 'the result is not recorded'. (George Barnsby, The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1815 to 1867, M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1965, p. 338.) Eric Hopkins' recent paper, 'An Anatomy of Strikes in the Stourbridge Glass Industry, 1850-1914, op.cit., is the most valuable attempt to analyse the strike. Since the publication of the F.G.M.M. was stopped for nearly nine months during most of the period of the strike, the Magazine of the time included few articles on it. But a later series of articles on reminiscences of the strike in the F.G.M.M. vol. VIII and IX (1878) are informative. The newspaper which most continuously reported the strike was the Birmingham Daily Post controlled by the radical editor, John Thackray Bunce. (Asa Briggs, History of Birmingham, vol. II, 1952, p. 102.)

² The name of the man was probably William Wild, who received 13s. weekly nominal wage (11 moves) and 1s. per move for an extra. (Wages Book of Stevens and Williams).

the Society, which only four months before had been revised and ratified at a conference held in London. The London Conference of June 15-19, 1858, 'deeply' regretted that 'the wages of journeymen footmakers are in general so low, and agree that the trade shall not supply footmakers for less wages than fourteen shillings per week and one shilling and twopence per move, and that each district adopt such measures as will insure the desired effect.¹ On October 12, on the refusal of the employer, twenty two men gave fourteen days notice to leave in accordance with the decision of the Stourbridge District of the Society. They all left on October 23. Three days later, the following leaflet was issued and sent to other flint glass manufacturers.

Brierley Hill Glass Works
October 26th, 1858

Dear Sir,

In consequence of our refusal to submit to the dictation of the Glass Makers in our employ, the undermentioned have signified their intention of not recommencing work until we comply with their demands, we shall feel obliged by your not employing them, as it is the interest of the Trade generally to support us in resisting such tyrannical proceedings.

We are,

Your respectfully,
STEVENS and WILLIAMS (2)

This circular listed the names discharged of 9 Workmen, 9 Servitors and 4 Footmakers.

¹Minutes of Conference (1858, June) Resolution 3; in Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, op.cit., p. 18.

²The circular is preserved in the Stevens and Williams factory archives. This is also reprinted in Godfrey Lushington, op.cit., pp. 106-7, (The reprint of Lushington does not contain the name of the firm and the date is inaccurate.) and partly in D.R. Guttery, From Broad-Glass to Cut Crystal, 1956, op.cit., p. 130.

Simultaneously another dispute took place at Grazebrook's Audam Glass Works in Stourbridge, where there were four apprentices to nine chairs. The London Conference had made more stringent rules with regard to apprentices so as to regulate the 'supply of labour', prescribing that 'no more than one apprentice be allowed to three chairs, two to five, and so on in proportion; and every one put on shall be bound an apprentice. - Note - No journeyman footmaker must be discharged to make room for an apprentice.'¹ This meant one apprentice beyond the number of the rule already in the glass factory. Messrs. M. & W. Grazebrooks proposed to take on another, a fifth apprentice. It seems likely that Grazebrooks refused to employ the man who had been sent from Edinburgh by the Society and attempted to employ another apprentice.² When the men refused to agree to this, the Grazebrooks gave notice to all the men 'that they

¹Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule XLV.

²Nearly ten years later, on June 30 1868, before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, the cause of the strike was explained by Thomas Wilkinson, the C.S. of the Society; 'In the first place, Mr. Grazebrook before the strike commenced, applied for a workman or a servitor, and we sent for a man from Edinburgh and paid his expense to Stourbridge, and when the man came he refused to employ him but wanted to employ an apprentice, after putting us to the expense of sending for the man. (R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 32, Q. 18644. On the same day, George Lloyd, chairman of the Midland Flint Glass Manufacturers Association, said of the strike: 'It was chiefly concerning the number of apprentices employed by the masters, the workmen insisted upon a more limited number than the masters thought it desirable or necessary to employ.' (Ibid., p. 20, Q. 18315).

would not fill any more metal, unless the men consented for the lad to be put on.' Grazebrooks found it necessary to ask for external aid against the Society and issued a circular on October 16, declaring that 'the following men, having formed a combination to stop our glass works, and dictate their own rules, have all been discharged by us, and we shall be obliged by your not employing them, and feel sure that it is the interest of the glass trade to support us.'¹ On October 23, when the notice expired, the discharged men proposed terms to the employers for a re-engagement, 'Mr. J. Grazebrook replied, "He had made his arrangement; he would have no society men, and meant to pursue a different system in future"² Thus the men in two factories, amounting to about fifty altogether were out³ and received their first strike allowance of 15s. from the Society on October 30.⁴

Grazebrooks sued five of their workmen: 'for that on the 25th day of October last they deserted their service without the consent of their masters, and without any lawful excuse.'⁵ On November 15 1858 the Wordsley Petty Sessions examined this case. During the cross-examinations it was disclosed that the two circulars above mentioned had been issued. The

¹Godfrey Lushington, op.cit., p. 106.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, November 20 1858. The quotation was from the statement given by John Grazebrook of the Audnam Glass Works, at the Petty Sessions held on November 15 1858.

³Godfrey Lushington, op.cit., p. 106. In the Stevens and Williams factory 22 men were out of work, but 12 Footmakers and Takers-in continued to be paid during the strike. (Wages Book of Stevens and Williams).

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 838.

⁵Brierley Hill Advertiser, November 20 1858.

Bench stated that 'from what appeared in the document, which they considered had been published indiscreetly and without forethought, there was no case against the defendant, and accordingly dismissed the charge!'¹ The employers' claim that it was illegal to give the notices on Wednesday was also rejected. This appeared to be a considerable setback for the employer. 'The result of the investigation seemed to give considerable satisfaction to the men and their friends, who on leaving the Court gave a loud and hearty cheer.'²

The members of the Society were militant and were firmly united. On the following day, November 16, the C.C. of the Society ratified the proposition by the Stourbridge District that both the C.C. and the Stourbridge District 'shall be allowed to take what measures they may think best and most expedient in the present struggle; and that, should it be necessary, they shall be allowed to draw out two or four factories or the whole of the district on strike, and shall receive the allowance stated in Rule 19.'³

On the other hand, the flint glass manufacturers who received the two circulars from Grazebrooks and from Stevens and Williams, gave their help to the two employers by refusing to employ the discharged workers. According to Joseph Leicester 'the masters sent round a printed circular all over the kingdom, asking other masters not to employ those men who had struck on their establishments, and when they applied for work in

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Rule 19 stated 'That any member leaving his situation through oppression shall have a preference on the roll, and shall receive fifteen shillings per week for the first six months, and ten shillings per week for the next six months, and then come under the unemployed rule.' (Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, op.cit., p. 11.)

other towns, that printed circular was thrust in their faces, and they were refused.'¹ The manufacturers also supplied the two glass factories with the plain goods for the glass cutters to work up at lower prices than the market prices when the two factories began to experience some difficulty in getting them early in November. But glass cutters were gradually involved in this dispute, because of the shortage of glass. On November 1 the flint glass manufacturers held a meeting at the Talbot Hotel, Stourbridge, to organise their own defence association.² This meeting was attended by fifteen glass manufacturers in Stourbridge, Dudley and Birmingham. Thus "The Flint Glass Manufacturers' Defence Association" came into being. At the meeting at Dudley on November 15 the name was changed to "The Midland Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers" and George Green of Brettell Lane, Stourbridge, was appointed secretary with a salary of £120 a year.³ George Lloyd of the Lloyd and Summerfield factory of Birmingham, was appointed chairman and William Walker, of the Heath Glass Factory of Stourbridge, treasurer. The circular issued on the following day stated:

'The recent attempts to enforce the view of the Glass Makers' Society in two of the manufactories of this district, upon grounds wholly untenable, and, if carried out, destructive to the liberty of the manufacturer in the employment of labour, have compelled the proprietors

¹ Reynolds's Newspaper, September 18 1859. Joseph Leicester's speech at the Builders' meeting held on September 17 1859 in support of the locked-out builders.

² J. Haden, op.cit., p. 30.

³ Ibid.

to appeal to the sympathy of the trade in supporting them in resisting those attempts and they have resulted in the formation of an association of the glass masters in the districts of Birmingham, Stourbridge, and Dudley.' ¹

The Association succeeded in organising about 19 or 20 glass manufacturers in Birmingham, Dudley and Stourbridge.² Originally, the Association was intended to be temporary for the purpose of 'the defence of the members against any unjust interference (more especially in the form of strikes) on the part of the men employed either of their own movement, or in concert or combination with others, for the purpose of coercing their employers.'³ But after the strike the Association continued to exist as a negotiator with the F.G.M.F.S.

On December 4 1858 the glass makers held a general meeting of the Society in the Corn Exchange in Stourbridge, attended by upwards of 250 men connected with the glass trade.⁴ Delegates from Birmingham, Manchester, Dudley and York were also present. It was agreed that 'the hands still employed at the other glass works should be allowed to go "out" as soon as they thought fit'⁵ and that the usual subscription would be

¹The circular is printed in the Birmingham Daily Post, January 6 1859, and also in Godfrey Lushington, op.cit., pp. 107-8. Accompanying the circular the extracts from the Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858 were circulated as The Real Cause of the Strike. (Ibid., pp. 110-11).

²In Stourbridge and Dudley almost all manufacturers belonged to the Association except Richardson's factory. In Birmingham half of the glass factories belonged to the Association. (R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 24, Q. 18436.

³Birmingham Daily Post, January 6 1859. George Lloyd remarked that 'the Association when first established was intended to be only temporary, we only contemplated defending ourselves through the strike.' (R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, op.cit., p. 22. Q. 18380. Each member firm subscribed £100 to the "Defence Fund" established to assist firms affected by disputes, and a further sum of £10 a year payable quarterly. (Ibid., p. 22 Q. 18376-9 Q. 71-4).

⁴Birmingham Daily Post, December 7 1858.

⁵Ibid.

doubled; to raise from 1s. to 2s. per week for Workmen and Servitors, from 8d. to 1s. 4d. for Footmakers, and from 4d. to 8d. for Apprentices. (Table 4:5). Certainly the high contribution became a burden to the glass makers. But 'in many districts the men offered to pay the levy which was fixed, even if it amounted to half their wages.'¹ By December 7 of that year the workers of five factories in Stourbridge, including the Grazebrook factory and the Stevens and Williams Factory, were locked out.²

On December 18 the Society held a meeting in the Corn Exchange in Stourbridge again, at which about 600 glass makers attended. Deputations from London, Warrington, Birmingham and Dudley were present.³ It was announced at the meeting that 'four other factories of glass makers had received notice, and that in consequence of the other hands at the other five factories (previously "out") being at play, four factories of glass-cutters had received notice.'⁴

This notice was an organisationally planned attack by the Manufacturers' Association. On December 14 the Midland Association held a meeting, attended by four Lancashire glass manufacturers, who were

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, December 24 1858.

²Ibid. In mid-December, however, the Stevens and Williams factory began to work three of their nine chairs. Three Workmen (Isiah Scriven, William Scriven and John Scriven) and a Servitor (Thomas Scriven) returned to work. (Wages Book of Stevens and Williams, week ending December 18 1858). All of them were condemned as 'Traitors' by the F.G.M.F.S. They may have been relatives. They worked intensively, 19 moves to 23 moves a week, and earned respectively, 68s. 68s. 49s. and 39s. in January 1859. After the end of the strike all of them remained in the same factory, although being expelled from the Society. See above, pp. 85-86, fn. 1.

³Brierley Hill Advertiser, December 24 1858.

⁴Ibid.

TABLE 4:5 Subscriptions of the F.G.M.F.S. during the Great Strike of
1858-59.

(per week)

	Usual subscription	By resolution Dec. 4 1858	After Jan.8 till May 16 1859	For six months after May 16 1859
Workman or Servitor	1s.0d.	2s. 0d.	5s. 0d.	2s. 0d.
Footmaker	0 8	1 4	3 4	1 4
Apprentice	0 4	0 8	1 8	0 8

Source: Godfrey Lushington, op.cit., p. 113.

beginning to found their own Association following the Midlands' example.¹ Deputations from the Midlands and Lancashire induced all the employers in Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Scotland to lock-out their men, with the avowed intent of extinguishing the Society. Those who attended the meeting were fully prepared to give the notice and planned to give notices on the exact day when the Society would hold a meeting.

¹ A Letter from G. Lloyd to J.D. Bacchus, dated December 17 1858, MSS in Letters, Accounts Documents, etc. relating to the Union Glass Works, Dartmouth Street, Birmingham 1817-1882. (Birmingham Reference Library).

George Lloyd sent a letter to J.D. Bacchus, a Birmingham glass manufacturer, on December 17:

'I do not doubt your co-operation, but it is most important that the notices should be simultaneous and in the same form of words and a printed form has been adopted and distributed and the Secretary has directly sent forms to your works. It is also important that the notices should be given tomorrow, for the men intend holding a meeting tomorrow at Stourbridge, and with great exertion to make it important if not triumphant.' ¹

Thus more factories stopped working. As the Brierley Hill Advertiser reported, 'The unfortunate differences between the employers and employed in the glass trade are as far from settlement as ever.'²

At the turn of that year the conflict became a national one. The glass makers held a general conference on December 31 1858 and on January 1 1859 at Birmingham at which were present about 30 delegates from Stourbridge, Birmingham, Dublin, Dudley, Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, Longport, Manchester, Newcastle, St. Helens, Warrington, York, and Rotherham.³ The conference resolved to modify the rules of the Society revised at the London Conference, so as to seek to conciliate the masters. One of the modifications was to loosen apprentice restriction to one Apprentice to two chairs. The other was to adopt the old standard rule of minimum wages in the trade; 22s. per week for Workmen,

¹Ibid.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, December 24 1858.

³Birmingham Daily Post, January 3 1859.

16s. and 6d. for Servitors, and 12s. for Footmakers. However, these conciliatory propositions were rejected by the Association. Instead, on the second day of the conference more than 500 men including non-Society men from seventeen factories in Stourbridge, Dudley and Birmingham were locked out. Only two factories in Stourbridge and four in Birmingham were working.¹ The F.G.M.M. wrote that other Districts followed the Midlands 'as the lock-out mania spread, or as the other employers were brought under the influence of the newly organised Association of the Midlands Employers.'² As a result, nearly 600 members of the Society were unemployed in the second week of January. Certainly the lock-out spread to Manchester, Warrington and St. Helens,³ but, as Table 4:6 suggests, the men in other Districts seem not to have been locked out. It was in mid-February that the men in Glasgow and Edinburgh were locked-out.⁴ Irrespective of the resolution at the Society's general conference,

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 937, and Lushington, op.cit., p. 109. Lushington wrote that 'Only seven factories were left working in the Stourbridge and Birmingham Districts. (Ibid., p. 109). William Smith, a Birmingham manufacturer, was one of those who did not suspend his works. George Lloyd 'had seen Sir William Smith, who is in favour of the position taken by the Association, though he is not prepared to give notice of suspending his works.' (A Letter from George Lloyd to J.D. Bacchus, dated December 30 1858, MSS.)

²F.G.M.M. vol. VIII, p. 937.

³According to the quarterly Report of the Society, in Manchester 120 out of 138 men, in Warrington 48 out of 53 men, in St. Helens, 21 out of 35 men were locked out.

⁴In Edinburgh and Leith the men were locked out on February 19 1859, and a deputation of the F.G.M.F.S. appealed to the Edinburgh Trades Council on March 1 1859. I. MacDougall (ed.), The Minutes of Edinburgh Trades Council 1859-1873, Edinburgh 1968, pp. 4-5). It seems likely that in other Districts such as Newcastle and Rotherham the lock-out was not undertaken.

TABLE 4:6 Numbers of Those Locked-out and Unemployed during the Strike and Lock-out in 1858-59.

	Totals of 16 Districts	Stour- bridge	Birming- ham	Man- chester	Edin- burgh	New- castle	Rother- ham
1858							
Sept.	87	7	19	6	6	21	2
Oct.	95	8	19	8	5	17	9
Nov.	134	57	19	2	5	20	4
Dec.	143	77	16	6	4	17	2
1859							
Jan.	595	185	134	125	4	19	0
Feb.	670	180	124	124	22	17	0
Mar.	612	171	96	109	20	29	0
April	560	176	92	119	1	20	0
May	113	27	20	9	0	12	0
No. of members	1442	273	274	138	40	93	50

Source: A list of the receivers of unemployment allowance in the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S., in F.G.M.M., vol. III, passim.

- 1) The first week each month is chosen, except January 1859, when the second week is chosen, because the lock-out was declared at the beginning of January.
- 2) Membership of the Districts was that in August 1858. The total membership of all 22 Districts of the Society was 1270.

the Association had decided to lock-out the men in the Midlands.

George Lloyd wrote to J.D. Bacchus on December 30 that it was necessary to suspend the works 'in order to impress upon the men the firm determination of the Employers of resisting their encroachments. If we hesitate to give way now, they will renew their attacks where it will be much more difficult for us to resist them... As matters stand at this moment, what ever may be the result of the men's meeting, as suspension for three weeks is inevitable, on account of the time necessary for holding meetings.'¹

The employers found in the depression of the time an opportunity for breaking down the Society. George Lloyd continued:

'We are now tolerable unanimous, and when trade is better, then will spring up motives which will destroy much of our courage and the men will have more strength and more resolution in proportion to our weakness. There could not possibly be more favourable an opportunity of vindicating our rights as Masters, and if lost now, it may be long ere another offers, and our freedom will be lost. 2

Therefore, George Lloyd replied to a copy of the modified rules of the Society, which was sent to every employer in the country:

'I am compelled to state, after the fullest consideration, that the alterations proposed leave the rules essentially the same in meaning and effect, so that there is no ground afforded me for submitting them to the consideration of the association.' 3

The Midland Advertiser wrote an article critical of the employers; 'The workmen evince a conciliatory spirit, and have actually revised their

¹ A Letter from George Lloyd to J.D. Bacchus, dated December 30 1858, MSS, op.cit.

² Ibid.

³ Birmingham Daily Post, January 7 1859.

rules in order to meet the employers something like half way. We cannot, however, say so much for the masters. They have locked the men out, and do not seem willing to resume operations except on terms of an unconditional surrender.'¹ On January 8 a large meeting of the Society took place in Dudley in order to consider Lloyd's letter. Various speakers showed their surprise and indignation that employers should wish to change their Trade Union into a merely provident society.'² Although a deputation saw the manufacturers on the following day, it met with no response. The lock-out was as strict as ever. After January 8 subscriptions of the members of the Society rose to 5s. for Workman and Servitor, 3s. 4d. for Footmaker, and 1s. 8d. for Apprentice.³ (Table 4:4).

Three days later, on January 13, a leaflet by 'the Women's Glass Washers' Friendly Society' was circulated.⁴ The leaflet was a parody as there was no dispute involving "the Women's Glass Washers' Friendly Society". Each of six surnames which appeared at the end of the leaflet,

¹Midland Advertiser and Birmingham Times, January 8 1859. The Birmingham Journal of January 15 1859 reported that 'The employers have not accepted the modified rules, because they consider that, in reality, no concession has been made by the workmen, and that, in fact, the particular rules are as arbitrary as they were previously.'

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, January 15 1859.

³These high subscriptions continued till mid-May 1859, more than one month after the end of the strike.

⁴One copy of the leaflet, 'The Glass Washers' Lockout, An Appeal to the Servant Girls of the United Kingdom on Behalf of the Flint Glass Washers' Friendly Society Fellow Working Girls, Sturbrig (sic), January 13th 1859', is preserved in the Brierley Hill Public Library and another copy is lodged in the files of Letters, Accounts, Documents, etc. relating to the Union Glass Works; op.cit., in the Birmingham Reference Library.

with the forename feminized, was the name of a member of the Central Committee of the F.G.M.F.S., - all of them being Stourbridge men.

The leaflet parodied the causes and evolution of the strike as follows:

'We regret being obligated to appeal to you for assistance, at the present time, to enable us to thwart the intentions of our Mistresses, who have joined themselves together for the express purpose of destroying our union.... The origin of the dispute was, that a certain Hotel in Sturbrig, a girl wanted fourteen pence per day, which was we vow and declare the average wages other Landladies in the locality were paying; this request was refused by the Landlady.... Another Lady in Sturbrig requested us to send for a servant (very polite of her wasn't it) and we did, from Glasgow, and when she arrived she refused to engage her, and demanded a little girl to be set on to fill the vacancy; and because we would not agree to this (though perhaps the little girl could have done the work), they gave us fourteen day's notice to leave and each of the Landlords sent copies of a printed circular (we should like to know who pays for the printing) to every other Landlord requesting them not to take into service any whose names they then sent, and the consequence is that we are refused employment everywhere.... But our mistresses finding that we were firm, and that they had no chance of success, called a meeting and formed themselves into an association, whose first action was to lock out several hundred women. . . . Their second action was to send deputations to Lancashire and Scotland (with one solitary exception) also to lock us out.' 1

The leaflet ended with the request that 'All communications to be addressed and subscriptions received by Josephina Woolley,² Sturbrig, (sic) Worcestershire. Although its author has not been identified,

¹The content of the leaflet is fully reprinted in Bulletin, Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 28, Spring 1974, pp. 16-17.

²"Josephina Woolley of Sturbrig" was the feminized name of the Central Secretary, Joseph Woolley of Stourbridge.

his purpose was clear enough; by comparing the skilled glass makers to unskilled working women he intended to make them ridiculous and to remind them of the risk which they ran of forfeiting their respectability. Apparently in the eyes of "respectable society" to be reduced to the level of a working woman was the last word in absurdity and humiliation.

In mid-January the dispute took a new turn. The manufacturers' meeting held at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, on January 18, decided to continue the lock-out and to enforce the following "document."

'In re-entering your employment, we agree to give up the Glassmakers' Society, as now constituted. We declare we will not interfere with your management or right to employ labour as may be required by you in your works, nor contribute funds to any society that shall have this effect, as long as we remain in your employment.' ¹

It was so obnoxious that the Midland Advertiser reported that 'If carried out to the letter it would reduce the men to the position of the merest slave.'² From that day onwards the conflict between the Society and the Association revolved around this "document".

It was also at this time that the glass makers began to receive support from other trade unions. On January 27 a meeting of delegates

¹Birmingham Daily Post, January 20 1859.

²Midland Advertiser and Birmingham Times, January 22 1859.

from all the trades of London was held at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey.¹ Wooley from the F.G.M.F.S. and Doody from the Glass Cutters' Society attended the meeting to explain the nature of the dispute with their employers. A resolution was passed that 'their case was one worthy of support, the delegates pledging themselves to use their best exertions to render assistance.'² A committee consisting of five was appointed for that purpose and met every Thursday at the Bell Inn to collect funds for the locked-out men.³ William Burn, an old chartist who 'was in 1859 in very distressed circumstances, but had for twenty-seven years devoted his main strength to the Trade Union Movement',⁴ was appointed secretary of the "Bell Inn Committee".

¹Reynolds's Newspaper, January 30 1859. W.H. Packwood wrote in his reminiscences of the strike that 'the Executive (of the F.G.M.F.S.) had, through the auspices of the London Trades' Council, convened a great Delegate Meeting, in London, at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, on January 27th 1859' and that the 'Trades Council issued an appeal to all the trades of Great Britain and Ireland,' (F.G.M.M. vol. IX, p. 350). Although Packwood was mistaken, because the London Trades Council was founded later, in May 1860 (Julius Jacobs and George Tate, London Trades Council, 1860-1950, 1950, p. 5), the meeting was of great importance as a preliminary to the founding of the London Trades Council.

²Reynolds's Newspaper, January 30 1859.

³Ibid., February 6, 13 1859.

⁴R.W. Postgate, The Builders' History, 1923, p. 249. William Burn (or Burns) had been a Chartist and one of the delegates from the Counties of Forfar and Aberdeen to the National Convention of the Industrious Classes. (J. West, A History of the Chartist Movement, 1920, p. 121, 139, 277). In 1848, together with other London Chartists, he was brought to trial. (R.G. Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-1854, 1894 edition, p. 338).

On March 8 the Society held a meeting in Birmingham in which delegates from Stourbridge, Birmingham, Manchester, Warrington and other Districts attended. It passed the more conciliatory resolution which confirmed that: "any master may have any member he prefers, by telling the secretary or any of his men whom he desires to have."¹ However, the Association resolved at their meeting held on March 14 to enforce a second 'document'. This had a softer tone than the first one in the sense that the declaration that men should not subscribe to any union was withdrawn, but it still had the following provision: 'I will not attempt, by myself or through others, to interfere with your freedom in the management of your works, more especially in reference to the engagement of the men or number of apprentices whom you choose to employ.'² Hence the Society ordered members not to sign, stating that:

'This bond is the same in spirit as the other, excepting that they have omitted "NOR CONTRIBUTE FUNDS TO ANY SOCIETY THAT SHALL HAVE THE EFFECT." But why have they left out this favourite sentence? Simply because public opinion has cried out in ten thousand voices, Shame! Shame! yes, and by the same power will the present "BOND" die a natural death.'³

Without any agreement between the Society and the Association, however, some works in Scotland,⁴ Lancashire, and Birmingham had started to

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, March 9 1859. Lushington wrote that the meeting was held on March 11 (Lushington, op.cit., p. 112), but that is not correct.

²F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 573.

³Ibid.

⁴In Edinburgh the men started in mid-March (See Table 4:6).

work by the beginning of March 'on the same conditions at which they left off. The men in these districts have gained all they required, the masters having given way'.¹ In March the number of workers returning to work gradually increased, but in late March about 560 men were still out. (Table 4:6). Lloyd still insisted upon the document as the terms upon which the men should resume,² but 'the men seem determined not to abandon their society.'³ On the other hand, on March 31 the manufacturers decided to settle the dispute at their meeting held in Birmingham, by giving up the attempt to enforce their "yellow dog contract" as the Americans call it. The exhaustion of the Defence Fund of the Association partly accounts for this compromise. By this time about £848 had been spent on fourteen factories.⁴ On April 1 the Society

¹Globe, March 22 1859. The quotation is Joseph Leicester's article. The article was a criticism of 'An Expensive Strike' in the Globe of March 19, which had stated that 'the Glass-blowers' strike has come to an end, and the men, defeated in their requirements, resume work on Monday next.' In Scotland, at the beginning of March a flint glass maker of Glasgow reported to the Glasgow Trades Council that 'the dispute with their employers was likely to be immediately settled. Several works had already been started in England.' (Glasgow Sentinel, March 5 1859). In Lancashire, the Bolton and Robinson's of Warrington and Alderson and Higginbottom of Warrington had started, and in Birmingham the Bacchus factory had started at the beginning of March. (Brierley Hill Advertiser, March 9 1859).

²Birmingham Daily Post, March 28 1859.

³Brierley Hill Advertiser, April 2 1859.

⁴Lloyd and Summerfield of Birmingham received £134. 17s. from the Defence Fund. The defence money which each factory received is given in H.J.Haden, op.cit., p. 31.

received information about the compromise from the Association and immediately the Executive held a meeting at Stourbridge and accepted the manufacturers' resolution to meet together on April 4 at Dudley. Since the Society had also exhausted its funds, it welcomed the compromise.¹ W.H. Packwood of Stourbridge recalled in 1878 that W.A. Sivewright of Tutbury, a modifier of the newly adopted laws, and Packwood 'talked matters over, and came to the conclusion and felt a relief that the end of the struggle was so close at hand. We rose early, it was a lovely spring and clear morning, everything seems gay, the leaves were putting forth new life... We arrived in Dudley in time to take part in the meeting.'² At 10 a.m. on April 4 the meeting began between the Association and the Society to terminate the strike and lock-out.³

¹The leading article, 'The lock-out and its lessons, in the F.G.M.M. remarked in January 1860 that 'Since this time last year we have expended about £8000, which is about the cost of the strike and lock-out to us. The loss to the employers, though only about twenty-six in number, has been estimated to be at least £10,000 or £12,000. The loss to ourselves, in wages, must have been about £4000.' (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 547.)

²F.G.M.M., vol. IX, pp. 665-6.

³At the meeting the following manufacturers were present; from Birmingham, G. Lloyd (chairman), H. Sarsons, Hateley, Gammon and Son; from Dudley, Badger and Bro.; from Stourbridge, T. Webb and Son., J. Webb, Davis and Greathead, Stevens and Williams, Edward Webb, Richardson and Smith, and Steward and Mills. On the glass makers' part, there were; from Stourbridge, J.W. Woolley (the C.S.), G. Scriven, Thomas Aston, R. Jukes, Wm. Aitkins, W.H. Packwood; from Birmingham, A. Huddleton, H.H. Barnes, J. Cully; from Dudley, Jesse Parsons; from Manchester, C. O'Brien; from Tutbury, W.A. Sivewright. (Brierley Hill Advertiser, April 9 1859, and Birmingham Journal, April 9 1859).

'Very little discussion took place, and as if by mutual consent, the meeting at once resolved itself into a formal character, the business principally being transacted between the Chairman and the C.S.'¹

The revised rule resolved upon at the meeting of the Society on March 8 was in principle agreed. Fourteen shillings per week was granted to Footmakers. The apprentice rule was modified from one apprentice to three chairs to one apprentice to two chairs, which was a gain on the part of the employers of one apprentice.² It was also agreed that 'if masters engaged a non-society man the society men should object to work with him, and that our society will support men for so doing.'³ In this way the F.G.M.F.S. could terminate the struggle with an almost complete victory, although some concessions to the manufacturers were made. This victory was exceptional among the trade union disputes which occurred in the 1850s, most of which were outright defeats for the men, or settled upon less favourable terms.

The explanation for this success can be found in circumstances on both sides of the glass trade. First, the firm unity of the glass makers was important. For six months during the strike they had been united around the Stourbridge District. The 'traitors' whose names were printed

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 666.

²Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., revised and corrected in April 1859, provided that 'no more than one apprentice be allowed to two chairs, and so on in proportion, and all allowances given for young footmakers to be decided by the masters and men in each district.' (Rule XXI).

³Ibid.

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 424.

in the F.G.M.M. after the end of the strike, were few and far between: only six in Stourbridge and twenty-one in Birmingham.¹ Certainly the fact that the C.C. was in Stourbridge at that time served to widen a local strike into a nation-wide one and attracted the support of other Districts. The C.C. of the Society wrote in July 1859 that:

'Unfaithfulness and desertion we have had in a small degree, but the great mass of our lock-outs have remained firm and unshaken to the end; but, perhaps the great heroism and firmness had been displayed by the men of Grazebrook's and Stevens and Williams' who were out about twelve or fourteen weeks before the general lock-out took place, and about six or eight weeks after all others had begun again; to these men belong the special thanks of the trade, as they have exhibited a continued firmness and resolution not to betray the society, for a period of thirty weeks.' 2

It is important to see that the most skilful Stourbridge men fought most militantly until the end of the strike.

Second, the support given by other trade unions cannot be ignored.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 424.

²F.G.M.M. vol. IV, p. 416.

The "Bell Inn Committee" played an important role in collecting the donations and loans which amounted to over £400.¹ American glass makers donated £75. Money collected by Districts of the Society amounted to £575, so about £1000 was received altogether. The workers and shopkeepers in Stourbridge and its vicinity supported the glass makers and cutters. The Stourbridge District received donations of £30 from the Tin Plate Workers Society of Wolverhampton, £16 from 'Various Subscriptions', £10 from Stourbridge Shopkeepers, and £105 from others, totalling £161.² The Society never lowered the amount of unemployment allowance during the struggle, but after January 8 1859 payments had been made two thirds in cash and one third in promissory notes issued by the Society. The promissory note meant debt for the members and it amounted to £2000 at the end of the strike. Although the Brierley Hill Advertiser reported on April 9 that 'Notwithstanding the thousands that have been expended in the present strike, the position of the Glass-makers' Society is very good, and their resources were far from exhausted,'³

¹The C.S. of the Society remarked in his address on July 16 1859 that 'The report of the London trade's committee for our lock-out, just received, shows that more than £400 was raised, in gifts and loans, for our help, but the secretary, Mr. Burns, who was requested to act in that capacity is now outlawed by the employers of London', and appealed to the members of the Society to give him financial aid. (F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 419). Burns was then made General Secretary of the new Brickmakers' Society. (See R.W. Postgate, op.cit., pp. 249-50, and W.H. Fraser, Trade Unions and Society, 1974, p. 211).

²F.G.M.M., vol. III, pp. 542-5. The list of names of donations is given in Appendix H.

³Brierley Hill Advertiser, April 9 1859.

the Society certainly met with the financial difficulty. However this was rapidly overcome. On December 3 of that year a dinner party was held in the Stourbridge Town Hall 'in commemoration of the termination of the first, and it is to be hoped the last lock-out in the flint glass trade; but more especially for the celebration of the entire liquidation of the debt of £2,000 due to the members of our Society.'¹ When in July 1860 W. Woolley, the late C.S. of the Society, was presented with a testimonial at a party held at Aston Hall, Birmingham, he said that 'there was a total balance on the 26th May of £2068. 0s. 11d., so that they occupied almost precisely the same position as they did prior to the memorable "lock-out"... At present there was an excellent feeling subsisting and he trusted that by mutual conciliation it would not be impaired.'²

On the other hand, the manufacturers organised a few local associations in the Midlands, Lancashire and Scotland but failed to establish a national body corresponding in strength to the F.G.M.F.S. Before the Royal Commission of Trade Unions of 1868, in reply to Lord Elcho, who asked that 'as the Glasgow-shipbuilders have done, would not such a combination of capitalists be able to control the combination of working men?', Lloyd explained the reason for a reluctance to establish a national body among the manufacturers:

'There would be this objection probably in the first instance in proposing such a thing, that the master glassmakers are scattered over the kingdom at large intervals, consequently communication with one another would be difficult, in order to regulate by frequent meetings their affairs. Between London and Glasgow and Edinburgh there are dotted about districts in which the glass trade is being carried on; and again there is a variation in the amount of produce as well

¹F.G.M.M., vol. III, p. 618.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, July 7 1860.

as in the value of labour in different districts; more produce is allowed to take place in the North than in the South or in the Midland districts, that is to say, the Scottish and Lancashire masters are, I may say, permitted to produce more, consequently to have an advantage over the Midland and Southern houses.' 1

Accordingly, the negotiations during the strike took place mainly between the National F.G.M.F.S. and the Midlands manufacturers' association.

Finally, the significance of the flint glass makers' struggle in the history of the British labour movement as a whole is noteworthy. Part of the significance of the dispute lay in its relation to the Builders' strike, which began a few months later. In July 1859 Trollope in Pimlico, one of the largest firms in London, dismissed the mason who had headed a deputation demanding the nine hour day. The London Lodges ordered the men in the firm to go on strike and the masters immediately replied by a general lock-out. Every large builder in London closed his shop within the fortnight and 24,000 men were put on the streets. The Central Master Builders' Association drafted the document.² It seems likely that the successful rejection of the 'document' by the flint glass makers a few months earlier encouraged the locked-out builders. When a meeting of the amalgamated building trades of London was held at St. Martins Hall on September 17 1859 against the obnoxious document, the F.G.M.F.S. sent Joseph Leicester to the meeting. Reynolds's Newspaper

¹R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 25, Q.18448.

²R.W. Postgate, op.cit., pp. 171-2.

1859 reported:

'He (Leicester) had come from the battle-field where the glass-blowers had battled for thirteen weeks, and had received the sympathy and assistance of other trades in the country. The result had been that they had gained a complete victory over their masters; other trades societies came forward to assist them in the struggle, and now they had their trade society to assist those that wanted assistance and to lift the arm of the weak against their oppressors. (cheers)' ¹

Following the experience of the flint glass makers' lock-out, the "Bell Inn Committee" was re-formed in London to collect funds for the locked-out builders.² This time not only in London but in many industrial cities 'Trades Committees' were formed. Glasgow and Manchester sent £800 each and Liverpool over £500. An enormous amount was subscribed by the A.S.E. - £3100. As R.W. Postgate wrote, 'Such a subscription had never been heard of before, and its moral effect in encouraging the men and flabbergasting the employers helped very greatly in defeating the attack.'³ The F.G.M.F.S. had set up 'Benevolent Funds' after the strike to render 'aid to the members of other trades who have been oppressed in return for the donations given by various trade unions during the strike. For the locked-out Builders the F.G.M.F.S. subscribed

¹Reynolds's Newspaper, September 18 1859.

²A continuity between the "Bell Inn Committee" established for supporting the flint glass makers in January 1859 and the re-formed Committee is stressed in W.H. Fraser, Trades Councils in England and Scotland, 1858-1897, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 1967, p. 35.

³R.W. Postgate, op.cit., p. 176.

£145. 17s,¹ in spite of their financial position being not fully recovered as a consequence of their own strike. Altogether the subscriptions given to the Builders' Society amounted to £23,165.² On May 18 1860 a delegate meeting was called to establish the London Trades Council to combat the weakness of the "Bell Inn Committee" and Burn became one of its founders.³ This suggests that the flint glass makers' dispute, with all its far-reaching consequences for subsequent Labour history, at least indirectly paved the way for the formation of the London Trades Council.

¹ 'Balance-sheet of the Conference of the Building Trades'; in Trades and Societies, op.cit., pp. 73-4. The biggest three Districts of the F.G.M.F.S., Manchester, Stourbridge and Birmingham, subscribed respectively £30, £27. 8s. 4d. and £22. 17s. 6d. (F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 41.)

² 'Balance sheet of the Conference of the Building Trades', ibid.

³ Burn was one of the first seven executive committee members of the London Trades Council elected on July 10 1860. (Julius Jacobs, and George Tate, op.cit., p. 5.)

In late 1860 Alexander Campbell wrote an article in the Magazine entitled 'Conditions of Industrial Success.' Looking back on the strike, he remarked that 'it may now be asked what have the Flint Glass Makers gained by their loss of capital and suffering? The reply is that they have maintained the unity of their trade, increased their number, and have established confidence among their members, and between the Society and the employers.'¹ Although Lloyd's proposition to set up a Committee of Arbitration in 1860 was rejected by the Society,² a drastic change in the relations of the flint glass makers with their employers took place. If any problems occurred, the Association and the F.G.M.F.S. negotiated and in most cases they solved the problem peacefully. In fact, no strikes took place after 1860. When a strike threatened, the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. worked as a conciliator and prevented it. For instance, in July 1864 the Yorkshire glass bottle makers were on the eve of a strike, demanding a 10% rise in their wages. When they met a refusal from the employers, they gave a notice to strike. The Bee-Hive

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 56.

²The C.S. and delegates from Stourbridge and Birmingham considered Lloyd's proposition, but they came to the conclusion that 'it would not meet the views of all parties to accept unconditionally the decision of a committee under all circumstances'. (Ibid., p. 133). 'From 1860 the attitude of some employers altered sufficiently to allow for the growth of permanent machinery and arbitration provisions (V.A. Allen, The Origins of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration (International Review of Social History, new ser. vol. 9, 1964, p. 242) and the F.G.M.F.S. also considered the setting up such machinery.

of July 16 1864 reported 'A meeting of delegates from the masters and the workmen was to take place last night, and unless some arrangement is arrived at, the men will leave this day.... The trade is well united.'¹ The C.C. of the Society began to conciliate 'desirous of preventing a strike and maintaining the good feeling which exists between employers and employer,'¹ and arranged to meet the employers with a deputation of the glass makers in Leeds on July 14. As a result, the employers' proposition, offering a considerable advance on wages - although not to the extent asked by the men - was accepted by the delegates. Thus, to the credit of both employers and employed, the threatened strike in Yorkshire was averted, and the good feeling between the parties not only maintained, but strengthened. The parties afterwards dined together, and parted on the best of terms.'² More or less, all impending strikes were prevented in this way. When the C.S. of the Society, together with Birmingham and Stourbridge District secretaries, met Lloyd 'to have a friendly talk over Trade's matters' such as Footmakers' wages, they found him 'in every respect a gentleman' and believed that 'good will result from the meeting.'³

In addition, from the beginning of the 1860s the flint glass makers began to seek a close mutual relationship with the employers in a way

¹Glasgow Sentinel, July 23 1864.

²Ibid.

³F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 342.

which they had not done during the 1850s by way of social gatherings.

James Derbyshire, of the British Union Flint Glass Works in Hulme, had a reputation as a master particularly anxious to establish a good relationship with his workers. In December 1861 his eighty workmen and their wives were invited to a dinner 'by their worthy employer.'¹

There, one of the workmen expressed his desire to 'always try to do his best as long as Mr. Derbyshire thought proper to employ them.'² Another workman stated:

'He was glad to see the men work so comfortable together, for they went in and out of the works just the same as though they were at home. There was one thing that he should be glad to see and hear of, and that was of the men attending a place of worship on a Sunday, and their children attending Sunday Schools. He urged upon all to attend to their homes and make them comfortable by saving what they had to spare and not take it to the public house.'³

Further examples also illustrate the cordial atmosphere at those parties. At the Edinburgh Glass Works in Leith about 30 workers sat at dinner in December 1861 and presented their employer, Donald Fraser, 'with a rich Emblem Card and Key, and a handsome Silver Snuff Box, bearing a suitable inscription.'⁴ The inscription was; 'The harmony of Capital and Labour - the unity of employer and employed, is one of those grand social problems which in our day are fast approaching solution.'⁵

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 364.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 610.

⁴Ibid., p. 365.

⁵Ibid.

Similarly, in December 1868 the workers at the White House Glass Works, Wordsley, presented a silver cup to W.G. Webb, the proprietor. Webb stated that 'It would ever be his study to promote their general welfare and establish that good will which should exist at all times between master and men.'¹ When in March 1869 about 120 glass makers of Stourbridge assembled at the presentation dinner for W.H. Packwood who had served as district secretary for six years, T.J. Wilkinson of Birmingham, C.S. of the Society, 'congratulated the society on its present prosperous financial position and on the good understanding which existed between the employers and employed.' He believed that 'a thoroughly good understanding would ultimately lead to the settlement of trade disputes under a wiser system than resorting to the barbarous one of strikes and lock-outs.'² A marriage in an employer's family was also celebrated by their workmen. In 1862 glass makers and cutters in the employ of Bolton and Mills, Audnam Bank, Wordsley, were entertained to dinner at a public house. 'The dinner was given by Mr. Bolton in celebration of his marriage.'³ In 1863, 150 of the workmen employed at the Ellison Glass Works in Gateshead were entertained by J. Sowerby at the Queen's Hotel, Gateshead, to celebrate the wedding of Sowerby's daughter.⁴ Also in 1864 Thomas Wilkes Webb, glass manufacturer at Dennis Works, was presented by the glass makers, 'with one of the emblem cards of the Glass Makers' Society,

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, December 19 1868.

²Ibid., April 3 1869.

³Ibid., August 23 1862.

⁴Gateshead Observer, December 26 1863. For the dinner party by Sowerby and Neville, see the Gateshead Observer, December 27 1862 and December 12 1863.

handsomely framed' 'as a token of their respect and in commemoration of his marriage.'¹

Some Districts of the F.G.M.F.S. also organised social gatherings. The Edinburgh District established an annual dinner party, together with the glass cutters and their employers. When in January 1862 70 workers assembled at an annual supper in the Rainbow Hotel, North Bridge, a song composed by one of the glass cutters was sung and 'brought forth hearty applause.'

Now since we're all assembled here,
 As brothers in one trade;
 To enjoy each others company
 An friendship be it said.
 May no ill-feeling here arise,
 To mar our mirth and glee,
 But may we spend a happy night,
 In right good harmony. 2

Songs of this kind are common in the Magazine during the 1860's. It is clear that all these gatherings helped to strengthen the good relations between employers and employees.

In 1860 W.A. Sivewright of Tutbury, newly elected Central Secretary, made a proposition for holding a "National Gathering of Flint Glass Makers" either at Ashton Hall in Birmingham or at Belle Vue in Manchester.³ After a long discussion to decide the site and the date, these were finally announced on July 3 1861. It would be held on August 2 1861 in

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, November 26 1864.

²F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 422.

³Ibid., p. 63, Address of the C.S. (Sivewright).

Manchester; 'even a trip to smoky Manchester will do them some good when associated with the fact that they will meet their brother trades men from all points of the trade.'¹ The gathering was to be organised by both the Central Committee of the Society and a specially established committee, consisting of eleven members of the Manchester District. J. Bambrugh was appointed President and W. Bamford, secretary. On that day 'nearly 500 ladies and gentlemen' came from London, Birmingham and so on. The atmosphere at the meeting was quite brilliant and spectacular. 'After spending several hours in examining the cages of birds and beasts or in the enjoyment of a dance in the Music Hall, the party sat down to an excellent dinner.'² W.A. Sivewright presided. The participants praised both the skill of flint glass making and flint glass makers themselves. Joseph Woolley, a former central secretary of the Society, was proud to say that:

'It was but very long ago since noblemen and gentlemen wrought at the trade. They all know that sometimes they were called "the gentlemen glass makers" (cheers)... The philosopher could not do without glass to try his experiments; the astronomer could not pursue his study of the heavens without it; and painters required it to enable them to take the most accurate likeness. (cheers).'³

He ended his address by saying that 'Though humble Joseph Woolley, he has had the honour of making some articles for the use of Her Majesty. (cheers).'⁴ Thomas Percival, a glass manufacturer in Manchester, who

¹Ibid., p. 266-7.

²Ibid., p. 285-6.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 288.

was invited there, 'was much pleased to see so many there that day, and more especially to see them in the manner he had, all well dressed and behaving like gentlemen.'¹ James Derbyshire, a glass manufacturer whom we have already met, stated that:

'It was a sight they ought to be proud of - employers and employed meeting together for mutual improvement. He believed that the glass makers were rising in the scale of society, and that day was a token of the beginning of that time when they would also strive to improve their intellects and become thinkers. (cheers). If the trade only continued prosperous, and masters and men conciliatory, he thought a great deal of strife should in the future be avoided.'²

After the first gathering the feast was held annually at Belle Vue Gardens in Manchester. Certainly the flourishing flint glass industry in the 1860s provided a necessary economic foundation on which the good mutual relations between manufacturers and flint glass makers developed. Social gatherings were widespread among other working men, and this suggests the extent to which the flint glass makers established themselves as the Labour aristocracy. In the first half of the 1870s the prosperity of the flint glass industry was undiminished.

However, the depression coming in the industry in the second half of the decade began to encroach on these conditions and the conflict between employers and glass makers became sharp again. In September 1877

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 292.

James Walker, the chairman of the Association, proposed to the C.S. of the Society that a representative meeting between the Association and the Society be held 'to discuss the question of a reduction in cost of production with a view to meet foreign competition, and generally improving the state of trade.'¹ On October 12 of that year the meeting was held at the Queen's Hotel in Birmingham, at which five employers and nine glass makers were present.² Walker made three proposals - 1) a 10% increase in "number" of products which had been agreed between the Society and the Association 2) a reduction of wages of 10%, and 3) the introduction of the "two and a half moves per turn" instead of the traditional "two moves per turn". The proposals were immediately discussed by the flint glass makers in Stourbridge, Dudley and Birmingham. All of these Districts decided to oppose them. The Stourbridge District declared that 'the existing rate of numbers are already so high that it is utterly impossible for the majority of workmen to insure their two moves per turn.'³ Thus this first meeting between the Association and the Society produced no results.

As the crisis deepened, the manufacturers' attack on the Society became more determined. James Couper, a manufacturer of the City Flint

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IX, pp. 232-3.

²Ibid., p. 231.

³Ibid., p. 247.

Glass Works of Glasgow, wrote in Capital and Labour that:

'Free trade has benefited our country in corn and other necessaries, but the glass trade has suffered by it. We could understand reciprocity, but even with it the foreigner could undersell us, and that because our workmen are paid higher wages, and do less work than theirs.... We do not hesitate to say, numbers per moves should be increased very much, and every man be free to produce as many goods in his turn as God has given him ability to do. We believe there ought to be no Union which has for part of its object the restriction of labour - either as regards the amount of work done, or the number of hands employed; or, if it be right for men to have such a Union, then it should also be right for masters to join, govern, and control each other on similar principles.' ¹

The depression pushed the manufacturers together again, as they had not been since the time of the great strike and lock-out in 1858-59. The glass manufacturers from Stourbridge, Dudley, Birmingham, Manchester, Warrington, Bolton, Shelton, Longport and Tutbury assembled at Crewe on March 6 1878.² The meeting 'feeling the imperative necessity for a reduction in the wages of Glass Makers and Cutters, considers it requisite to form itself into a general Committee, in order to obtain that object.'³ A further meeting of the manufacturers held in Edinburgh on March 5 1879, finally decided to reduce wages, by an amount similar to the advance made in 1872 and 1873, a 10% reduction. Following the Scottish and Lancashire Districts, the Stourbridge, Dudley, and Birmingham Districts received notice of a reduction of 15%, 'it being absolutely

¹Capital and Labour, April 3 1878.

²A Leaflet, with no title, requesting glass manufactuers to attend the Meeting of March 20 1878. (Brierley Hill Library).

³Ibid.

necessary if trade is to be carried on that the cost of production be materially diminished.'¹ The Stourbridge District held a meeting on March 24 and decided 'to strenuously oppose it.'² On the following day the Association held a meeting at the Queen's Hotel in Birmingham and consequently representatives from both sides met in Birmingham on March 28. The conference lasted for three hours. Though the employers pressed to settle the question immediately, the glass makers answered that they would give the final decision within a fortnight.³ On March 31 the C.S. of the Society issued a circular calling a conference to be held at Liverpool on April 10 upon the subject 'Reduction of Wages; Is concession or strike the best way to meet the proposal?' The circular ran:

'The time has now arrived when a definite answer must be returned to the various notices that have been issued

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, March 22 1879, and Birmingham Daily Post March 17 1879. Four days earlier, on March 11, the Midland Manufacturers Association sent the following letter to the C.S. of the Society: 'The Manufacturers have arrived, very reluctantly, at the conclusion that it will be necessary for them to give notices, on Saturday next, for a reduction of 15 per cent. on Glass Makers' wages; and I thought it would not only be courteous to you, but courteous to all the members of your Society, that I should inform you of this decision at the earliest moment, for your information and guidance.' (F.G.M.M., vol. IX, pp. 858-9. The letter from Jas. Walker to W.H. Packwood, dated March 11 1875, is copied in S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, op.cit., pp. 229-32).

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, March 29 1879.

³F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 858.

by Employers in all parts of the trade; it is impossible to delay the question any longer, if it were, we think such a policy would neither be wise nor honourable. The grave and important question of concession or a Strike must be met, and for this purpose, your Executive have decided, with the approval of the Midland Association of Employers, to call the trade together to decide for itself the final issue of this prolonged agitation.' 1

At the meeting of April 10 at the Bee Hotel in Liverpool, the glass makers chose concessions. It was resolved to offer a 5% reduction for Scotland and 7% in England for Workmen and 5% for Footmakers. Immediately after this, the F.G.M.M. published a leading article entitled 'Strike Reformer': 'A strike reformer is one who seeks to settle vexatious questions of trade, by consultation by reason and argument, by conciliation and arbitration, before headlong rushing into a war between capital and labour. And it is upon this reform that we desire to draw the attention of our members; strike reformers of the reasonable kind, and strikers of the thoughtless and foolish kind.'² Undoubtedly the economic depression in the late 1870s led the glass makers to their choice. The Pottery Gazette, the glass manufacturers' Journal, wrote that 'We are sure that the men will now see the wide difference between the present state of the English flint glass trade, and what it was eight or ten years ago'³ and praised the F.G.M.M. of 1879 and 1880,

¹Ibid., p. 854.

²Ibid., p. 847.

³Pottery Gazette, July 1 1880.

stating that it was 'an ably conducted record of the doings of the Union, and contains some useful and practical articles on the trade.'¹ The F.G.M.M. which had been praised 'as of great advantage and as an honour to their society'² by Alexander Campbell in the mid-1860s, became the Journal praised by the manufacturers. The prosperous age of the glass trade had ended.

¹Ibid.

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 477.

I. Apprentices Restriction and Promotion Control

David Bremner wrote in 1869 that 'the flint-glass makers have a union, which is understood to be one of the strictest associations of the kind in the United Kingdom'.¹ In particular, apprentices restriction was strictly enforced in the flint glass trade and was 'much more successful than in other trades.'² The 1849 rule of the Society provided that the ratio between Journey men and Apprentices should be six to one. Prior to that year glass manufacturers 'always kept a large supply of boys in the factory, and when there was a man that did not suit them they sent him out directly and took one of those boys. The consequence was that we had a great number of men on the unemployed list, and the men endeavoured not so much to interfere with the law of supply and demand as to modify it, so that it should not work any mischief and they made this apprentices rule, which is rather stringent'.³ If 'unauthorised' apprentices came in, the Society-men often went on strike until the newcomers were expelled. In York, in 1851, for instance, the men found a boy being put on as Apprentice in breach of the rule so that 'his servitor left off work and received the strike allowance - when the master found that, he was obliged to put the boy away again.'⁴

¹ David Bremner, op.cit., p. 383.

² George Howell, The Conflicts of Capital and Labour, 2nd edition, 1890, p. 240.

³ R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 38, Q. 18797, Joseph Leicester's statement.

⁴ F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 189.

In 1858, Francis Bate, who apprenticed his son to the Webb's Glass Factory at Wordsley, summoned Joseph Webb, the proprietor of the factory, for the sum of £3 15s., because soon after his son had entered upon the employment, 'the men at the work struck against the boy, stating that there were too many apprentices employed, and consequently would not allow him to proceed with his work....

Complainant had offered the sum of £5 if the men would cease their opposition; but they still refused to allow the boy to work.'¹

It is clear that the apprentice restriction was stringent. The F.G.M.M. continued to stress the necessity of the restriction over the period.

In the 1850s it seemed to bear fruit. In January 1858 the

F.G.M.M. stated;

'... You will invariably find, as a rule that in proportion as the labour of boys or women is introduced into any trade, so the price and value of labour has been and will be regulated. It is worthy of note that though our supply of labour has been very unjustly distributed, yet, on the whole, it has but little exceeded the demand; and the consequence is, that though nearly every other trade, during the last ten years, has suffered a considerable reduction of wages, glass makers receive better wages at the present time than ever were given before.'²

In order to make the demand for labour exceed the supply, the conference of the Society held in June 1858 decided to restrict the apprentice

¹Brierley Hill and Stourbridge Gazette, February 20 1858. The Bench judged that 'stopping the boy from work was a misdemeanour on the part of the men; and the boy in consequence was not only losing his wages, but the opportunity that ought to be afforded him by his master for learning his business,' because, 'the men had no right to dictate terms to their employers.' (Ibid.)

²F.G.M.M., vol. III, pp. 55-6.

ratio more stringently than ever before, believing that 'Our success depends in a very great measure on regulating the supply for the demand.'¹ As already noted, the new rule of one Apprentice to three chairs precipitated the long strike and lock-out in 1858-59, and at the end of the lock-out the rule was revised to one Apprentice to two chairs.²

In the 1860s the apprentice restriction of the Society began to be violently criticised by the employers. At the Conference of the Social Science Association held in Newcastle in 1863 R.W. Swinburne, a plate glass manufacturer of South Shields, read a paper in which he made 'a most unfounded attack on the principles, object, and practice of the Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society.'³ He remarked that:

'A great impediment to the progress of glass manufacture in this district is the trades' union among the workmen. In the blown flint trade the union exercises a power which amounts to a domination over the employer. In one case at least a manufacturer permanently gave up his business from this cause, and in other cases large works have been for a time wholly suspended. At present the blown flint glass makers can only obtain a workman by taking the first on the union-list, and he must take the chance of his having the requisite qualifications, and must receive him with or without a character.... A respectable flint glass manufacturer makes the following statement: - "The glass makers'

¹ Address of the Delegates, in Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, op.cit., p. 20.

² See above, p. 210.

³ F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 15.

society decides upon the number of apprentices the master shall employ, and the rate of wages he must pay his men.' ¹

The paper created a sensation. William Caine, a Manchester glass manufacturer, wrote in the Alliance News that 'to my great gratification the author, Mr. Swinburne, did not shrink from mentioning one great impediment to the progress of the glass manufacture'.² On the other hand, the Bee-Hive wrote that 'This paper contained all the used-up, worn-out statements against Trades' Unions which have appeared in the columns of the Times and Telegraph and other papers of the like kidney,' and regarded Swinburne's paper as 'a condemnation of Trades' Unions generally.'³ Benjamin Smart, the C.S. of the Society also counter-attacked, stressing the fact that the mutual consent on the apprentice restriction was made at the end of the great strike in April 1859 between the Society and the Manufacturers' Association and that agreement was still in effect.⁴ It seems likely that Swinburne's paper was based on the information given by Neville, a flint glass manufacturer of Gateshead, who had been hostile to the Society since

¹The Report of the Social Science Association, 1863, 1863, p.181. Swinburne's paper was reprinted in W. Armstrong and others (ed.), op.cit., pp. 197-204.

²Alliance News, September 12 1863.

³Bee-Hive, September 19 1863.

⁴Glasgow Sentinel, September 16 1863, and Newcastle Daily Journal, September 11 1863.

the early 1850s.¹ The problem was resolved officially at the next conference of the Social Science Association,² but the obloquy of the apprentice restriction of the Society had been widely spread by the paper and did not speedily blow over. It is notable that the F.G.M.F.S. ceased to expect anything favourable from the Social Science Association after 1863, although the Society had thought in 1860 that 'Trade Societies will be greatly benefitted by their connection with the above association.'³

¹Swinnburne replied in his letter to the C.S. of the Society dated September 23 1863 that 'Having no connection with the flint trade, I of course relied upon the information of others.' (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 61). Swinnburne wrote that in preparing the paper he had been assisted by Sowerby and Neville, of Gateshead and other glass manufacturers in the area. (The Report of the Social Science Association, 1863, op.cit., p. 176.)

²At the seventh annual meeting of the Social Science Association held in Edinburgh in October 1863 Alexander Campbell, a representative of the F.G.M.F.S., 'rebutted the unprovoked and unjustifiable attack lately made by a Mr. Swinnburne on the Flint Glassmakers' Society, in a paper read before the British Association at Newcastle-on-Tyne.' (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 66).

³F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 62. The F.G.M.M. reported of the Social Science Association of 1860 in detail (vol. IV, pp. 72-81) with the following comment by the editor of the Magazine: 'The recent meetings of the Association for the promotion of Social Science, held in Glasgow, must give an impetus to working men to investigate into the principles, utility, and exigence of trades' unions.' (ibid., p. 72.)

In 1867 John Derbyshire, whom we have met before, made another attack upon the Society. In a letter entitled 'Trade Union Tyranny' in the Manchester Guardian, he wrote that 'At the present time there are in Manchester a large number of young men quite competent to be advanced to a higher grade of workmanship who are kept at mere boys' work, not from any unwillingness of the masters, but solely from the prohibitive rules of the Society.'¹ However, unlike the glass manufacturers in Newcastle and Manchester, those in Stourbridge and Birmingham admitted some limitations on apprentices. The Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, written by Harrison and signed by Highes, Lichfield and himself, remarked in 1869 that:

'The objection to an unlimited system of apprentices appears in its strongest form in the Glassmakers' Union, and the most complete statement of the reasons for it may be found in the evidence of Messrs. Wilkinson and Leicester. The employers appear to admit that some limitation on apprentices is not unreasonable. (Lloyd). This is an instance of the closest limitation on new incomers that exists, perhaps, in this country, outside the learned professions.'²

¹ Manchester Guardian, August 31 1867. The Manchester District Committee of the Society immediately defended by stating that 'Mr. Derbyshire, at the present time, employs 37 journeymen and has eight apprentices, so you will see he has his quantity according to rule sanctioned by the Employers' Association and ours. It is not we that are abusing the rules.' (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 15).

² R.C. on Trade Unions, 11th and Final Report, 1868-69, vol. I (P.P. XXXI) p. 39. Before the Royal Commission, T.J. Wilkinson tried to justify the apprentice restriction, by stating that 'The limitation of apprentices is simply because we consider that as working men who have been brought up in the trade, and devoted a number of years to learn it (as Dr. Lloyd has told you it takes 20 years to produce a glassworker), we have a right in a certain measure to limit the supply in accordance with what the demand may be, and you can see in the rules that the employers themselves also agree to that limitation. (R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., pp. 34-5, Q.18717.)

These regional differences in glass manufacturers' attitudes towards the apprentice restriction can be explained in terms of managerial strategies for expansion in markets which varied from region to region. The West Midland Manufacturers hoped to expand by producing glass ware of high quality. Obviously this was not consistent with employing unskilled men in large numbers. Neither was it consistent with lowering wage costs beyond the point at which skilled labour ceased to reproduce itself. Thus, the Union by limiting competition among the masters preserved the long run interests of the trade - at least up to the point at which successful pressure for higher wages began to encroach upon the average rate of profit. Matters were very different among the manufacturers of Newcastle and Manchester. Their concern was with the quantity rather than the quality of their product. Their uncomplicated hostility to apprenticeship restriction is fully intelligible.

Thus, if boys entered the flint glass trade between the age of 11 and 13 as Takers-in, the vast majority of them left at about 14 or 15, without becoming apprentices. At a flint glass factory in Birmingham, for instance, out of a total of 80 or 90 boys who had been employed as Takers-in during 8 or 9 years, only 4 boys were taken on as Apprentice Footmakers.¹ In the Stevens and Williams factory of Stourbridge 66 boys were employed as Takers-in in 15 years between 1847 and 1862, but only 19 boys were taken on as Apprentice Footmakers

¹C.E.C., 1865, op.cit., p. 219, Q. 57.

in the same period. The other 47 boys left the factory without being apprenticed.¹

Together with apprentice restriction, the workman's control of promotion worked very effectively in the flint glass industry. The manufacturers had little or no power to decide on the promotion of their men. A rule of the Society provided that 'Any servitor or footmaker applying to be put on without the consent of the men in the factory, where he works and of the District, shall be fined one pound and not allowed to work if he gets the situation. Districts to have power to increase these fines, but not to exceed five pounds.'²

¹ Calculated from Wages Book of Stevens and Williams. Every January and July each year Takers-in employed in the factory checked to see whether they were apprenticed or left the factory. The flint glass factory did not employ poor law apprentices.. Register of Apprentices, Bound or Assigned by the Board of Guardians of the Stourbridge Union, (Staffordshire County Record Office). "Stourbridge" in the Register covered Kingswinford, the town of Stourbridge and Lye. Out of a total of 140 poor law apprentices in Stourbridge between 1846 and the early 1880s, nobody was apprenticed in glass making. The main apprentices bound by the Board of Guardians were chainmakers (21 boys), Boot and shoemakers (16 boys), Nailers (8 boys), Bricklayers (7 boys), Spademakers (6 boys), Tailor (6 boys) and Blacksmith (5 boys).

² Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S. 1858, op.cit., Rule XXXII.

Before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1868, the following cross-examination was undertaken between a Commissioner and George Lloyd, chairman of the Manufacturers' Association:

'(Question) So that the master has no voice in the promotion of his men without consulting the union?

(Lloyd) He may do it sometimes, and he does do it, but there is a risk.

(Question) Of getting his shop struck?

(Lloyd) Yes, or blocked; that means an impediment put in the way of employers or workmen filling up the vacant situation.

(Question) So that the union assumes the power of control over the advancement of the men, irrespective of the wishes of the master.

(Lloyd) Entirely. ¹

If there was a vacancy for a Workman, it could not be filled with a Servitor unless there were no Workmen on the unemployment roll. The F.G.M.M. openly insisted that 'Servitors ought not to be allowed to take workmen's situations when there are men on the roll who can fill the vacant situation.'² A factory inspector reported in 1879 that;

'No promotions are permitted or take place until the funds of the society are relieved of the unemployed; therefore however deserving a young servitor or foot-maker may be for promotion on any opportunity occurring, notwithstanding his having been trained to making a special class of goods, it is never accomplished without a struggle, and is scarcely possible by reason of the unemployed subsisting on the funds.' ³

¹R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 23, Q.18402-404.

²F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 194.

³Factory Inspectors' Report, ending October 31 1879, op.cit., p.32.

In this way the position of highly graded flint glass makers was carefully protected. Therefore, the Pottery Gazette, the glass manufacturers' Journal, condemned the Society in 1880, stating that 'although there are 500 glass makers out of employment, there is a difficulty even now in filling applications for first-class men.'¹

One of the most important of those criteria which help us to decide whether a worker is a Labour aristocrat or not concerns his chances of promotion. The national data relating to the promotion of flint glass makers is obtained from the F.G.M.M. in the mid-1860s. As Table 5:1 shows, the annual rate of promotion for Apprentices put on as Journeymen (normally Footmakers but sometimes they stepped directly up to Servitors) was 45.6% of all Apprentices. Since Apprentices who had served five or six years were allowed to be members of the Society, the rates imply that almost all apprentices were promoted to Journeymen after seven-year apprenticeships. The rate of promotion from Footmaker to Servitor was 9.3% of all Footmakers, that is Footmakers had to serve, on average, for about eleven years before being promoted. It is notable that promotion to Workman was extremely difficult; in any one year a Servitor had only a 2.2% chance of becoming a Workman. That is, the average service period for a Servitor would have been more than forty years. Thus it is clear that once a Taker-in was apprenticed he was normally able to be promoted up to a Journeyman

¹ Pottery Gazette, December 1 1880, p. 788.

Footmaker and, after a number of years, up to a Servitor. But there was a surprisingly strong barrier between Servitors and Workmen; some were promoted to Workman but some served as Servitor until death or retirement. It is also valuable to examine regional differences in the frequency of promotion. As Table 5:2 suggests, in Stourbridge the Society restricted promotion the most successfully, with Birmingham second. The rates of promotion per annum in these Districts were respectively 2.7% and 3.1% of the members in each District. On the other hand, both in Manchester and Newcastle the rate of promotion was far beyond the average of the Society as a whole. Particularly that of Newcastle which was 5.3%, almost twice as high as those in Stourbridge. Certainly these regional differences were closely related to the manufacturers' different attitudes toward the apprentice restriction, but, more strongly, they were related to the degree of the Society's discipline, varying in each region. Newcastle was a decaying area in blown flint glass making over the period concerned and Manchester was a rapidly growing area, so that the Society was able to exert less control over promotion. In contrast in the West Midlands the Society could exercise a fair degree of control over it. In Stourbridge the control was most stringent. The rate of promotion of Apprentices, Footmakers and Servitors there was respectively, 22.0%, 10.3% and 0.5% per annum.

A limitation of this data obtained from the F.G.M.M. is that Takers-in are not included simply because they were not members of the Society. However, The Wages Book of the Stevens and Williams factory

TABLE 5:1 Differences in the Rate of Promotion of Flint Glass Makers in Chairs in the 1860s.

Status	No. of Members of the F.G.M.F.S.		No. of the promoted during 3½ years.		Rates of promotion per annum.	
	Great Britain	Stour-bridge	Great Britain	Stour-bridge	Great Britain	Stour-bridge
Apprentice	52	13	83	10	45.6%	22.0%
Footmaker	236	39	77	14	9.3	10.3
Servitor	623	104	49	2	2.2	0.5

Source: Calculated from Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S., in F.G.M.M., Vol. V, p. 248 - Vol. VI, p. 40.

- 1) The number of membership is that of 1865 and this excludes the number of Workmen.
- 2) The number of the promoted is that between the second quarter of 1864 and the third quarter of 1867. The status prior to promotion is here described.
- 3) The rate of promotion per annum is the number of men and boys promoted between 1864 and 1867, divided by three and one half, and taken as a percentage of the membership in 1865.

TABLE 5:2 Regional Differences in Promotion of Flint Glass Makers in the 1860s.

District	No. of members of the F.G.M.F.S.	No. of the promoted during 3½ years.	Rates of promotion per annum.
Stourbridge	279	26	2.7%
Birmingham	297	32	3.1
Manchester	268	44	4.7
Newcastle	70	13	5.3
All districts	1611	209	3.7

Source: Ibid.

- 1) The number of the F.G.M.F.S. is all membership including Workmen in 1865.
- 2) The number of the promoted is the total of all promotions, that of Apprentices put on, Footmakers advanced and Servitors advanced.
- 3) The rate of promotion per annum is: no. of the promoted ÷ by no. of membership of the F.G.M.F.S. in the District ÷ 3½ x 100.

in Stourbridge provides some additional useful information about promotion. In the period between 1847 and 1862, 66 boys were employed as Takers-in. The other 80 employees were Footmakers, Servitors or Workmen. The average rate of promotion for all these workers in the factory was 2.3% per annum,¹ which was approximately the same as the Stourbridge rates in the mid-1860s calculated from the Magazine. (2.7%) In the period 28 promotions out of 146 workers took place:² Takers-in who were apprenticed numbered 16, and Journeymen Footmakers advanced to Servitors numbered 9. But the number of Servitors advanced to Workmen was only 3. The rate of promotion per annum in each status was; 11.6% for Takers-in, 6.5% for Footmakers, and 2.2% for Servitors. (Table 5:1). In the analysis of the life-time career of a Stourbridge glass maker in Chapter III - I, the problem of promotion was deliberately excluded and it was there assumed that they were promoted according to the average rate of promotion. It is now clear that to be promoted from Servitor to Workman and enter the top territory of the Labour aristocracy

¹The rate of promotion per annum in the factory comparable to the rate obtained from the Magazine is given as follows; 28 promotions out of 80 workers excluding Takers-in in 15 years. The number of Takers-in employed is not included, because the figures obtained from the Magazine excluded the non-Society men. But, Takers-in apprenticed are included in the calculation, because most of them were promoted Journeymen Footmakers after seven-year apprenticeships.

²Among 28 promotions, there were 3 who were promoted twice from Taker-in to Footmaker and up to Servitor in the same period, but nobody was promoted three times from Taker-in to Workman.

TABLE 5:3 Promotion of Flint Glass Makers in the Stevens and Williams Factory in Stourbridge between 1847 and 1862.

	Average number of men in the factory	No. of promotions during 16 years.	Rates of promotion per annum.
Taker-in	8.6	16	11.6%
Footmaker	8.6	9	6.5
Servitor	8.6	3	2.2

Source: Wages Book of Stevens and Williams.

- 1) The number of men in the factory was the average per annum estimated from the average number of chairs in the factory between 1847 and 1862.
- 2) The number of promotions is obtained from the checking of each name in the Wages Book every six months in the period between 1847 and 1862.

was extremely difficult. This fact must have strengthened Labour Aristocratic consciousness when any glass makers passed down the narrow road to reach the highest status in the factory. Since promotion was most difficult in Stourbridge it seems not unreasonable to suggest that it was there that feelings of superiority were most marked.

That consciousness might be further re-enforced if there was a hereditary component in promotion. Sons of glass makers appear to have received preferential treatment. The Children's Employment Commission reported that 'Boys seldom get to any regular blowing work before the age of from 14 to 16, even in the lighter kinds of glass. Young boys, however, who work with fathers or men well disposed to help them in the trade, are constantly getting their hand in by handling the men's tools and trying to make things in spare times, such as the stoppages for meals. This is the way in which they are able first to show their capabilities, and learn the work enough to be put on.'¹ It is difficult to measure precisely the extent to which the promotions of flint glass makers were affected by their fathers' occupation. However, the combination of the data relating to the occupational continuity between fathers and children obtainable from the Census Enumerators' Returns together with that obtainable from the Marriage Registers provides a way to measure the extent. The Census

¹C.E.C., 4th Report, 1865, op.cit., p. 191, Q. 81.

Enumerators' Books list the fathers' occupation of teen-age glass makers who can be assumed to be Takers-in or Apprentices, and the Marriage Registers show the fathers' occupation of bridegrooms who can be assumed to be Journeymen Footmakers or Journeymen Servitors.¹ Therefore the gap in occupational continuity between these two sources, if any, can be regarded as a result of preferential treatment in promotion for the sons of glass makers. The result is set out in Table 5:4 . According to the Table, 29.6% of the Takers-in or

TABLE 5:4 The Occupational Continuity between Flint Glass Makers and their Parents in Stourbridge.

<u>Source</u>	case (N)	<u>Occupation of parents</u>			(percentages)	
		Glass maker	Glass cutter	Other jobs in the glass trade	Other trades	Totals
Census of 1861	125	29.6	4.8	8.0	57.6	100.0
Marriage Register 1850-80.	123	61.0	8.1	2.4	28.5	100.0

Source: From Table 3:15 and 3:16.

Apprentices came from glass makers' families, but, 57.6% came from the families outside the glass trade. However, Journeymen glass makers coming from glass makers' families in the marriage Registers formed

¹See above p. 100, Table 3:10.

61.0%. Only 28.5% who had come from the families of other trades survived in the glass trade as Journeymen. This large gap implies that glass makers' sons had a better chance of promotion from Takers-in or Apprentices to Journeymen Footmakers or Servitors. Since once they were apprenticed, flint glass makers were normally promoted to Journeymen, it can be assumed that preferential treatment for the sons of glass makers was a crucial factor when promotion from Takers-in to Apprentice took place. It is therefore assumed that a large proportion of the Takers-in who had left the trade without being apprenticed had come from other trades' families. Takers-in who had come from families in which the father had a different job in the glass trade suffered the same fate. But boys coming from glass cutters' families received the same treatment as sons of glass makers, although the number was extremely small. It is clear that a factor determining membership of a 'labour aristocracy' was not only the chances of promotion of the workers themselves but also the job opportunities available for the children.

II Friendly Benefits.

Friendly Benefits formed a core around which the members of the Society united. Especially important was the unemployment allowance: a vital new substitutionary measure to combat the problem of the unemployed after the abolition of the tramping system at the Manchester conference in 1849. Thereafter the evils of the tramp system were repeatedly stressed. The F.G.M.M. declared in 1851:

'All the old systems had tramping as their basis - week after week, month after month, and year after year, our unemployed dragged out a miserable existence in drinking and tramping.... The tramping system was one of the greatest evils ever attached to our trade. It sacrificed the best men - turned them out to tramp - and tended in everyway to degrade and demoralize them, and starve their families.' ¹

However, the old tramping system was not instantly abolished by the decision of the conference. In times of depression signs of a resurgence of tramping appeared. In 1852 there was word that 'men in the various districts are beginning to talk of going on tramp, and well they may: some going home with 2s. others with 1s. 6d. and others the full money. There is no nationality about the system.'² In 1855 the C.S. of the Society gave instructions to 'stop the allowance of men who go on tramps.'³ The preconditions for complete abolition of the tramping system were 1) the organisational control of labour between factories and between areas and 2) the establishment of friendly benefits. It

¹ F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 34.

² Ibid., p. 260.

³ F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 190.

was hardly surprising that without these conditions a recovery of the old system took place.

It was not until 1857 that the "roll system" was established throughout the Society. When Benjamin Smart became the C.S. in 1854 'not a single man has been sent for to us by any district except Glasgow.'¹ According to the "roll system" when any of the members fell out of employment, the Factory secretary of the Society was obliged to inform the District secretary, who 'shall immediately write to the C.S. for an unemployed certificate, and request the C.S. to place the man or men upon the unemployed roll, likewise making a correct statement of the abilities of the unemployed men.'² The C.S. should 'keep roll or list of the unemployed, with their respective abilities, and the situations they are capable of filling.'³ No unemployed member who was not so listed was entitled to receive the unemployment allowance. Thus the C.S. had a list enabling him to see the state of employment throughout the trade. On the other hand, the District secretary who kept a list of the unemployed of each District,

¹Ibid., p. 138.

²Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, op.cit., Rule VI.

³Ibid., Rule VI. The Rule VIII provided that 'The C.S. shall supply the unemployed with certificates, when he is applied to for them by District Secretaries, providing such be quite legal; and no District Secretary shall pay unemployed money until they receive an unemployed certificate from the C.S. for each and every unemployed member.'

was empowered to supply the men required in his own District on the principle of 'the longest on the roll having the first claims.'¹

This system was explained by T.J. Wilkinson before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1868:

'If there is anyone wanted in that manufactory, and if the employer just informs the factory secretary that he wants such and such a man he immediately applies to the district secretary to see if there is a man upon the roll competent to take the situation. This is done simply to facilitate the obtaining of the man required.'²

But, if there was none in the District on the roll or none qualified to fill the situation, the District secretary should write to the C.S. of the Society who would supply the men required from other Districts. Consequently the employers had little or no power to employ their own men. This system gave the impression to a factory inspector that the duty of the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S. was 'to move about the members of the Union as if they were chessmen, from square to square and so to fill any vacancies occurring in different districts, taking care at the same time ever to strengthen the rate of wages.'³ When Lloyd was asked by the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1868 whether he had the power to control the labour market, he answered 'No'⁴. T.J. Wilkinson from the Society did not deny that such a control of

¹Ibid., Rule IX.

²R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 33, Q.18662.

³Factory Inspectors' Report, ending October 31, 1879, 1880, op.cit., p. 32.

⁴R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 25, Q. 18446.

labour was working.

'Question.... If you have a man that can supply that labour, the employer must take the man you offer?

Wilkinson - Well, we consider he ought to do so; we do not make it an imperative duty always that he should do so.' ¹

Thus a "chessman" was sent to the new situation and received an allowance from the Society according to the distance of the removal.² If employers refused the men sent by the Society, a strike was unavoidable. In fact, as already shown, one of the causes of the great strike and lock-out in 1858-59 was such a refusal.³

However, the unemployment allowance system did not work smoothly in the first half of the 1850s. The amounts of the allowance varied from District to District. For example in Bristol;

¹Ibid., p. 32, Q. 18647.

²According to the rule of the Society, 'Any unemployed member sent to a situation not more than 50 miles from the district he is in, shall receive 2s. 6d. and third-class fare; above 50 miles, 4s.; above 150 miles 5s.; and above 200 miles 6s.' (Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1867, Rule XIII).

³This roll system lasted at least until the beginning of this century. E.A. Pratt wrote in 1904 that 'Almost, if not quite, as incredible is the fact in the flint-glass trade an employer is not allowed to choose his own employees. If he did so the whole body of men would be withdrawn, and his works stopped. When a flint-glass employer wants an additional hand he must write to the district secretary of the men's union and ask him to send him one.' (E.A. Pratt, op.cit., p. 99).

'a great many of the men who have been paying-members for twenty years and never receivers go home on a Saturday night without their unemployed allowance, while in other parts of the country the unemployed are receiving their 7s. 6d. per week. This destroys confidence, and will ultimately, if not altered, break the society up.' 1

Another complaint was heard:

'If a man happens to be out of work in a small district, where there are few unemployed, he gets his money; but in other districts, where the unemployed are numerous, they go home with 2s. and even less, on a Saturday night.' 2

In addition, it was alleged that some beneficiaries were undermining the system. 'There were some who walk about in idleness on 7s. 6d. per week rather than work for £1 or £1 10s. per week at their own work.'³ Some 'may receive many pounds and leave us without ever paying a further subscription after they get work.'⁴ In 1853 Gillinder, the C.S., was forced to change the allowance from 7s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. for a Workman and a Servitor and from 5s. to 3s. for a Footmaker and appealed to the members that 'it is in slack times that our previous

¹F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 242.

²Ibid., p. 260.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴Ibid., p. 40.

societies have fallen to pieces, and left the members individually at the mercy of their oppressors.'¹ Although Gillinder was called 'Dictator' as a result of this enforcement, the Society solved the financial crisis and survived. In August 1854 a new rule was adopted: Workman and Servitor receive the sums of 10s. per week for the first three months, 8s. for the second three months, 6s. for the next six months, and 4s. for the following six months. Footmakers received two thirds of these amounts. This rate was basically fixed in the Rule of 1858. Changes in the rate of unemployment allowance thereafter is shown in Table 5:5. If he had been working in the glass trade and had subscribed the appropriate amounts for more than two years, he was entitled to receive the rate in the Table when he lost his employment.² But if he lost it by drinking or neglect of duty or if he left his employment 'without first consulting and getting the consent of the men in the factory he works in, and the District Officers', he was not entitled to receive the unemployment allowance.³ If he left his employment through "oppression", he had a preference on the roll and received higher allowance than the ordinary unemployment allowance if the District Committee and the C.C. sanctioned it.

¹Ibid., p. 259.

²Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule XXXIV. Those who had paid twelve months were entitled to a half of the unemployment allowance. (ibid.)

³Ibid., Rule XXIX and XXX.

According to the 1858 rule, he was entitled to 15s. per week for the first six months and 10s. for the next six months and then came under the unemployment rule.¹

What proportion did the unemployment allowance constitute out of the total expenditure of the F.G.M.F.S.? Not surprisingly it varied from year to year, largely according to movements of the trade cycle. The average percentages in every five years are shown in Table 5:6.

TABLE 5:5 The Scale of Unemployment Allowance of the F.G.M.F.S. and the A.S.C.J.

	F.G.M.F.S.		A.S.C.J.	
	The rule of 1858	The rule of 1867 and 1874	The rule of 1866	
	A WEEK		A WEEK	A WEEK
For 4 months	10s.	For 13 weeks	12s.	For 12 weeks 10s.
4 "	8s.	13 "	10s.	6 " 6s.
8 "	6s.	26 "	8s.	
14 "	5s.	26 "	6s.	
12 "	2s. 6d.	26 "	5s.	
thereafter	superannuated allowance	Thereafter superannuated allowance		

Source: Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, 1867 and 1874. For the A.S.C.J. the 1866 rule book of the A.S.C.J.: quoted in C.G. Hanson, Craft Unions, Welfare Benefits, and the Case for Trade Union Law Reform, 1867-75, in Econ. Hist. Rev., sec. ser. vol. XXVIII, no. 2, May 1975, p. 249.

- 1) The rate of allowance of the F.G.M.F.S. was that of Workmen and Servitors. Footmakers were paid two thirds of the allowance in the Table.
- 2) Sick allowance was the same scale as unemployment allowance in the rule of 1867 and 1874.

¹ Ibid., Rule XIX. According to the 1874 rule, in this case, he was entitled to receive 15s. per week for the six months and came under the first scale of unemployment allowance. (Rule XXV)

TABLE 5:6 Expenditure of the Unemployment Allowance of the F.G.M.F.S.
1852-1881.

Year	Average expenditure for the unemployed out of the Society's total expenditure	Average amount of unemployment. Allowance per an unemployed member.
1852-54	76.9%	39s. 2d.
1855-59	68.7 *	54 9 *
1860-64	59.9	51 3
1865-69	54.6	67 0
1870-74	38.0	61 5
1875-79	56.8	78 4
1880-81	62.2	52 5

Source: Calculated from the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S., in F.G.M.M. vol. 1- vol. XI. Original Table is given in Appendix A:3.

1) * does not include the effects of the great strike and lock-out in 1858-59.

As the Table shows, the proportion of the expenditure for the unemployed out of the Society's total expenditure tended to decrease from 76.9% in the early 1850s until 38.0% in the first half of the 1870s. It suggests that the financial burden of the unemployment allowance in the early years of the Society gradually diminished, as the flint glass trade became prosperous after 1860, in spite of the fact that the average amount of the allowance per an unemployed member did not decrease. However, in the late 1870s expenditure on unemployment increased again and in the early 1880s it became over 60% of total expenditure.

Superannuation allowance was another important benefit. Any member of the Society, 'being incapacitated from earning a livelihood by his trade, through age, accident, or inability' was able to receive the allowance 'for the remainder of his life.'¹ Since the retirement age was not fixed, glass makers in good health probably preferred to continue to work than to retire on an allowance of between 2s. 6d. and 8s. The scale of superannuation is shown in Table 5:7. As already suggested when looking at the whole working life of the glass makers they were more likely to enjoy a highest standard of living after reaching the age of 50. As Table 5:8 shows, the number of glass makers dependent on superannuation was small in the early stages of the Society. But, as time went by, the number of members entitled to receive the allowance increased and in 1875 nearly 100 men and in 1880 144 men received the allowance. This was obviously a burden upon the Society's resources, and the C.C. proposed in 1879 to reduce the two highest scales of 6s. and 7s. to 5s. and 6s. and the proposition was accepted.² Thus, after March 1879 no member received more than 6s. per week.

¹Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule XXII. In the 1867 rule 4s. per week was paid as superannuated allowance, if he became incapable of working at the glass trade by an accident, and if in Society for more than ten years. (Rule XIV)

²F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 828.

TABLE 5:7 The Scale of Superannuation of the F.G.M.F.S.

<u>F.G.M.F.S.</u>					
The rule of 1858		The rule of 1867		The rule of 1874	
If a member for 10 years	a week 2s. 6d.	If a member for 10 years	a week 3s.	If a member for 10 years	a week 2s. 6d.
15 "	3s.	13 "	4s.	15 "	3s.
20 "	3s. 6d.	16 "	5s.	18 "	4s.
30 "	4s.	19 "	6s.	21 "	6s.
and upwards		22 "	7s.	24 "	7s.
		25 "	8s.	and upwards	
		and upwards			

<u>A.S.E.</u>		<u>A.S.C.J.</u>	
The rule of 1864		The rule of 1866	
If a member for 18 years	a week 7s.	If a member for 12 years	a week 5s.
25 "	8s.	18 "	7s.
30 "	9s.	25 "	8s.

Source: Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, 1867 and 1874.
 The 1864 rule book of the A.S.E. and the 1866 rule book of
 the A.S.C.J.; quoted by C.G. Hanson, op.cit., p. 249.

TABLE 5:8 Number of Superannuated in the F.G.M.F.S., 1852-1880

Year	No. of superannuated.
1852	3
1855	23
1860	21
1865	49
1870	55
1875	98
1880	144

Source: Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S.; in F.G.M.M., vol. I-vol.X.

1) The number is that of the third quarter in that year.

Sick allowance began to be paid in 1867 after several years of discussion. In November 1861 the C.C. of the Society proposed the setting up of the allowance:

'We are aware that a vast majority are in other sick and benefit societies - Oddfellows, Foresters, &c. - but we think if the subject was taken into consideration and some plan drawn up, it would be seen that a sick society, in connection with our present society, would be less expensive and more beneficial to us as a body.' ¹

Again in June 1864 the F.G.M.M. published a leading article, "Shall we have a trades' sick club?", in which it was stated that 'we are fully aware that most of our districts have sick clubs established,

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 398.

but these are not of such a sound, permanent character as we desire.¹ The rate of sick allowance was the same as the unemployment allowance in 1867 but soon after it was reduced slightly.² It was finally stopped in September 1880 under the burden of increasing unemployment allowance caused by the depression.

The Death fund rounded off the Society's benefit functions. In the 1858 rule the Death fund was separated from the Society's general fund. All members of the Society were eligible to become members of the death fund by paying 3d. each to every death that occurred.³ So, on the death of any member of the Society his widow (or his nearest relative) received the sum of 3d. per member. The money was collected by the District Secretary and forwarded to the C.S. who supplied the widow with £5. According to the 1867 rule, on the death of any member his widow (or nearest relative) was able to receive the sum of £10, and on the death of a member's lawful wife the member was eligible to receive £10 from the general fund.⁴ In the 1874 rule it was revised

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 246.

²R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, 1867-68, op.cit., p. 33, Q. 18684. T.J. Wilkinson's statement. 'It is reduced to 9s. for 13 weeks, 7s. 6d. for 13 weeks, 6s. for 26 weeks, 5s. for 26 weeks, 4s. for 26 weeks and 2s. per week as a superannuation allowance as long as they are ill.' (ibid.)

³Rules for Death Fund, in Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1858, Rule II.

⁴Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S., 1867, Rule XV.

as follows:

'On the death of every Workman, Servitor or Footmaker, paying full contribution, if a paying member one year, the sum of £5 shall be paid to his widow or friends towards defraying his funeral expenses; two years and upwards, £10; and on the death of a member's lawful wife, if a paying member one year, £3; two years and upwards, £6; and these payments to be paid for one wife only.' ¹

Between September 1858 and May 1882 594 widows (or relatives) received the Death allowance on the death of glass makers in the Society as a whole. ²

The achievement of friendly benefits was an important feature of the "New Model" unions. The A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J. had the full range of benefits: funeral sickness, superannuation, accident, unemployment donation and strike pay. In 1869 Boilermakers and Iron Shipwrights, Ironfounders, Steam Engine Makers, and Operative Stonemasons also had the full range of benefits. ³ Some other unions had some but not full benefits. The F.G.M.F.S. had almost full friendly benefits and death funds except accident benefits. Strike pay was, as already shown, not abolished but absorbed into the unemployment allowance. ⁴ The rate of allowance of the F.G.M.F.S. was approximately

¹Ibid., 1874, Rule XXX-1.

²Compiled from the Quarterly Report of Death Fund published in F.G.M.M. in the period concerned. The main causes of death of flint glass makers were Consumption 10.9%, Bronchitis 11.7%, Phthisis 7.2%, Heart 5.0% and Natural Decay 4.7% (17.3% of the total deaths did not have a cause of death.) (Calculated from the Quarterly Report, ibid.) In Stourbridge 95 widows (or relatives) received the death fund on their husband's death and 78 glass makers did so on their wife's death in the same period.

³See C.G. Hanson, op.cit., p. 248, Table I.

⁴See above pp. 186-87.

the same as that of the A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J., although, as the Table shows, there were small differences. For the unemployment allowance the F.G.M.F.S. paid a slightly higher rate over a longer period than the A.S.C.J. So far as superannuation was concerned both the A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J. paid slightly higher rates of allowance, but before they were eligible to receive the allowance, members of the A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J. needed to have had much longer spells of membership (18 years and 12 years respectively) than those of the F.G.M.F.S. (10 years). More than that, in the A.S.E. the minimum age of entitlement to the benefit was fixed at 50. Thus, it is clear that the F.G.M.F.S. was very much a "New Model" union so far as friendly benefits were concerned. When both the A.S.E. and A.S.C.J. were in substantial deficit as a result of payment of friendly benefits in the 1860s,¹ the F.G.M.F.S. was able to continue paying benefits to its members. The larger accumulated funds of the F.G.M.F.S. were clearly the key factor.

¹C.G. Hanson, op.cit., p. 252-3.

III. Emigration

Trade union emigration provides a controversial area in the labour history of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Charlotte Erickson insists that trade unions continued to encourage and to aid the emigration of their members over the period. She says: 'The old-established unions, such as Engineers, the Iron Founders, the Carpenters, and the Flint Glass Makers, continued to encourage the emigration of their members and to aid them to emigrate by making grants of money and by supplying useful information and advice.'¹ In contrast, R.V. Clements stresses that 'much of the information in union periodicals was unfavourable to emigration.' He says: 'Not only did unions like the Operative Bricklayers, which showed no great interest in the problem, print unfavourable communications from overseas, but others, like the Flint Glass Makers, did so quite frequently, urging members to stay at home when conditions abroad warranted it.'²

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century there were a number of ardent supporters of emigration among trade union leaders

¹Charlotte Erickson, *The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions, 1850-1900*, Population Studies, vol. III, 1949-50, p. 250. My emphasis.

²R.V. Clements, *Trade Unions and Emigration*, Population Studies, vol. ix, 1955, p. 170. My emphasis.

notably Alexander Campbell, Alexander MacDonald, George Potter and Joseph Arch. Some trade unions promoted emigration in the late 1840s and the 1850s. In the early 1850s the emigration scheme was a significant part of the policy of the F.G.M.F.S. This was partly due to William Gillinder, the first C.S. of the Society, who was enthusiastic about it. The Society resolved to establish the Emigrational Committee in 1849. Its object was 'to send the surplus hands to the United States, at the rate of six men per month for six months, or for a longer period, if necessary.'¹ By that time many flint glass makers had emigrated to Brooklyn, Pittsburg, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, where there was 'a pretty regular demand for skilled workmen from England.'² They were sent with a donation from the Emigration fund of £12. 10s. each. It seems likely that at least in the early 1850s the emigration scheme of the F.G.M.F.S. was guided by doctrines of orthodox political economy.³ The F.G.M.M. published a leading

¹Morning Chronicle, December 23 1850.

²Ibid.

³S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 201. Webb's view was followed by Stanley Johnson, (A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912, 1913, pp. 296-7) and C. Erickson. 'In their emigration theories trade union leaders accepted the wage-fund doctrine of Adam Smith and the ideas of Malthus and Mill on the need to check population growth.' (Charlotte, Erickson, op.cit., p. 250.) On the other hand, Clements says that 'trade union attitudes and policies regarding emigration were moulded by their interpretation of the strategic and tactical needs of their particular organizations as well as by their conception of the nature of trade unionism. They were not thereby persuaded to give to emigration the place in their policies suggested by commonly received contemporary economic theory.' (R.V. Clements, British Trade Unions and Popular Political Economy, 1850-1875, Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., vol. XIV, 1961, p. 93.)

article entitled 'Emigration as a means to an End.' After explaining that 'the scarcity of labour' was 'the great point which decides the price of our labour' the article ran:

'We consider that it ought to be the aim of the Society to ward off the evils of a surplus of labour, and to direct the members how to make the most use of brisk times. With this introduction we come to emigration, as the means of restoring the balance of bad and good times; it will accomplish what we have said, it is much better to spend £1000 on Emigration and get rid of the surplus labour altogether than to spend £1000 on the unemployed, to keep them at home to be used as a whip in bad times to make us submit to whatever an unprincipled manufacturer in his desire to monopolize the trade, may put on us.' ¹

Gillinder planned that £1000 'would send fifty men out of our surplus labour every year',² to Australia with £20 a head. He himself resigned the C.S. of the Society in 1854 in order to emigrate to America.

When the farewell party was held in the Oddfellows' Hall, Birmingham, on September 8 of that year, about 200 flint glass makers and their wives were gathered and they praised his decision. Benjamin Smart from Glasgow, noted inter alia that:

'Their friend, Mr. Gillinder, had always strongly advocated emigration, and now he was going to set the example. For himself, he looked on emigration as one of the best means of reducing surplus labour.' ³

Scholefield, a radical M.P. from Birmingham, also admired his decision:

'With regard to the question of emigration I must say, that if all the Societies in Birmingham could send missionaries as the glass-makers have done to distant

¹ F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 1. The article was probably written by Gillinder. See S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, ibid., p. 201, fn. 1.

² F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 2.

³ F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 101.

Countries, such as Mr. Gillinder to America, and Mr. Nixon to Australia - (cheers) - they would do an infinitude of good to those countries and the trade to which they belong.' ¹

After leaving England with his family, Gillinder started the Franklin Glass Company in Philadelphia in 1861 and began making pressed glass in 1863.² Gillinder's patented a new kind of blow pipe in 1865 which required less skill to use and made a drastic change in the production process in America.³ Thus the skilled artisan in blown flint glass making in England, who had opposed pressed glass making and had accused its promoter, Neville of Gateshead, of being an 'unprincipled' employer, turned into the successful pressed glass manufacturer in America.⁴ This was an example of the social elevation of a Labour aristocrat from a 'Staunch trade's Unionist' to an 'honourable and good employer'.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 104.

²Albert Christian Revi, American Pressed Glass and Figure Bottle, 1964, p. 163, and George S. and Helen MacKearin, American Glass, 1941, New York, p. 610. In 1961 "Gillinder Brothers, Incorporated" celebrated their centennial year. (Revi, ibid., p. 163) and it is now producing 'Blown and Pressed illuminating glass ware.' (American Glass Review, vol. 93, no. 8A, February 28 1973 - Glass Factory Directory Issue).

³Revi, ibid., pp. 10-11. The F.G.M.M. of 1866 introduced the new blow-pipe used by Gillinder and Sons: 'Workmen receive the molten substance in long pipes, from which they blow cylindrical forms, looking like bottles, that are subsequently pressed into various shapes. The rapidity with which this is done is marvellous. The Messrs. Gillinder are not only large capitalists, but eminently practical men and most courteous gentlemen.' (F.G.M.M., vol.VIII,p.281)

⁴Gillinder died on February 22 1871 at the age of 49. His obituary said: 'A little over sixteen years since Mr. Gillinder left the Birmingham District, comparatively poor in pocket, and after numerous cares and toils and struggles, he had just secured a first-class position in his adopted home, as a large manufacturer'. (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 1085).

⁵Ibid., p. 1085.

It should be admitted, however, that, in opposition to Gillinder, there was another view in the Society even in the early 1850s. This group questioned the validity of gigantic emigration schemes in reducing 'surplus labour' and recommended accumulating Society funds rather than spending on emigration. Certainly, the emigration scheme based on supply and demand theory was practical only when the barriers to prevent unskilled workers from coming into the trade were strong. In 1852 even the C.C. of the Society remarked in the address:

'At first our ideas fixed on a gigantic emigration scheme as best investment; but on referring to the unemployed list we came to the conclusion that emigration at present would only make room to bring new boys up to the trade. We therefore agree with the Edinburgh proposition that the present funds shall be invested in the names of three men.' ¹

A member of the Society, calling himself 'Truth and Justice', proposed in 1852 that:

'It (the rule on emigration) ought immediately to be taken into consideration by the trade, with a view to save our funds for more urgent purposes; for at present emigration of our members may benefit the individual who emigrates, but cannot benefit the trade, which is our principal object; for when men are not to be had in this country, emigration will only give an impetus to the rearing of apprentices, as we cannot expect men to work any length of time three-handed, and they will have to do that, or take an apprentice.' ²

¹ F.G.M.M., vol. I, p. 340.

² Ibid., p. 342.

Moreover, as Gillinder stated, 'some of the emigrants soon afterwards got "home sickness"; for, after stopping abroad about two months, they came back, and like the spies in Scripture, brought back a bad report.'¹ These different views come from a different understanding of the term "surplus labour". As R.V. Clements points out 'When emigration was discussed, it was nearly always with reference to "the surplus members of our trade," with little or no examination of the meaning of "surplus".² Therefore, it is wrong to pick up one view out of these two opposite views on emigration existing in the Society and to emphasize one side more than the other.³

As Table 5:9 shows there were 24 emigrants between 1852 and 1856. However the high period of emigration ended in the final year. Society funds came to be accumulated, not for emigration, but mainly for Friendly benefits. Consequently, support for emigration disappeared from the columns of the Magazine. At the time of the strike and lock-out in the flint glass trade in 1858-59 no emigrants appeared, partly because of the Society's lack of funds caused by the strike, and partly because of the solidarity of flint glass makers in time of struggle.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 109.

²R.V. Clements, English Trade Unions and the Problems of Emigration, B. Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1953, p. 134.

³The Webbs disregarded the opposition to emigration among glass makers. Sidney Webb quoted from the Magazine in his note that 'a scheme of emigration... is a failure', (S. Webb, Flint Glass Makers, MSS, op.cit., p. 232.) but this quotation was not taken into consideration in either the History of Trade Unionism nor Industrial Democracy.

TABLE 5:9 Emigration of Flint Glass Makers between 1852 and 1881.

Year	No. of Emigrants	America	Destination Australia	Unknown
1852	3	3	0	0
53	5	3	0	2
54	5	3	0	2
55	1	1	0	0
56	10	0	0	10
57	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0
60	1	0	0	1
61	0	0	0	0
62	1	0	0	1
63	3	0	0	3
64	1	0	0	1
65	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0
67	1	1	0	0
68	0	0	0	0
69	5	1	4	0
70	6	1	5	0
71	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0
77	1	1	0	0
78	1	1	0	0
79	11	9	2	0
80	4	4	0	0
81	0	0	0	0
Totals	59	27	11	21

Source: Compiled from the Quarterly Report (Districts) of the F.G.M.F.S.; in F.G.M.M., vol. I-IX.

The movement for emigration revived in the second half of the 1860s, although the destination changed from America to Australia. In 1868-69 the C.C. of the Society restricted emigration to America, because of depression there.¹ In March 1868 the C.C. of the Society told the membership that:

'the society is broken up in New York, and the men are undermining one another to a great extent; casto-place workmen's wages are reduced from 45 dollars to 38 and 30, and they have to work from Monday morning to Saturday dinner, and when they receive the money it does not go far. My advice to those in England who have anything to do is, stay where you are.'²

Instead, the C.C. of the Society encouraged members to emigrate to Australia by offering higher grants for workers prepared to go to that country. Emigrants to America got £6 10s. and those to Australia got £10 10s.³ The C.C. of the Society explained the background of the discrimination when the C.C. proposed it in June 1869:

'Even America, with all her greatness, has become in a measure well stocked with our class of artisans; and we have heard of many complaints of slack trade from our friends there during the last twelve months;

¹The F.G.M.M. had already published two letters from America, which aimed to persuade members of the Society to remain in England. One came from the Glassmakers Union of Brooklyn, New York and New Jersey (June 1865), and another from the Flint Glassmakers of the United States (March 1866).

²F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 258.

³In 1852 the emigration grants had been reduced from £12 10s to £8 10s. which had been paid irrespective of destination. So the 1869 amendment decreased the grant for Emigrants to America from £8 10s to £6 10s and increased that for those to Australia from £8 10s to £10 10s. provided they had been members of the Society over five years. (£6 10s. in the case of three years).

and as there appears to be far brighter prospects offering themselves in Australia, the trade now having obtained a footing there, we propose to lower the grant for America and offer extra inducement to go out to Australia.' ¹

In March 1868 the C.C. of the Society refused to give grants to ten applicants wishing to emigrate to America. ² One year later, in March 1869 the C.C. again 'refused the grant to several who desired it, believing that by their going they would do no good for themselves, and in all probability would end in their returning home again, and thus becoming no permanent relief to the surplus labour in our trade.' ³ As a result, in three years between 1868 and 1870 no members emigrated to America. As Table 5.9 shows, the revival of emigration for Australia took place in 1869 and 1870. ⁴ It should be added that an emigrant

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 646.

²Ibid., p. 258.

³Ibid., p. 586. Erickson regards the F.G.M.F.S. as a typical union with discriminatory emigration grants. She says that 'In view of the higher fare to Australia this kind of rule did not work to the detriment of emigration to the United States.' (Charlotte Erickson, op.cit., p. 264). Since she was able to use only the third edition of the Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S. of 1879 but not the F.G.M.M., she failed to realise the motive and the results of this discrimination in grants. On the other hand, R.V. Clements rightly points out that in 1869 'the Flint Glass Makers revised their rules to increase the attractiveness of Australia as compared with America, since there would be less likelihood of return thence. (R.V. Clements, English Trade Unions and the Problems of Emigration, op.cit., p. 135). The differential grants scheme was proposed by the C.C. of the Society in June 1869 and soon after it was carried by the voting of all members of the Society - 1219 for and 368 against. (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, pp. 760-1).

⁴The evidence does not entirely support the Webbs' assertion that the abandonment of the emigration policy among the trade unions continued until 1872 when it was revived. (S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 102.) The support for an emigration scheme by the Junta and its allies was almost entirely concentrated in 1869 and 1870. Bate, the secretary to the National

could retain honorary membership by paying 10s. per annum, if he wanted to do so. But in no case was super-annuation or death money paid to this special class. Unlike engineers, pattern makers and stone masons, honorary membership for emigrants in the F.G.M.F.S. was entirely nominal.¹

In the first half of the 1870s the revival ended. The rule regarding emigration remained unchanged during the decade. But the more directly glass makers felt the menace of foreign competition, the more strongly they reacted to the Emigration scheme, because they thought that the skilled glass makers who emigrated only produced articles of high quality abroad which were encroaching upon the British market. After 1870 until 1877 articles relating to emigration appeared surprisingly rarely in the Magazine. The leading article in the F.G.M.M. in November 1874 concluded that:

'This is a grave mistake, to drive men to seek a living in a foreign land, - to take their labour, skill, and experience of years, and all at once give the new country the benefit of the better part of a life-time spent in anxious care, experiments, and perhaps a fortune; the great balance of advantage in such cases falling to the latter, with no corresponding return.'²

Emigration Aid Society spoke before the T.U.C. in 1869, and on the consulting committee of the reformed Bee-Hive in 1870, along with Allan, Applegarth, and Potter was Edward Jenkins, the secretary of the National Emigration League (R.V. Clement, ibid., p. 92), but Joseph Leicester was critical of the Emigration scheme.

¹For instance, the A.S.E. members going abroad could keep their funeral and accident allowance by paying a contribution after 1850 and could retain membership and benefits by joining a branch of the Society abroad after 1857. See Erickson, op.cit., p. 267, fn. 2.

²F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, p. 4.

In spite of the criticism of emigration voiced in the Magazine, it began to increase again when depression returned to the glass trade in 1877, (Table 5:9) particularly in 1879, when there were 11 emigrants, most of them going to America. Out of 17 men who emigrated between 1877 and 1880 8 men had been suffering long-term unemployment.¹ Even before this it is notable that each peak in the number of emigrants (in 1856, 1863 and 1869-70) took place soon after the worst unemployment (in 1855-56, 1861-62 and 1869-70).² Although the emigration scheme of the F.G.M.F.S. was theoretically guided by doctrines of orthodox political economy particularly in the early 1850s, and the practical motive for some (not all) emigrants seems to have been to escape unemployment. The Districts from which emigrants came are interesting. (Table 5:10). In the same period 13 men came from Manchester, 11 from Birmingham, 8 from Glasgow, but only 3 came from Stourbridge. Between 1877 and 1880 7 men came from Manchester, but nobody came from Stourbridge, probably because the Manchester flint glass trade was damaged more severely by the depression than the Stourbridge industry. What is clear is that, in comparison to other

¹Out of these 17 emigrants, 8 men were unemployed, 6 were employed and 3 were unknown. The period of unemployment of the 8 men was respectively, 63 weeks (Servitor), 58 weeks (Workman), 58 weeks (Melter), 38 weeks (Servitor), 26 weeks (Workman), 17 weeks (Servitor), 52 weeks (unknown), and 9 weeks (unknown). These figures are obtained by tracing names of emigrants in the Quarterly Report from Districts and the list of receivers of unemployment allowance each quarter in the same period.

²R.V. Clements suggests that 'In 1854 the Glass Makers' executive supported emigration assistance "as the means of restoring the balance of good and bad times", but later encouragement of emigration was by no means closely related to fluctuations in the economy. Discussion was stimulated, but action seldom followed. (R.V. Clements, English Trade Unions and the Problems of Emigration, op.cit., p. 137.) But he contended so without investigating the relations between the actual numbers of emigrants of flint glass makers and the trade cycle of the flint glass industry. His view must be revised, although it is right to say that 'Discussion was stimulated but action seldom followed.'

trade unions which encouraged emigration in the third quarter of the century, the number of emigrants from the F.G.M.F.S. was very small.¹ It is therefore misleading to regard the F.G.M.F.S. as enthusiastic emigraters by quoting the emigration policies often described in the F.G.M.M., as the Webbs have done. What the Webbs did not do was to count the actual number of emigrants.

TABLE 5:10 Districts from which Emigrants came between 1852 and 1881

District	No. of emigrants	District	No. of emigrants
Manchester	13	York	1
Birmingham	11	Newcastle	1
Glasgow	8	Dublin	1
Belfast	5	Shelton	1
St. Helens	4	Kilnhurst	1
Stourbridge	3	Bolton	1
London	2	Edinburgh	1
Hunslet	2	Newton-Le-Willows	1
Dudley	2	Warrington	1
		Totals	59

Source: Compiled from the Quarterly Report (Districts) of the F.G.M.F.S.; in F.G.M.M., vol. I-IX.

¹ Whereas the Ironfounders' Society, one of the most ardent unions in favour of emigration spent £4,700 on it between 1854 and 1874, the F.G.M.F.S. spent only £306 between 1852-1874. (For the figures of glass makers, calculated from the Quarterly Report (Districts) of the F.G.M.F.S.)

IV. Co-operative Production

Flint glass makers were involved in the discussion of co-operative production in the early 1850s. This coincided with the rise of the national movement for the association of producers. Although the scheme devised by the flint glass makers was not eventually put into practice, it is still valuable to examine the formulation of the plan because it illustrates the ideology of flint glass makers as Labour aristocrats.

The first proposal for co-operative production in the flint glass trade was made by the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. at the end of 1851. The proposal was to set up a glass manufactory with a capital of £500 first and then to 'set as many of our unemployed to work as were needed, under the management and control of a Director and Committee, to be employed at the works.'¹ Co-operative production was thought as 'a means of absorbing the unemployed.' Undoubtedly, flint glass makers were strongly influenced by the numerous attempts at setting up self-governing workshops for tailors, shoemakers, builders, piano-makers, printers, smiths and bakers in the early 1850s.² The Christian Socialists J.M. Ludlow, Maurice, Kingsley, Neale, Hughes and others had formed themselves into the 'Society for Promoting Working

¹F.G.M.M., vol. 1, p. 133.

²Beatrice Potter, The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain, 1904 edition, p. 122. See also Strikes and Industrial Co-operation, in Westminster Review, vol. 25, 1864, pp. 258-9.

Men's Association in the autumn of 1849 and they 'were advocating with an almost apostolic fervour the formation of associations of producers, in which groups of working men were to become their own employers.'¹ The F.G.M.M. briefly introduced the Association to its readers in 1851.² 'The elimination of the entrepreneur was Buchez's idea, from which the Christian Socialists' model sprang. Buchez limited the application of his scheme to artisans 'whose capital was skill, and who used tools and not machines.'³ The English followers of Buchez experimented in industries already mentioned, which had not been transformed by the use of machinery. In this sense, flint glass making which was dependant on relatively simple tools presented an encouraging field for experiments in co-operative production. One of the observers from the newly organised A.S.E. participated in the flint glass makers' conference held in Stourbridge in May 1852 and indicated the advantages of setting up co-operative flint glass manufactories.

'The glass trade is beset by much fewer difficulties than fall to the lot of other business. To start a small experiment would require but little capital, and the market is already created. Everybody wants

¹S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, op.cit., p. 225.

²F.G.M.M., vol. 1, p. 172.

³Quoted in Beatrice Potter, op.cit., pp. 120-1.

glass, every Co-operative store could and would act as agents for the sale of goods manufactured by a Co-operative glass works. We shall look forward with some anxiety to the promised scheme.' ¹

The prospect of 'the nobility of the land, including Her Majesty the Queen'visiting the local 'Co-op' to purchase items of 'taste, richness and beauty' gives fresh colour to this familiar utopia.

Opinions expressed by the members of the Society after the first proposal of the C.C. can be classified into two main groups. One group supported the scheme. They believed that, in the short run, it would work as a means of absorbing the unemployed and that, in the long run, a new economic order would emerge based on co-operative production as an alternative to existing society. A member of the Society, who called himself 'Mentor', proposed that it should collect £5000 with 1000 shares from the members of the Society and borrow £5000 from outside. With £10,000, five twelve-pot furnaces would be started and gradually expanded 'till we have the whole of the trade centred in the workmen.'² His idea was 'the elimination of the

¹The Operative, 1852, p. 447. It is interesting that the flint glass makers' conference should attract the attention of the engineers. Early in 1851 both Newton and Allan approached the Christian Socialists for advice on how best to use their surplus funds and they had drawn up the scheme for purchasing the Winsor Iron Works in Liverpool which would run on co-operative principles. Charles E. Raven wrote in 1920 that 'The leaders of the A.S.E. were then (in 1851), as now, the aristocracy of Labour, intelligent and progressive, ready and able to make experiments for the reform of their industry. And association offered possibilities which they were not slow to grasp.' (Charles E. Raven, Christian Socialism, 1848-1854, 1920, p. 234). See also, J.B. Jefferys, The Story of the Engineers, 1800-1945, 1945, pp. 33-4, pp. 42-4.

²F.G.M.M., vol. 1, p. 235.

entrepreneur'. When the scheme was accomplished, in Mentor's words, 'the lever would then be in our own hands - the miserable uncertainty which a working glass-maker feels of his situation being permanent would then vanish - the feeling of servility and dependence which now pervades our mass as a body would then change into self-respect; in fact, there is no trade in the world that has the chance we have to free ourselves from the thralldom of capital as it is used at present.'¹

A second group rejected the scheme. The earlier Owenite failures cast a dark shadow. The attitude of this group is represented by a Stourbridge member of the Society.

'This great question, Co-operation, has occupied the attention of some of the philosophers and philanthropists in nearly all ages and countries, but still seems to have made little or no progress. Some political economists did, after repeated challenges, discuss the subject with him (Robert Owen). Not one of them could show any impracticability in his plan, because his conclusions were drawn with nearly mathematical accuracy. He put his theory into practice, with his own funds. After that, he found others with capital to join him in his great scheme.... (As a result) a great many lost large sums of money.'²

This group also questioned the validity of co-operative production as a means of absorbing the unemployed. Another member of the Society, called 'Benjamin Franklin', of Manchester, contended that 'there is too much glass manufactured at present, and that on our part it would only be aggravating the evil.'³ He emphasised the reality of the competitive

¹Ibid.

²F.G.M.M., vol. II, p. 385.

³Ibid.

society:

'We should only be another competitor entering the lists of competition; and it would not answer any purpose whatever as regards the unemployed, because the amount of capital proposed would not employ above ten or twelve men.' ¹

However, the annual conference of the Society held in Stourbridge in May 1852 was in general well disposed towards the co-operative production scheme. The conference decided to leave William Gillinder to draft plans for undertaking it.² But no practical results came of it. Three years later, in 1855, the Glasgow conference of the Society resolved that 'the conference agree with the principle of co-operation, but owing to the present unsatisfactory state of the law of partnership, think it would be dangerous to adopt this principle at present.'³ The enthusiasm of some glass makers in the early decade had disappeared. Four factors were mainly responsible for this disappearance. First, the Christian Socialists gave up their task in despair after three or four years of devoted effort, so that flint glass makers were influenced by the waning national movement for co-operative production. Second, the legal position of trade societies which prevented them from holding property was obviously an obstacle. Third, the rapidly

¹Ibid.

²The Operative, 1852, p. 447. The F.G.M.M. made reference to the fact that William Gillinder 'promised shortly to lay before the trade a prospectus for the formation of a joint stock company'. (The Operative, vol. I, p. 185), probably because Gillinder, the C.S. of the Society and the editor of the Magazine, did not or could not draft the plan.

³Minutes of a conference held at Glasgow in 1855, in Trades' Societies and Strikes, 1860, op.cit., p. 122.

expanding financial resources of the Society made it possible to take care of the unemployed, who were earlier expected to be absorbed in co-operative production. Finally, potential opposition and scepticism to co-operative production still existed among some glass makers.

However when a large number of glass makers were thrown out of employment as a result of the great strike and lock-out in 1858-59, it was not surprising that the scheme was revived. A project for forming a 'Joint Stock Company' for the manufacture of flint glass in Stourbridge was approved at the conference held on December 31 1858 and January 1 1859. Efforts were made to raise a capital of £5000 by 500 shares of £10 each¹ and 'suitable premises could readily have been obtained, and 50 shares were immediately taken up in the Stourbridge District.'² But the funds collected were small and they were soon exhausted, because they were used to support the members on strike. The scheme was ephemeral and faded away.³

¹ Godfrey Lushington, op.cit., p. 110.

² F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 8.

³ About eighteen years later, in 1877, this project was recalled as follows:

'However good and just the cause may be, in working out such enterprises, they must be placed upon surer foundations than the sudden resolve brought into existence by the bitter antagonism of capital and labour.'

(Ibid.)

It revived in the mid-1860s. The Edinburgh conference of the F.G.M.F.S. held on June 4 1867 was of special significance with reference to co-operation. In March of that year the leading article of the F.G.M.M. declared that "The investment of our funds - a banking and industrial co-operation - will form a most important subject for the Conference, and if the Conference can see their way clear to the adoption of the latter, it will be the beginning of a revolution in our trade, which will, if successful, alter our position as a Trades' Union, and make us in reality what we are sometimes called in derision - "Gentleman Glassmakers".¹

This revival of interest in co-operative production is not too difficult to explain. In the first place, during 1865-66 'a stir and activity in the individualist camp of Co-operators² occurred after the suspension of the activities of the Christian Socialists. An impetus was also given to the co-operative movement by the Briggs' profit-sharing scheme introduced into their collieries in 1866. All this had an impact on the thinking of flint glass makers. W.H. Packwood, a leading advocate of the co-operative movement in the F.G.M.F.S., had communicated with Thomas Hughes on this matter before attending the Edinburgh conference. Second, the legal obstacle preventing trade

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, pp. 910-1.

²B. Potter, op.cit., p. 133.

societies from holding property had been removed by the Industrial and Provident Society's Act in 1862. Alexander Campbell, called this Act 'the charter of British workmen, as it allowed any number of persons above seven to become an incorporation to carry on any business except mining and banking with limited liability.'¹ Thus the legal way to co-operative production had been opened up. Third, and more directly, the scheme was motivated by the 'low rate of interest obtained from banks on our fund.' W.H. Packwood stated at the Edinburgh conference that:

'the proposition had originated from a correspondence with the C.C. on the low rate of interest from bankers, for which some proposed to invest a portion of their funds in mortgage and building houses, but he now wished them to consider calmly the propriety of investing some of their capital in an industrial co-operative glass manufactory. (Hear hear)'²

The rapidly accumulated funds of the Society in the 1860s led glass makers to consider the establishment of co-operative production once again. It is notable that this time the motive of absorbing the unemployed, a feature of the early 1850s, was lacking and it was the problem of the low rate of interest which motivated the Society. W.H. Packwood and Joseph Leicester in particular, took the initiative.

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 990.

²Glasgow Sentinel, June 15 1867.

Packwood said that 'he was in favour of uniting capital and labour under co-operative arrangements, which, if conducted with skill and energy, he had no doubt in'.¹ Alexander Campbell was solicited, as an "old Co-operator", to give the meeting the benefit of his experience on Co-operative Industry.² The conference eventually resolved that 'In order to commence a capital for individual industrial co-operative glass manufacture, the members of this conference agree to express their earnestness and sincerity by taking shares.'³ The shares were £1 each.

Soon after, in September of that year, W.H. Packwood addressed the Society on co-operation proposing that 'no member take less than three shares. The shares can be paid for as low as three-pence per week.'⁴ Immediately the London District approved of this decision and Joseph Leicester, 'took names for 63 shares and ready money to the amount of 27 sterling.'⁵ The other Districts did not follow the London District's enthusiasm however. About a year later, in November 1868, Alexander Campbell wrote in his letter to J.C. Traill, secretary of the Trade Union Commission that "The Flint-glassmakers' Society of Great Britain and Ireland" are now also raising funds to be applied

¹Ibid.

²Glasgow Sentinel, July 20 1867.

³F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 1044.

⁴Ibid.

⁵F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 19.

in carrying on their craft on the co-operative principle,¹ but still the scheme failed to take off.

Despite almost full preparation for the establishment of co-operative production, it was not accomplished. Neither the practical side of this scheme nor its ideological content could muster sufficient support. W.H. Packwood had stated in his address that 'The external principles embodied in co-operation are destined, by sober thought and wise management, to raise the artisans of this country to a condition of prosperity, and elevate them to a nobly intelligent and well-to-do position in society.'²

'We regard it (co-operative production) as a means of leading to our social and intellectual advancement, and as the means of realizing that economic and commercial knowledge that we cannot otherwise possess, and which will prove the means of preventing many mistaken strikes, and the only true means of ascertaining a proper estimate for the remuneration of our labour arising out of the profits resulting from the combined efforts of capital and labour.'³

This appeal corresponded well enough with the aspirations of the Stourbridge glass makers and those of some leading members in the Society. But for other glass makers it might sound like a merely Utopian idea. They feared that the scheme was a risky way of investing

¹ Letter from Alexander Campbell, dated November 25 1865, regarding the revised Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1867; in R.C. on Trade Unions, 11th and Final Report, 1868-69, vol. II, (P.P. XXXI) p. 343, no. XII.

² F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 19.

³ Ibid.

the funds of the Society. They chose a more cautious road. They hoped that their social position might be elevated with the existing system, but never thought of a system without the Entrepreneur.

In contrast, the glass cutters adopted a different stance. There was a long dispute between the Executive of the Cutters' Society and the Wordsley branch. 'During the great strike of 1865' the branch proposed to start a Co-operative shop to employ some of the men on strike. They appealed for permission and were authorised to borrow £100 and start but not to use Union funds. Being unable to borrow the £100 they used £45 of the Society's money.'¹ The executive regarded the co-operative production as separate and distinct from the Trade Society and not at all entitled to use its funds.'² The Executive demanded repayment, so that the Wordsley branch collected shares and started their scheme in 1868 in the name of the 'Stourbridge Provident Flint Glass Manufactory Society.'³

G. Laughton, Wordsley secretary of the Cutters' Society, wrote with hope in April 1868:

'We have at the present time upwards of 800 shares taken up, a great many of which are paid up. We have bought and paid for nearly £200 worth of material. We have men employed cutting patterns, and hope in a short time to be able to supply the public with a class of work equal in every respect to the first houses in the trade, and on better terms than any house in the trade. We have the advantage of procuring the best skilled labour of the trade, and can get it at any time.'⁴

¹S. Webb, Flint Glass Cutters, MSS, op.cit., p. 355.

²Ibid.

³Brierley Hill Advertiser, April 25 1868. The Cutters' Society succeeded in securing the Park Field Glass Works, near Stourbridge, lately carried on by G. Robinson of Wolverhampton. (ibid.)

⁴Ibid.

The shares were £1 each and were paid up by instalments as low as 3d. per week per share. Although no information about the number employed in the factory is obtainable, £800, if all shares were collected, meant that the factory was relatively small. This factory exhibited its products, together with those from other glass factories in the area at the annual festival held by the Glass Makers and Cutters Societies on July 6 1868.¹ But it was short-lived. By the end of that year it had been closed as a failure.² Flint glass makers in Stourbridge and its neighbourhood strongly supported the factory and proposed 'that £200 be loaned from our Trade's Fund to the Flint Glass Cutters' Industrial Co-operation Association, Stourbridge, for twelve months, at five per cent interest.'³ The result of voting for this proposal by the whole membership of the F.G.M.F.S. was 579 for and 946 against and consequently the proposal was withdrawn.⁴ The glass makers might think that the glass cutters' scheme was risky.

¹Brierley Hill Advertiser, July 11 1868.

²S. Webb, Flint Glass Cutters, MSS, op.cit., p. 356. 'The Society has £25 invested as a loan which is to be repaid in full, also £25 in shares which will have to bear their share of loss (ibid.) The name of the factory immediately disappeared from the local directory, Kelly's Post Office Directory, 1868; as suggested in H.J. Haden, op.cit., p. 33.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 253.

⁴Stourbridge (294) and London (50) supported the proposition, but Birmingham (294), Edinburgh (60), Glasgow (78) and Rotherham (65), opposed it. The Manchester District was divided, 76 for and 78 against (5). (Ibid.)

As with other policies, it would be a mistake to think that the glass makers had united or settled opinions about co-operative production. Opinion changed over time and in accordance with specific circumstances even as it differed from one region to another. But the great obstacle was not that co-operative production was seen as too utopian, but that it was not seen as utopian enough. If co-operation promised nothing more than "Gentlemen Glassmakers", then that end might be attained by less risky and more well tried methods: through securing accumulated reserves and improving friendly society benefits. It was the very practicality of co-operative production as conceived and presented by its advocates, which deprived it of the chance of being weighed upon a more favourable set of scales and not being found wanting. Great adventures are not to be expected from men with pedestrian ambitions.

Chapter VI The Flint Glass Makers and the Labour Movement

I. Joseph Leicester and Alexander Campbell.

This chapter is concerned with the relations between the F.G.M.F.S. and the national Labour Movement. The way in which the F.G.M.F.S. had points of contact with the national movement was necessarily regulated by many factors such as the regional distribution of membership, the organisational state of each District of the Society and the policies of the Society, which I have examined in the preceding chapters. Particularly the location of the C.C. of the Society, which, in principle, moved every three years, played an important role in linking the Society with the national movement or breaking its links with it. At the same time, it is a mistake to disregard the roles of bridge-building figures in the Society, notably Joseph Leicester and Alexander Campbell. The examination both of the structure and policies of the Society and personal activities of such members will make clear the extent to which the F.G.M.F.S. not only acted upon the development of the national Labour Movement but responded to its development. Therefore, after giving some account of Leicester and Campbell, I intend to examine the main problems of the Labour Movement in which the F.G.M.F.S. was involved in the 1860s.

A reader who suffers from the fashionable impatience with the old, narrowly "institutional" labour history may find the following pages tediously familiar. However, the intention is to furnish a critique of the Webbs: to demonstrate that in their great History of trade unionism they used the flint glass makers in a rather

unscrupulous manner. Whenever it suited their purpose Sidney and Beatrice exploited them to establish the reality of their "New Spirit" and "New Model". At the same time they carefully concealed the disconcerting fact that the glass makers' best known leaders and representatives were the allies of Potter rather than of the Junta. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate this and - using what has already been established about the nature of the trade and the structure of the F.G.M.F.S. - to explain it.

Joseph Leicester was born in Warrington in 1825. He suffered as a child from having a drunken father.¹ He started to work at the glass trade at nine years of age. 'Although his education, at an old-fashioned parish school, had been scanty, he was a voracious reader, possessed a close acquaintance with the English classics and works on economics, and had accumulated a considerable library.'² He was an attentive and appreciative listener to the addresses of the early temperance advocates who visited Warrington and became a teetotaler after hearing a lecture by Joseph Livesey. Leicester refused to pay a footing which had been customary in the glass trade. He recalled:

'Never shall I forget the first time I refused to pay a footing. The men all gathered round me, some in

¹Brian Harrison, Dictionary of British Temperance Biography, published by the Society for the Study of Labour History, 1973, p. 78.

²H.J. Powell, Glass-Making in England, op.cit., pp. 136-7.

furious rage, others trying to persuade me. One took up a bar of iron and swore he would kill me if I did not pay; but I stood my ground alone and without a friend. After being out of work three years, and having tramped the country round to get a situation, I still found it was in vain.' 1

The first conference which Leicester attended was that of the old Society held in Manchester in 1847. John Roberts, a hosier and draper and a secretary to the Testimonial Fund for Leicester, recalled in 1870:

'A strike had taken place in the factory where he (Leicester) worked and though others had turned on the side of the oppressor, he stood by the few against the oppressor. Bribes were offered, in the shape of promotion, if he would sell himself; but the bribes could not purchase him, and so, houseless, homeless, and penniless, he tramped the kingdom with a character in his pocket.' 2

In 1850 he moved to Tutbury and in 1853 to London.³ There he was employed in Powell's Whitefriars Glass Works, which was, together with the Falcon Works, the major flint glass factory in London.

¹ P.T. Winskill, The Temperance Movement and Its Workers, vol. II, 1891, p. 259.

² F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 924.

³ P.T. Winskill, op.cit., p. 260. The brief company history of Powell's wrote that 'The Whitefriars works have had at least one famous blower. This was Joseph Leicester, M.P.' (Herbert Furst, The Whitefriars Glass Works' Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, reprinted from Apollo Magazine, November 1930, p. 5.) Leicester himself told the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1868 that 'I work at Messrs. Powell's, in Whitefriars, and I have worked there for 20 years.' (R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report, op.cit., p. 38, Q. 18800). Therefore, there is a gap in the year of Leicester's coming to London between Winskill and himself.

Soon after, he became a District secretary of the F.G.M.F.S., but he failed to become the C.S., although he was a candidate in 1863.¹ The relatively small membership of the London District placed Leicester at a disadvantage.² However, because he was living in London, he had many chances to associate with leading trade unionists. By the early 1860s he became a close friend of George Potter. In 1858 Potter, as chairman of the Progressive Society of Carpenters and Joiners, had revived the nine-hour movement among carpenters and then acted as secretary of the Building Trades Conference. He was achieving a national reputation as a trade union leader. In 1859 Leicester supported Potter at a meeting of the building societies of London. Leicester asked the working men whether Potter looked like a demagogue:

'It was a falsehood, for when that document was put forward, thousands with one voice rose up to oppose it. (cheers) Why, when Cobden and Bright rose against the infamous corn laws, the same things were said of them that were now so freely applied to Mr. Potter and the Executive committee.'³

Leicester was typical of the elite of union leaders. But, according to Harry Gosling, 'though a trade unionist he was a keen individualist.'⁴ He was a well-known leader of the temperance

¹ Many historians have described Leicester as a General Secretary of the F.G.M.F.S. For instance, F.E. Gillespie, Labour and Politics in England, 1850-1867, Durham, N.C., 1927, p. 258.

² At the 1863 election, Leicester collected 231 votes from London and Manchester out of a total of 1204 votes. (F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 640).

³ Reynolds's Newspaper, September 18 1859.

⁴ Harry Gosling, Up and Down Stream, 1927, p. 11.

movement and induced the F.G.M.F.S. to abolish drink fines in 1859.¹ He was active in the Band of Hope and became one of its committee, in Holland Street, Blackfriars, 'They did a good mission work, and proved that men who worked in hot factories or at hot furnaces could not only do their work without any intoxicating liquors, but were made better by total abstinence.'² On most Sundays in the 1860s Leicester spoke on temperance outside the Old Vic in the New Cut. According to Gosling, 'He wore a frock coat, a silk hat and white cravat, and he carried gloves. He was quite dandy, and used to tell his audience that he could afford these things because he was a teetotaler. His proudest boast was that he had been able to buy a piano with the money that another man would have spent on drink.'³ In the glass house he wore nothing but a pair of pants and slippers. 'You stand in front of a furnace all day - what do you drink?' he was asked. 'I drink water', he replied. 'Doesn't it make you sick?' 'I have seen a man sick outside a public house, but never by the side of a pump.'⁴

¹Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, 1971, p. 309.

²P.T. Winskill, op.cit., p. 260.

³Harry Gosling, op.cit., p. 11.

⁴Ibid., p. 12.

He was also a pianist. 'He was a glass-blower by trade, pianist and temperance advocate by vocation... When he was not at work or preaching temperance he was at the piano. Morning, noon, and night he would play if he was at home, and though he knew no music he had an excellent ear.'¹

In July 1870 Leicester was presented with a testimonial and a purse containing £100 from the F.G.M.F.S.² The Bee-Hive reported the establishment of the committee and wrote: 'We recommend him as being an honest, courageous, and intelligent unionist, one who has done more than any man we know for the furtherance of those views which are so precious to working men. Mr. Leicester is not a friend of yesterday; his life has been one of devotion to those principles which will ultimately conduce to the happiness of that class of which he is so noble an ornament.'³ Not only glass makers but manufacturers subscribed to the testimonial.⁴ The ceremony held at Prince William Henry Hotel, Blackfriars Road, in London on July 27 1870 was a memorable one in the history of the F.G.M.F.S.⁵ It was attended by George Potter, Daniel Guile of the Ironmoulders' Society, John Jones

¹ Harry Gosling, op.cit., p. 12.

² F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 921.

³ Bee-Hive, October 23 1869.

⁴ Ibid., November 6 1869. For instance, Arthur Powell of the Whitefriars Glass Works, Leicester's employer, donated £1. 1s.

⁵ The testimonial meeting was reported elaborately in the F.G.M.M., vol. VI, pp. 921-33.

of the Liverpool Victoria Friendly Society and many delegates from the Districts of the F.G.M.F.S. Several letters came from M.P.s, including Gladstone. The Prime Minister regretted that his position prevented him from subscribing, but spoke "in the highest terms of the sense and intellectual abilities of Mr. Leicester."¹

When in 1871 the third T.U.C. established the first "Parliamentary Committee", Leicester was appointed one of the Committee members, together with George Howell, George Potter, Lloyd Johnes and Alexander MacDonald.² "The name of J. Leicester has a reputation outside the Glass Makers' Society, and the long and many good services he has rendered the trade, are only equalled by his consistent and earnest efforts in the cause of the political emancipation of his fellow working-men, whenever he has had the opportunity to eloquently and fearlessly advocate their cause."³ At the general election in November 1885 he was elected Liberal M.P. for West Ham, together with ten other "Labour" members. But at the next election in June 1886 he was defeated.⁴

In comparison to Leicester, the life of Alexander Campbell is already well known.⁵ Hence I will record only the friction between

¹Ibid., p. 924. The sums received from M.P.s was upwards of £20. (ibid., p. 930.)

²F.M. Leventhal, Respectable Radical, 1971, p. 151.

³F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 734.

⁴A.W. Humphrey, A History of Labour Representation, 1912, p. 192, Appendix III. He got 982 votes out of a total poll of 6072 electors. (ibid.) See also G.D.H. Cole, British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914, 1941, p. 99, 101.

⁵For instance, W.H. Marwick, Alexander Campbell, Glasgow, 1963.

the F.G.M.F.S. and the Glasgow Trades Council, which took place when he was accepted by the Society as an honorary member.

The Glasgow Trades Council was founded on May 13 1858. Although many historians have followed the Webbs in regarding Campbell as 'the virtual founder of the Glasgow Trades Council'¹ he was only 'a reporter for the Sentinel in which capacity he was given the right to speak but not to vote.'² The flint glass makers affiliated and were entitled to send two members to the Council.³ However, the peculiar pattern of working hours in flint glass making made it impossible to send the two every Wednesday night. Therefore, the Trades Council decided in June 1859 that 'on account of the special circumstances in which the Glass blowers are placed, they be allowed to appoint delegates, though not members of their own body, provided they are members of a trade represented in this Council.'⁴ The F.G.M.F.S. chose Alexander Campbell as a representative. He was an old Owenite and a journalist of Glasgow and one of an older generation of labour leaders who were not reconciled to capitalism. On December 3

¹S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 251-52, fn. 1. For instance, Johnston followed the Webbs' view. See Thomas Johnston, The History of the Working Classes in Scotland, Glasgow, 1929, p. 385.

²W.H. Marwick, Scottish Social Pioneers, VI - Alexander Campbell, in Scottish Educational Journal, February 26 1932, p. 261.

³Glasgow Sentinel, December 24 1859.

⁴Ibid.

1859 the F.G.M.F.S. made Campbell an honorary member of the Society and issued a certificate.

'We hereby certify that Mr. Alexander Campbell is an honorary member of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, and that he has been duly elected to represent the above society at the United Trades' Council of Glasgow.

signed Richard Heron, President
Benjamin Smart, District Secretary' 1

However, a sharp split between Campbell and the Glasgow Trades Council took place at the end of 1859 and it led to a deterioration in the relations between the F.G.M.F.S. and the Council.² At a meeting held on December 14 1859 Campbell was refused permission to attend as a representative of the F.G.M.F.S.³ A painter's delegate, Mr. Barlow, attacked the right of Campbell to represent the Society

¹Glasgow Sentinel, December 17, and F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 61.

²This fact is suggested in W.H. Marwick, Alexander Campbell, op. cit., p. 17 and W.H. Fraser, Trades Councils in England and Scotland, 1858-1897, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 1967, pp. 28-9.

³Glasgow Sentinel, December 17 1859. As early as May 1859 Campbell had been attacked in the Trades Council by a statement that 'he is not a member of the Council, and therefore had no right to speak' (Glasgow Sentinel, May 21 1859). In July Mr. Little, a shoemaker, withdrew from the Trades Council on the ground that 'so long as Mr. Campbell, who represented no one, was allowed to dictate and misrepresent the proceedings of the Council, there would be nothing but heart-burnings and ill-will among them.'

'under the impression that none but a practical working man could sit as a member of that Council.'¹ A mason's delegate, John MacDay supported Barlow, 'because of the double position he (Campbell) would hold as a member of the Council and a reporter of the press.'² George Newton, president of the Trades Council, 'did not think Mr. Campbell is a bona fide member of a trade union.'³ Soon after, the F.G.M.F.S. protested, stating that 'several of the objectors have taken up the subject as a personal matter between you and Mr. Campbell, but we considered that the dispute is between you and our Society, and the question is whether we shall be allowed to send a delegate of our own choice according to your own minutes granting us that privilege or not?'⁴ The F.G.M.F.S. was supported by painters, bakers, tin-plate workers, clothlappers and slaters.⁵ Doubts about the integrity of Campbell were expressed by bricklayers, shoemakers, joiners, cotton-spinners, blacksmiths and dyers. A dyers' delegate remarked that 'if trades were allowed to send such

¹Glasgow Sentinel, December 17 1859.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., December 24 1859.

⁵For instance, the Operative House and Ship Painters' Society resolved at their quarterly general meeting held on December 16 that 'this society acknowledges the right of the glassmakers to appoint their own representative and we cordially approve of their choice of Mr. Campbell, in whose knowledge of trades matters, talent, and integrity we have perfect confidence.' (Ibid.)

representatives as Mr. Campbell, it might knock the Council to pieces.'¹

At the next meeting of the Trades Council it was resolved that 'we adhere to the minute that Mr. Campbell, being only an honorary but not a practical member of the Glassmakers' Union, nor of any trades union represented at this Council, cannot be accepted by us.'²

Immediately the F.G.M.F.S. protested against the decision which had been made 'on what appears to us frivolous and unconstitutional grounds'.³ Their letter was read at the next meeting of the Council held on December 28 when a discussion took place as to whether the minute of the latest meeting should be confirmed or not. The result was the confirmation of the minute so that Campbell was refused.⁴

In August 1860 the constitution was amended so that only actual working men could sit on the Council; 'the aim being to exclude Alexander Campbell.'⁵ The split seems to have remained for several years. When the first social meeting was held in Glasgow on October 5 1860, the F.G.M.F.S. presented Campbell with 'the very first copy

¹Ibid.

²Ibid. This resolution was carried by 15 for and 8 against.

³Glasgow Sentinel, December 31 1859.

⁴The resolution to confirm the minute was carried only with a majority of one, 12 for and 11 against. (Ibid.)

⁵W.H. Fraser, Trades Councils in England and Scotland, 1858-1897, op.cit., p. 28.

struck of their large, beautiful emblematical card of membership, elegantly set in a specimen frame, in order to confirm that 'notwithstanding his rejection by the Trades Council, the Flint Glass Makers will return him as a member.'¹

There is no obvious explanation for the split between the Trades Council and Campbell.² However, it might be seen as an anticipation of a pattern which had clearly emerged by the mid-1860s. Newspaper editors and publishers played vital roles in the formative phase of labour organisation. But no sooner had new organisations been brought to life than a struggle for power developed between their elected leaders and the journalists. This ambiguous relationship is best known in terms of the history of the Bee-Hive and the London Trades Council. It was repeated in the relationship between Towers and the British Miner on the one hand and Alexander MacDonal and the National Association of Miners on the other. Newspapers appeared as indispensable for organisation and subsequently were denounced as instruments of disruption in relation to the very organisations they had helped to create. It is understandable that Potter, Towers or Alexander Campbell

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IV, p. 60. This presentation was welcomed with 'Great Applause' by about seventy participants. At the conference of the Social Science Association held in 1860, Campbell attended the session as delegate from the F.G.M.F.S. of Glasgow. See Eileen Yeo, Social Science and Social Change: A Social History of Some Aspects of Social Science and Social Investigation in Britain 1830-1890, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 1972, p. 266.

²Fraser guesses that 'part of the reason probably lies in the opposing of Campbell and Newton on the subject of political action by trade unions. Campbell, as an Owenite, believed that social emancipation must precede political power.' (W.H. Fraser, op.cit., p. 28.)

should have felt that they were "responsible" for the formation of specific unions and trades councils. Having helped to bring them into existence they had a sense of personal property in them. But to the "responsible" leaders this "fatherly" attitude was bound to seem patronising, insolent and damaging. In short, highly irresponsible! Applegarth, not Potter, had to secure union funds and negotiate with the master builders. MacDonald, not Towers, was the properly elected leader of the British Miners who had to deal with the coal-owners. The more powerful and well established a trade union organisation became the more likely it was to resent "meddling" by outsiders. Thus, in the Glasgow case it should be noticed that Campbell's opponents tended to come from the best organised, and his supporters from the least well organised, trades. Thus joiners tended to be better organised than painters; cotton-spinners to have more self-confidence than members of a once "honorable", but now sweated-trade, like baking.

In this perspective one begins to see something more than chance in the flint glass makers close relations with the Glasgow Sentinel, through Alexander Campbell, and the Bee-Hive, through Joseph Leicester. The absence of a permanent, full-time bureaucracy separated the glass-makers from the great Amalgamated Unions. They would have been "small fry" in the company of the Junta. But as a national organisation with a small membership, protected them from sharp tensions between the traditions of localism and "primitive democracy" on the one hand and the claims of efficiency and great accumulated funds on the other, they had a leverage with the journalist denied to mere local trade societies. The glass-makers close relations with the Labour "Press

Lords" depended on the fact that their own organisation owed nothing to them in its foundation while the press might be made to magnify their own importance beyond anything which they could have managed out of their own resources.

II. The Junta, Potter and the Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society

The Webbs laid stress on the leadership of a group in the London Trades Council in the 1860s, consisting of William Allan (the A.S.E.), Robert Applegarth (the A.S.C.J.), Daniel Guilde (the Iron Founders'), Edwin Coulson (the Bricklayers) and George Odger (the Ladies' Shoemakers') whom the Webbs nicknamed the "Junta".¹ The Webbs thought that the trade union movement revolved around these leaders in this decade. On the other hand, George Potter was described by the Webbs

¹S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 233. For Allan, see J.B. Jefferys, The Story of the Engineers, 1800-1945, op.cit., passim, and J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville (ed.) Dictionary of Labour Biography, vol. 1, 1972, pp. 14-18. For Applegarth, see A.W. Humphrey, Robert Applegarth, 1913, Asa Briggs, Victorian People 1954, chapter 7, and J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville, op.cit., vol. II, 1974, pp. 16-22. For Odger, see D.R. Moberg, George Odger and the English Working Class Movement: 1860-1877, Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1953. For Guilde, see H.J. Fyrth and Henry Collins, The Foundry Workers, Manchester, 1959, chapter III.

as 'a member of a tiny trade club of London carpenters', who 'at no time represented any genuine trade organisation.'¹ The London Working Men's Association (herein after referred to as the L.W.M.A.), which was founded in 1866 by Potter in opposition to the Junta, was regarded as 'an unimportant society of non descript persons.'² The contemptuous dismissal of Potter by the Webbs was partly derived from the fact that they wrote the History under Applegarth's influence. It is important to understand that the F.G.M.F.S. supported not the Junta but Potter. The Webbs first pointed to the F.G.M.F.S. as a "New Model" union and often used articles from the F.G.M.M. in order to demonstrate how deeply the "New Spirit" pervaded the trade union world after the mid-century and then pushed it out of sight when they came to discuss the Junta v. Potter.³ Certainly theirs is not an adequate treatment.

The relation of the F.G.M.F.S. with George Potter began with the Bee-Hive which first appeared on October 19 1861. In spite of financial difficulties it was helped by expert journalists such as George Troup and Robert Hartwell, and with Potter's vigorous salesmanship, it made a promising start. The paper was adopted as the

¹S. & B. Webb, ibid., p. 255.

²Ibid.

³Compare chapter IV (The New Spirit and the New Model) with chapter V (The Junta and Their Allies) in The History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition.

organ of the London Trades Council in November of that year, when the circulation had already reached 5,000.¹ When the great issues, like support for the confederacy during the American Civil War, separated the Glasgow Sentinel and the Bee-Hive from the majority in the labour movement, the flint glass makers simply maintained the most perfect silence.² At the conference of the F.G.M.F.S. held in March 1864, it was resolved that the Society should take 100 shares in the Bee-Hive and would 'recommend it to the members of our Society.'³ The London District paid £25 for 100 shares.⁴ The F.G.M.F.S. strove to sell the Bee-Hive among its own members. On April 9 1864 Benjamin Smart, the C.S. of the Society, remarked:

'Such a newspaper (the Bee-Hive) has long been felt a desideratum of the working classes, so that they can at all times promulgate their own views upon questions affecting their own interests, and not depend upon such friends as G. Reynolds, who pretends to be the friend of trades' societies, yet he does not employ a member of one.'⁵

¹ Stephen Coltham, George Potter, the Junta, and the Bee-Hive, in International Review of Social History, vol. IX, 1964, pp. 392-3. See also, Stephen Coltham, The Bee-Hive Newspaper: its Origin and Early Struggles, in A. Briggs and J. Saville (ed.) Essays in Labour History, 1960, pp. 174-204.

² The American Civil War had complicated impacts on the British labour movement in the early 1860s. Although the leaders of the "New Model" unions, supported the North, the old fashioned leaders and most of the working class press which was controlled by them, supported the South. See Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, 1865, chapter 2.

³ F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 145.

⁴ Ibid., p. 237, The Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S. ending May 28 1864. The Bee-Hive of March 26 1864 reported that the F.G.M.F.S. and the operative stone masons had taken out 100 shares respectively.

⁵ F.G.M.M., vol. V, pp. 205-6.

He continued:

'I can further recommend it (the Bee-Hive) as a first-class newspaper, which besides containing all information on trades affairs, is also a first-class paper for all other general news. We might easily increase its circulation at least 500 copies.' ¹

The F.G.M.F.S. also decided at the conference held in March 1864 that 'Joseph Leicester, of London, represent our interest in the management for the present'² and at the half-yearly meeting of the Bee-Hive held on May 31 of that year, Leicester was elected to the Board of Directors. Although the actual circulation of the Bee-Hive among glass makers is not known, it is clear that after Leicester's attendance at the Board of Directors the relationship between the F.G.M.F.S. and Potter became closer than before and an abridged quarterly report from the C.S. or C.C. of the Society regularly appeared in the pages of the paper³.

When on September 28 1864 the International Working Men's Association (the First International) was founded at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall, the internationalism of the London workingmen reached its climax. Karl Marx thought the Junta represented the trade union movement in England and co-operated with such leaders as Applegarth and Odger.

¹Ibid., p. 206.

²Ibid., p. 145.

³The first article about the F.G.M.F.S. in the Bee-Hive appeared in the issue of June 13 1863.

The F.G.M.F.S. seems to have paid no attention to the International; there was no reference to it in the Magazine. The glass makers' leading role in honouring Kossuth, the Hungarian exile to Britain, in 1851¹ seemed to hold out the promise that they would play a great part in the internationalist movements of the early 1860s. But they never affiliated to the First International despite the fact that an intelligent interest in the future of their trade might have encouraged them to do so. The explanation must surely be that a "progressive" stance on these matters would have jeopardized relations with the Bee-Hive and the Glasgow Sentinel.

A growing number of industrial disputes in the years 1864 and 1865 sharpened the conflict between the Junta and Potter. The disputes of the miners of Staffordshire, Ironworkers of South Yorkshire and the Builders in the Midlands were associated with a remarkably sharp increase in real wages. The Staffordshire miners on strike received credentials from

¹The first meeting of deputations from various trades in Birmingham on October 31 1851 'originated with the flint glass makers, and the object was to take into consideration the best means of welcoming Kossuth to this town' (Birmingham Journal, November 1 1851). Kossuth visited Birmingham on November 10 and 12 1851 and was enthusiastically welcomed by citizens. From 60,000 to 70,000 men formed the procession (including about 50 glass blowers and cutters with a band. (Northern Star, November 16 1851). It was not an exaggeration to say that 'only the great workers' procession in 1832 on behalf of the Reform Bill could have equalled them' (Denes A. Janossy, Great Britain and Kossuth, in Archivum Europae Centro Orientalis, vol. I, 1937 (Budapest), p. 151). For the Kossuth visit to Birmingham, see also "Extraordinary Kossuth Edition" of Birmingham Mercury, November 13 1851.

the Junta to obtain assistance from other unions on condition that the miners should avoid giving any unnecessary provocation to the employers or the authorities. The Stourbridge District of the F.G.M.F.S. proposed that '£25 be given to the Miners of East Worcestershire and South Staffordshire now on strike against a reduction of wages.' In October 1864 the proposal was carried by the votes of all members.¹ The Longport District of the Society held a special meeting on October 7 1864 and resolved that 'we give them £25 in addition to that proposed by the Stourbridge District, and that they receive it one month after receiving the first, if the struggle should continue until then.'²

At the beginning of 1865 Potter's position was favourable. The Bee-Hive was still the official organ of the London Trades Council and in January the National Association of Mineworkers also decided to recognise it as their organ.³ The First International had also adopted the Bee-Hive as its mouthpiece.⁴ However, the North Staffordshire Iron Puddlers' strike made the conflicts between the Junta and Potter increasingly sharp. On one hand, Potter was a strong advocate of an aggressive and militant policy as opposed to the conciliatory policy of

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 336. The result of the votes was 1291 for and 129 against the Stourbridge proposition.

²Ibid., p. 337.

³Stephen Coltham, George Potter, the Junta and the Bee-Hive, op.cit., p. 402.

⁴This was decided on November 22 1864. (ibid., p. 396). For the attempt and the failure of Karl Marx to control the Bee-Hive, see ibid., p. 397.

the Junta. On the other hand, the Junta attempted to subject the militancy of the rank and file to their control. On December 31 1864 the iron masters gave a fortnight's notice to reduce the wages of the puddlers 1s. per ton, and the wages of the mill men 10 per cent. At the expiration of the notice the North Staffordshire men ceased to work rather than submit to the reduction, though the men in the other districts decided to accept the reduction. On February 16 1865 the iron masters held a meeting at Birmingham, where they resolved to lock-out the men unless they should return to their work on the employers' terms. On February 27 the executive of the National Iron Workers' Association convened a meeting at Brierley Hill, delegates being present from the whole of the districts. On March 2 the masters held a meeting at Wolverhampton and decided to lock-out all the men on March 5.¹ In that month a lock-out was imposed throughout South Staffordshire. Potter occupied himself enthusiastically with the dispute against the advice of the Ironworkers' Executive and the London Trades Council. As the Iron Workers rejected the Earl of Lichfield's offer of arbitration, the Council did not give them financial aid and consequently most "New Model" trade unions followed the Council's decision. So Potter called an 'illegal' meeting independently on March 15 by notice in the Bee-Hive, without consulting the London Trades Council: 'for the purpose of taking

¹The proceedings of the strike are elaborately described in Bee-Hive March 11 1865.

into consideration the present lock-out of the ironmasters, and to receive deputations from the iron workers and mill men of Staffordshire.¹ The meeting was attended by about 250 delegates.² Joseph Leicester was involved in the struggle and made the following speech at the meeting.

'The object of the masters was to wrest from the working men the right to combine. Many of them would go to church next Sabbathday and pray, "Give us this day our daily bread", while they were the means of depriving of their bread a number of unoffending men, women, and children. (Hear)' 3

After briefly reporting what he had seen in Staffordshire, (he went there on glass trade business), Leicester went on by saying:

'The trade with which he was connected would do all in its power to support their bretheren in the iron trade.' 4

It is important to see that through Leicester's activities, the flint glass makers were involved in the Iron workers' strike, which was supported by Potter and his associates. The F.G.M.F.S. proposed to give £100 from the funds to assist the Iron Puddlers in weekly instalments of £10 per week. This proposition was carried by 1139 votes and without any opposition.⁵ Among the total income of the National Association of Iron Workers donated by the various trade unions and individuals (£118 4s. 5d.), the flint glass makers' donation (£10)⁶ was second only to the subscription from the Bee-Hive Office (£66. 2s. 4d.).

¹Bee-Hive, March 18 1865.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 451.

⁶The Birmingham District of the F.G.M.F.S. sent £10 to the locked-out Ironworkers by consent of the C.C. Beside that the Longport District donated £5, the York District £1 and the Smethwick District 7s. 5d. (Bee-Hive, July 1 1865).

The Iron Pressers' Society in Manchester donated £6 which was followed by the flint glass cutters (£5) and the United Orders of Smiths in Kensington (£2. 5s.).¹ The fact that the flint glass makers became the principal subscriber can be understood by the following circumstances: first, the dispute of the iron workers occurred in an area where the glass makers were highly concentrated - in Stourbridge and its neighbourhood. Second, since the C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. was then located in Stourbridge, the C.C. could easily propose the donation not only from the Stourbridge District but from all members of the Society. Third, through Leicester, the Society had been deeply connected with George Potter, who devoted himself to the dispute.

On March 29 1865 the London Trades Council denounced Potter's action at a special meeting, when Danter, a president of the A.S.E., accused Potter of being 'the aider and abetter of strikers; he thought of nothing else; he followed no other business; strikes were his bread and cheese; in short, he was a strike jobber, and he made the Bee-Hive newspaper his instrument for pushing his nose into every unfortunate dispute that sprung up.'² Danter moved the following resolution:

'That the visit of Mr. George Potter to Staffordshire was undertaken without the knowledge or sanction of the

¹ 'Balance-sheet of the Iron workers' dispute' published by the Executive Council of the National Association of Iron Workers; in Bee-Hive, June 28 1865.

² Mr. Potter and the London Trades' Council, 1865, p. 2. See also 'The London Trades Council and Mr. George Potter'; in Bee-Hive, April 1 1865 and 'Mr. George Potter and the Slanders'; in Bee-Hive, April 29 1865. In the Webbs' eyes Danter was 'the outspoken president of the Amalgamated Engineers.' (S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 255.)

London Trades' Council; and this meeting is of opinion that the only object he had in view was to promote the interests of the Beehive newspaper, and deem it our duty to make known the fact, and thus disabuse the minds of the men locked out, and likewise the public generally.' ¹

Robert Applegarth seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

Immediately, on April 4, about 200 delegates of the Potter group assembled, where Thomas Connolly of the operative stonemasons accused the six members of the Trades Council 'as cowardly and disgraceful in the extreme'.² T.J. Dunning of the London Bookbinders also denied the will of the Trades Council stating that the Council 'actually represented in the metropolis to about say 20,000, not one-fifth of the trade unionists in London.'³ Potter declared that 'the Trades' Council only represent a small portion of the metropolitan trades, and therefore they had no reason to complain at a meeting of the whole of the trades of London being convened for the purpose of rendering prompt and united support for a body of men who had been so cruelly locked out in the iron trade. (Loud cheers).'⁴ Leicester was absent from this meeting, but on April 9 he wrote a letter to the Bee-Hive 'on behalf

¹Mr. Potter and the London Trades' Council, op.cit., p. 2.

²Bee-Hive, April 8 1865.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

of the Flint Glass Trade':

'I am very sorry my work prevented me from attending your meeting on Wednesday night last. I should have been glad to have entered my solemn protest against the brazen-faced slanders of those conspirators who call themselves the "London Trades' Council." The record of this filthy business is the monument of its infamy. The success of the BEEHIVE had, no doubt, excited the petty malice of these would-be leaders;; but I am extremely glad that the delegates of the trades of London have repelled their mean accusations, and will not let the same petty malice and wounded self-conceit injure the character of a man whose life and energies have been spent for the good of his fellows.... The hole which they dug for Mr. Potter they have tumbled into themselves. There we must leave them for their friends to pull out by their uncommon long ears.' ¹

The lock-out came to an end on April 8 1865. The F.G.M.M. considered that 'the struggle was ultimately compromised, owing to the division and jealousies of the different councils of the men's unions.'² Throughout this dispute the gulf between the Junta and Potter became bigger than before. On September 4 1865 the London Trades Council resolved to cease to keep the Bee-Hive as the official organ of the Council. Instead the Workman's Advocate became its organ, although not recognised by formal resolution.³ Immediately the Stourbridge District of the F.G.M.F.S. wrote to the Bee-Hive:

'Sir, - In conveying our warm expressions of appreciation for the invaluable services and unflinching and honourable conduct rendered by Mr. Potter to the recent lock out in the iron trade of South and North Staffordshire, and on all occasions where the just interests of the working

¹Bee-Hive, April 15 1865.

²F.G.M.M., Vol. V, p. 594.

³Stephen Coltham, George Potter, the Junta, and the Bee-Hive, op.cit., p. 413.

class are concerned, we wish it to be distinctly understood that, as a section of a trades' union holding shares in the Beehive, we totally disagree with the vote of censure passed upon Mr. Potter by the London Trades' Council, and consider their conduct reprehensible in moving to injure the circulation of the paper which is really and truly the working man's friend, and which is working wonders in revolutionising the characters, thoughts, actions, and aspirations of that class it so powerfully advocates. Sincerely wishing a better state of things will open under the auspices of the new element introduced into the Council.' 1

Thus F.G.M.F.S. became one of the strong opponents to the Junta.

In this matter one clearly sees how the governing branch helped link the F.G.M.F.S. with Potter through the Staffordshire Iron Puddlers' strike. As was noted at the end of the last section, Leicester's activities could not be easily dismissed. But, more fundamentally, the conditions for the link existed in the decidedly local character of the society and the traditions of "primitive democracy" pervading its members.

III. The Reform Movement.

The Reform League was formally established at a public meeting held in St. Martins Hall on February 23 1865² and continued to be the

¹Bee-Hive, September 16 1865. The letter was sent in the names of G. Nicklin, president of the Stourbridge District, and W.H. Packwood, secretary.

²Bee-Hive, February 25 1865. For the detailed activities of the Reform League, see Stephen Coltham, George Potter and the "Bee-Hive" Newspaper, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1956, chapter V, and A.D. Bell, The Reform League from its Origins to 1867. D. Phil. thesis. Oxford University, 1961.

most famous political organisation of the Workers until it disbanded in 1869. In early March 1865 Edmund Beales was chosen as president of the League and George Howell as secretary. The League held its first important demonstration on December 12 1865 when the enrolled membership was already more than 4,000. Potter, Hartwell, Thomas Connolly and Joseph Leicester - all participated in its organisation, but in its early months Potter's associates were not welcomed and were excluded from the ruling circles when possible.¹ Thus in March 1866 Potter founded the L.W.M.A. At the start the L.W.M.A. was not intended to be antagonistic to the Reform League, but the fact that the League was dominated by the Junta made antagonism more or less inevitable. However, the L.W.M.A. with its 600 members was never a competitor to the League which in May 1866 numbered nearly 6,000 members and in August 8,000.²

Gladstone's introduction of a Liberal Reform Bill in the House of Commons on March 15 1866 followed by Robert Lowe's anti-Reform speech and the formation of the "Cave of Adullam", encouraged the Reform Movement. Beales performed a significant service to the League by convincing Executive and Council that refusal to support the Bill meant suicide for the League and the decision to support the Government was made on

¹F.M. Leventhal, op.cit., p. 159. Seventeen of the twenty-nine organising committee members were members of the London Trades Council and the International. (A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 13.)

²Reform League Notes (Howell Collection).

March 16 and 20.¹ On the other hand, the L.W.M.A. convened a meeting at St. Martin's Hall on April 5 for the purpose of calling upon the House of Commons to vote the reading of the Bill and 'to protest against the insulting and calumnious language used towards the working classes in Parliament by Lord Elcho, Messrs. Lowe, Horsman, Marsh, and other renegade Liberals.'² Following Potter, Connolly and Dunning Joseph Leicester made a long speech to support the Liberal Reform Bill:

'Lord Derby's Bill gave additional power to the land lord, while the present measure gave the vote to house and land combined, and that even in counties would be found to give a great increase of votes to the working man... While at present the working classes of the country were represented by 130,000 votes, this measure would increase the number by 200,000. In order, therefore, to pass that measure, Mr. Gladstone had to throw himself on the support of the people England. (Hear hear).... Let the working men, then cordially and readily respond to his summons. (Loud continued cheering)' ³

On May 10 the City was shaken by the fall of Overend, Gurney & Co. and a commercial panic took place. On July 23 the Hyde Park 'riot' broke down the railings of the Park and shook the Government. After the League's public meeting held in the Guildhall on August 8,⁴ a series of joint demonstrations by the League, Trade unions and John Bright took place in support of the principles of registered and residential manhood suffrage and the ballot. Although the other

¹A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 75.

²Bee-Hive, April 7 1866.

³Ibid., April 7 1860.

⁴Ibid., August 11 1866.

Liberals held back from the League, Bright was willing to use it as an instrument against the Government. The Birmingham League Council decided on August 8 to hold the first Birmingham demonstrations for Reform on August 27.¹ On that day a crowd of 20,000 gathered to hear Bright declaring that he had no fear of manhood suffrage. The Birmingham Liberal Association had appealed direct to manufacturers to declare a holiday. The demonstration was jointly organised by the Birmingham League and the Liberal Association and supported by trade unions including the Birmingham Trades Council, and temperance, benefit and friendly societies.² The L.W.M.A. had decided to send a deputation from London.³ The demonstration was obviously large. 'Never in the history of England has there taken place a demonstration equal to that which was witnessed in Birmingham on Monday. The voice of the Midland Counties has been heard upon the Reform Question and it has given forth no uncertain sound.'⁴ 'From an early hour on Monday morning Birmingham was all activity and bustle... Heavily laden trains came in from Wolverhampton, Coventry, West Bromwich, Kidderminster, and Stourbridge.'⁵

¹Ibid. The first report of a Birmingham branch of the League was of a meeting on May 29 1865 at the Odd Fellow's Hall. On October 22 1866 the Birmingham League had actually become a department or district organisation. (A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 239, 247).

²A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 245.

³Reynolds's Newspaper, August 26 1866.

⁴Brierley Hill Advertiser, September 1 1866.

⁵Ibid.

Stourbridge was represented by about five hundred persons 'of whom some three hundred were glass makers. There is no political association at Stourbridge, and as there had been no active organisation, there were no bands or banners. The leaders were Messrs. Woolley, W. Packwood, Jukes J. Blurton, G. Lichfield and J. Chance.'¹ On the following day the L.W.M.A. resolved that the Association 'offers its congratulation to the working men of Birmingham on the noble demonstration made by them and the working men of the surrounding districts on Monday last,'² and remarked that the demonstration afforded 'an example worthy of imitation by the trade societies of London on the next metropolitan demonstration.'³

The Reform League had not penetrated into the Black country before the demonstration in Birmingham, but this success stimulated the spread of branches into the region. One was formed in Wednesbury only three days after the demonstration and by the end of September it counted 200 members. By this time the Wolverhampton Working Men's Liberal Association had affiliated itself to the Birmingham League and other branches were formed in Walsall, Great Bridge, Brierley Hill and Willenhall in the last months of 1866.⁴ By the turn of the year the Reform League was firmly established as the vehicle of working class reform agitation in the Black Country. Because neither the Reform

¹Birmingham Journal, September 1 1866, and Saturday Evening Post (Birmingham) September 1 1866.

²Reynolds's Newspaper, September 2 1866.

³Ibid.

⁴Eric Taylor, The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1863-1914, Ph.D. thesis, University of Keele, 1973, chapter 10, particularly pp. 361-9. For a list of provincial branches of the League in the Black Country see A.D. Bell, op.cit., pp. 245-6. The Stourbridge branch does not appear in Bell's list.

Union nor any organisation comparable in attitude and status with the L.W.M.A. developed into a body of any importance in the Black Country, there were no tensions in the early months of 1867 between the League and the Reform Union or between the League and militant trade unions of the George Potter type.¹ It is interesting that the Stourbridge flint glass makers, who supported not the Junta but Potter, took the initiative in founding the League branch in the area. This suggests that their support for Potter was by no means absolute. Industrially Potter could appeal beyond London, politically he could not or, at least, did not.

The Stourbridge branch of the League was established on September 17 1866. On that day there was a large attendance, most of the trades in the neighbourhood being represented. Flint glass makers took the initiative in organising the branch. Joseph Woolley, whom we have often met, 'warmly commended the ballot as the best remedy yet propounded for venality and corrupt practices at elections, and contended that it should form an indispensable part of any Reform Bill worthy the acceptance of the people.'² W.H. Packwood, whom we have also met before, earnestly advocated a move to connect the meeting of the day with the League, stating that 'the glass makers' society of this district had unanimously

¹Eric Taylor, ibid.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, September 22 1866, and Stourbridge Observer, September 22 1866.

passed a resolution in favour of supporting the Reform League, and promising to join in large numbers, this branch on those conditions.¹ The resolution to establish a branch of the League in the area was unanimously adopted. Akroyd was elected president of the branch, Packwood, treasurer and Woolley, secretary.² Four days later, on September 21, George Howell, secretary of the Reform League, sent a letter to Joseph Woolley, to inform him that 50 membership cards of the League would be sent to Stourbridge and wrote that 'If you are a branch of the League you keep two thirds of the subscription for local agitation and expenses.'³ On September 30 the Stourbridge branch sent £1. 13. 4d. to the Reform League.⁴ The Committee of the Stourbridge branch held weekly meetings and enrolled from twenty to thirty members each night; 'among these were the names of several gentlemen occupying respectable positions, and tradesmen, but the bulk belonged to the elite of the working classes.'⁵ In November of that year membership became 137.⁶ On October 29 the first monthly meeting of the branch was held at Wollaston School room, but the attendance was 'rather small'. Packwood

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Howell's Letter Book, vol. 1, p. 369. (Howell Collection)

⁴Reform League Cash-Book, p. 13 (Howell Collection). After that day onwards until the collapse of the League, no subscriptions from the Stourbridge Branch can be found in the Reform League Cash Book.

⁵Brierley Hill Advertiser, November 3 1866.

⁶Ibid.

argued that: 'It was the duty of all who were anxious for Reform to join the League at once. The conservative reformer and the manhood suffrage reformer were welcome, and free to advocate their view on reform - each in his own peculiar manner.'¹ It seems likely that Packwood continued to be secretary of the Stourbridge branch of the League and one of the members of the General Committee of the Midland Department.²

The second massive demonstration was held in Manchester following the Birmingham one. Together with Earnest Jones, E.O. Greening, Odger, Lucraft and W.O. Roberts, John Bright attended.³ Meetings of this kind multiplied after that. On October 16 1866 in Glasgow the alliance between Bright, the Reform League, the Reform Union, and the trade unions resulted in the greatest political demonstration that had ever been held in Scotland.⁴ John Bright represented the national leadership

¹Ibid.

²The Reform League had seven Departments with 315 branches in July 1867. The Midland Department had 9074 enrolled members in 37 branches. The Birmingham branch of the F.G.M.F.S. affiliated to the Birmingham Reform League. The Stourbridge branch of the League was initiated and run largely by the local glass makers. (Reform League - List of Departments and Branches, 1867. Howell Collection). The General Committee of the Midland Department consisted of 62 delegates; W.H. Packwood came from the Stourbridge Branch and T.J. Wilkinson came from the F.G.M.F.S. branch (National Reform League Midland Department, 2nd Annual Report, July 1867, Howell Collection).

³F.E. Gillespie, op.cit., p. 270.

⁴The Scottish National Reform League had been formed on September 17 1866 as practically the Scottish Section of the National Reform League. By March 1867 the Scottish League had 33 branches outside Glasgow with about 10,000 members (A.D. Bell, op.cit., pp. 288-91). For the Scottish League, see W.H. Fraser, Trade Unions, Reform and the Election of 1868 in Scotland, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. 50 1971, pp. 138-57.

of the Reform Union, Edmund Beales came as president of the National Reform League and George Potter came from the L.W.M.A.¹ More than forty thousand people took part and the march extended for six miles through the Glasgow streets. 'It could not have been witnessed by fewer than 300,000 people; the streets, windows, and house-tops being crowded along the whole length of its march.'² This was followed by an open air meeting, which adopted resolutions for manhood suffrage and the ballot. At night in the City Hall, Bright spoke together with Potter, Alexander MacDonal, George Newton and many others. The

F.G.M.M. wrote:

'The working men of Glasgow and other towns of the West of Scotland having arranged to organise a grand procession on the 16th October 1866, in honour of John Bright's visit, as the great champion of Reform and to manifest their zeal in favour of extending the franchise to manhood suffrage, supported by the ballot.'³

The Glasgow Sentinel reported that 'This part of the demonstration was undoubtedly a great success, and was exceedingly creditable to all concerned, whether the respectable appearance and orderly behaviour of the processionists be regarded, or the interest attaching to the clever and telling devices on the innumerable flags and banners, and the multitude of beautiful and ingenious models illustrative of the various handicrafts.'⁴

¹F.E. Gillespie, op.cit., pp. 272-3, and W.H. Fraser, ibid., pp. 144-5. For the Glasgow demonstration, see also A.D. Bell, op.cit., pp. 287-93.

²Glasgow Sentinel, October 20 1866.

³F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 832.

⁴Glasgow Sentinel, October 20 1866.

This display of being respectable men with artisan skills supported their claim for political rights. 124 bookbinders walked in the procession; 'they carried some fine specimens of Binding, along with a Flag and several Banners with Mottos appropriate to the Occasion: the Day was enjoyed by all who took a Part in the Proceedings.'¹ The flint glass makers of the Glasgow District, together with the glass cutters, marched in the procession as well; 'about 150 well-dressed, respectable men, carrying with them numerous articles of their handiwork, with flags and banners.'² Benjamin Smart of Glasgow as marshal marched ahead of the group with a 'Coloured Glass Mace.' Besides two main banners - 'The United Flint Glass Makers of Great Britain and Ireland' and 'The United Flint Glass Cutters' Friendly Society' - Motto - 'May supporters of Trade never want' - , glass workers carried numerous smaller banners and flags, inscribed 'Prosperity to our Employer', and 'To John Bright and the Memory of Cobden.'³ The flint glass makers were proud of their own group in the procession. 'It may be truly said that this body of men were second to none for their personal appearance, order, and ornaments, amongst that vast assembly of 50,000 men.'⁴

On the other hand, in September 1866 the Committee of the L.W.M.A. decided to hold a Reform demonstration, the principle of which was that 'the demonstration should be considered as a Working men's and Trades' Demonstration and that it should be carried out to the end by working men

¹Bookbinders Union, Minutes, November 17 1866; quoted in R.G. Gray, Class Structure and the Class Formation of Skilled Workers in Edinburgh, C. 1850-C. 1900, Ph.D. thesis, op.cit., p. 157.

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 832.

³Ibid., pp. 832-33.

⁴Ibid., p. 833.

only.¹ The preparatory meeting for the demonstration held on October 25, decided to invite the President and Executive Council of the Reform League, as a deputation from that body. The invitation set off a bitter debate in the Executive of the League. Although Cremer and four others wanted to refuse to have anything whatsoever to do with the demonstration, the majority of the Executive expressed a strong desire for harmony with Potter.² The Executive elected three members (Geo. Davis, B. Lucraft and W. Osborne 'to aid them in the arrangements of the demonstration) in the most effective manner.'³ On the day from 20,000 to 30,000 workers marched in the procession, in spite of the efforts of Applegarth, Coulson and Allan to discourage their members from taking part in it. Potter's influence was shown to be sufficient to tip the balance against the Junta.⁴ They marched from St. James

¹Bee-Hive, December 8 1866.

²Ibid., November 17 1866. See also, A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 94.

³Council Minutes of the Reform League, November 21 1866 (Howell Collection).

⁴G.D.H. Cole pointed out that 'The L.W.M.A., rather than the London Trades Council or the National Reform League, was the body which brought the London workmen out on the streets to demonstrate for Reform'. (G.D.H. Cole, British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914, 1941, p. 39). His assessment of the L.W.M.A. may be overestimated. F.E. Gillespie also wrote that the L.W.M.A. 'was important politically, and even its trade-union following for a time was as large as that of the Junta, Its members were hardly nondescript.' (F.E. Gillespie, op.cit., p. 258, fn. 2).

Park to Beaufort Grounds, a distance of five miles, being formed into four divisions in the procession. Once again, flint glass makers carried, in addition to some splendid banners, a number of beautiful specimens of their art, including a fragile vase containing pendant fuchsias and other graceful flowers, crowns of brilliant crystal, muskets of glass, and glittering swords of the same bright and brittle material.¹ At the head of the group Leicester as marshal marched in 'sash and regalia of the Working Men's Association, with Glass Sword in Hand.'² There was also 'a splendid silk flag, with the inscription, "The Orphans and Widows are our Love", which had been carried at the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832.'³ The F.G.M.M. waxed somewhat lyrical:

'The route was through the principal streets of the west end, right through the most aristocratic part of London. Turning which way you would, the eye met with nothing but an ocean of humanity; the sight was one of the grandest and most imposing ever seen in the world. The dense masses of well-dressed people were like a solid wall on each side of the procession; there could not have been less than one million of people assembled to witness this demonstration, all testifying their sympathy in the object in view, viz., manhood suffrage, protected by the ballot.' 4

¹Bee-Hive, December 8 1866.

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 870.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 869.

In fact, glass makers 'turned out to a man, each providing himself with a rosette, manufactured for the occasion by the theatrical dressers of Covent Garden Theatre in imitation of glass, typical of their trade. All along the route as soon as the glass makers came in sight, there was a perfect ovation.'¹

The next day the same trades held a public meeting in St. James Hall. Among those on the platform, besides the members of the L.W.M.A. were Beesly, Englander, F. Harrison, Dickson, Massie, Lanfley, John Bennett, W. Evans, Lucraft, Bubb, and W. Dell. Joseph Leicester made a speech:

'There appeared to be a class of politicians who set themselves up as censors and umpires as to the virtues of the working men. He denied their power to judge the working men rightly. There was no possibility of pleasing the Tories, whether they hit them high or hit them low. If Lord Derby had made such a botch of glass blowing as he had of statesmanship he would not have been allowed time to go out of business, he would have been kicked out (Laughter). Lord Derby had not only shut the door in the face of the people who asked for the franchise; he had slammed it in their faces. (hear) 2

His speech was followed by one from John Bright, who congratulated the unions on at last making a start for Reform. Bright also said a word in support of the Reform Union and the Reform League, but not the L.W.M.A.³ On December 5 the Executive Council of the League passed a resolution, congratulating Potter,⁴ and £5 was sent from Howell to

¹Ibid.

²Bee-Hive, December 8 1866.

³A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 95.

⁴Council Minutes of the Reform League, December 5 1866; quoted in Stephen Coltham, George Potter and the "Bee-Hive" Newspaper, op.cit., chapter V, p. 19.

Potter on account of 1,000 tickets.¹

The L.W.M.A.'s successful demonstration forced the Reform League Executive to hold their own. Immediately after the demonstration they began making their arrangements. On December 19 the London Trades Council passed a strongly-worded resolution, moved by Allan and supported by Applegarth and Coulson, calling on all trade unionists to 'aid the forthcoming demonstration under the auspices of the League.'² On December 31 George Howell sent nine letters to trade unionists to inform them that the demonstration would take place on February 11 1867 and to require their preparation for it.³ All of these nine letters except one were sent to the Junta and their associates. The exception was a letter to Joseph Leicester, belonging to the Potter group.⁴

December 31st 6

Dear Sir,

I am not quite certain if I am right in addressing you as the secretary of the glass blowers.

Will you kindly request your society to send delegates to the Delegate Meeting on the 16th instant at the Cambridge Hall.

¹Howell's Letter Book, vol. II, p. 274, 317. (Howell Collection)

²London Trades Council Minutes, December 19 1866.

³Howell's Letter Book, vol. II, op.cit., p. 353. They were sent to D. Guile, W. Allan, E. Coulson, R. Applegarth, Dodthan (Cordwainers Association), Lawrence, W. Hammett (City Ladies Shoemakers' Society) the Secretary of the Painters Association (no name is given) and Joseph Leicester. Howell also sent a few letters of the same contents to the Branches of the League. The Commonwealth of January 5 1867 also reported on the letters circulated by Howell.

⁴Howell's Letter Book, vol. II, op.cit., p. 358.

Will you also send copies of the enclosed bill & all correspondence in letters or parcels.

I hope to see your trade muster in full force on the Day of the demonstration Febry the 11th as the House opens on the 5th.

I am Sir,
Yours truly
Geo. Howell, Secry.

Mr. J. Leicester
Glass blower's Society

This letter might suggest that Howell sought the cooperation of as wide a group as possible, even involving those connected with the L.W.M.A. At the beginning of January 1867 the Executive Committee of the League found that 'Already the Trades' Council, Amalgamated Engineers, Amalgamated Carpenters, Operative Bricklayers, Amalgamated Cordwainers, Iron Founders, &c. have agreed to go in for the Demonstration.'¹ Howell did not want the participants in the proposed demonstration to be confined to the London area. Hence he wrote to J.W. Woolley, secretary of the Stourbridge Branch of the League that 'With Regard to the Cambridge Hall meeting, it is not only expected that Metropolitan delegates will attend, we rather want you to be represented at the

¹Council Minutes of the Reform League, January 2 1867. (Howell Collection)

demonstration if only by a few.¹ On January 16 some 500 delegates gathered in Cambridge Hall.² The court decision handed down on January 16 1867 in the case of Hornby v. Close served to make the trade unionists recognise more strongly than ever the necessity of participating in the political movement. On January 21 Howell wrote to Hartwell, requesting the L.W.M.A.'s cooperation with the February demonstration. The Association decided, after some hesitation, to support the League's own demonstration.³ It took place on February 11 as planned. The Bee-Hive reported that 25,000 marched, but added that many thousands of sympathizers did not march. Some flint glass makers attended the procession.⁴

The League held another demonstration on March 11 in Trafalgar Square after which the Executive held weekly meetings there.⁵ On May 6 200,000 demonstrators assembled at Hyde Park.⁶ On August 15 the Reform Act received the Royal Assent. The role of the flint glass

¹ Howell's Letter Book, vol. II, p. 441. The letter is dated January 12 1867. Unfortunately the reply from Woolley, if any, is not preserved in the Letter Book.

² Commonwealth, January 19 1867.

³ Bee-Hive, February 9 1867.

⁴ Bee-Hive, February 16 1867.

⁵ A.D. Bell, op.cit., p. 104.

⁶ For the assessment of the occupation of the Park, see Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, op.cit., chapter III. A satire in "Punch", showing that the Government had come by the Hyde Park Railway to Reform was understood to illustrate the conflict between the propertied classes and revolutionary potentialities of the working class led by the 'Labour aristocracy'. His intention was that class struggle and party conflict had to be taken together in their inter-relatedness.

makers in the Reform movement has now been considered. Those in Stourbridge, Birmingham, London and Edinburgh - in all these regions the position of the flint glass makers was superior and stable - seem to have been the most active participators in the Reform Demonstrations. Well-dressed glass makers marched with their products of high quality showing as they thought, their right to be enfranchised. In terms of the national Reform organisations, it would be wrong to think that the F.G.M.F.S. as a whole supported the Reform League or the L.W.M.A. Since the F.G.M.F.S. was associated with the Potter group, the Society supported the L.W.M.A. in London. But the Society in Stourbridge and Birmingham supported the League, probably because the L.W.M.A. was only weakly organised in the Black Country. It is not without significance that the most skilled flint glass makers in Stourbridge took the initiative in organising the local Branch of the League.

IV. Master and Servant Act

The breaking of contract of service by a workman was, according to the Master and Servant Act, a criminal offence and the workman charged was to be punished by imprisonment or a fine. The same act committed by an employer constituted only a civil offence and the employer, if the case went against him which was quite seldom, could only be punished by a fine. As with other working men, flint glass makers occasionally suffered under the Act. Indeed, one of the worst cases revealed before the Select Committee on the Master and Servant Act in May 1866 was that of Thomas O'Brien a flint glass maker (Servitor) of Glasgow. After giving his fortnight's notice to quit, according to the rules of the trade, he left Glasgow and got a job in Manchester. Thereafter the employers 'made an application, according to the Act, got a warrant, sent a criminal officer from Glasgow to Manchester, took him away from his work in Manchester, carried him, without any information on the warrant, across all the counties between Manchester and Glasgow, and brought him to trial.'¹ The result of the trial was that he was found to have committed 'no offence whatever,' but he was not 'allowed any damages for the loss he had been put to in being brought from Manchester to Glasgow.'² So the workman returned

¹Select Committee on Master and Servant 1866, (P.P. XIII), p.16. The case was noted by Alexander Campbell on July 30 1866.

²Ibid. The F.G.M.M. reported the case examined with Justice of Peace Court on February 13, 16, 20, 1860 (vol. III, pp. 597-601).

to his situation at Manchester.

Therefore it was hardly surprising that when the movement against the Act began in Glasgow in February 1863,¹ the F.G.M.F.S. supported it. In April of that year the Glasgow Trades Council and the trade union delegates agreed on three modest but essential demands.² In July they printed two hundred copies of a Manifesto³ to circulate to all Trades Councils and the leading trade unions throughout the country. The Trades Councils of London, Edinburgh, Nottingham, Sheffield and Newcastle etc. all expressed support. This appeal stated that in 1861 10,393 cases were prosecuted at law and stressed the necessity for reform and for lobbying M.P.s.⁴ In October 1863 at the annual conference

¹The movement was originated amongst the trade unionists of Glasgow because the workmen in Scotland suffered more from the Act than those in England. (D. Simon, Master and Servant, in J. Saville (ed.) Democracy and the Labour Movement, 1954, p. 173.)

²John Strachan, Glasgow lawyer, drew up "The Memorial of Information Intended for the Use of such Workmen as Fall under the Provisions of the Statute 4th Geo. IV cap. 34 (1823 Jan. 17)" and this was printed and circulated by Campbell amongst the leading trade unionists of Glasgow (D. Simon, ibid., p. 174.) The 'Memorial of Information' is preserved in the F.G.M.M., vol. V, pp. 115-7, as the Webbs pointed out. (History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 252).

³The 'Manifesto' issued on July 15 1863 is also preserved in the F.G.M.M., vol. V, pp. 27-9.

⁴In Staffordshire between 1858 and 1867 there were 10,000 prosecutions under these Acts. Many were mass prosecutions involving up to 50 men. (George Barnsby, Social Conditions in the Black Country in the Nineteenth Century, Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1969, p. 345). The prosecutions of the Stourbridge glass workers under this Act were often reported in the local papers. For instance, Brierley Hill Advertiser, December 1 1860, July 20 1861, April 19 1862, September 6 1862, January 17 1863, and October 20 1866.

of the Social Science Association held in Edinburgh, Campbell appealed for support in a paper, which was prepared by Newton and endorsed by the Glasgow Trades Council.¹ But none of the members of the Association took action except Andrew Edgar, a barrister, because the Association considered the Act as 'a snub to the trade union movement.'² Meanwhile the members of the Glasgow Trades Council was losing touch with the majority of Glasgow Trade unionists.³ In March 1864 Campbell questioned the Council's position, saying 'The Trades Council was now the mere skeleton of what it once was. Two-thirds of the trades once represented had withdrawn, of these the most numerous, powerful and influential, such as the flint glass makers, ironmoulders, masons, shipwrights, joiners, amalgamated engineers and others.'⁴ However, the flint glass makers were earnestly discussing the problem of the Master and Servant Act at their Manchester conference held on March 17-19⁵ and resolved

¹Bee-Hive, October 31 1863.

²D. Simon, op.cit., p. 175.

³By the end of 1863 representation on the Glasgow Trades Council had fallen from 30 societies in April 1861 to 15. (W.H. Fraser, Trades Councils in England and Scotland, 1858-1897, p.30). But at the Council's meeting of January 15 1864, the F.G.M.F.S. was still present. (F.G.M.M., vol.V, pp.115-7).

⁴Glasgow Sentinel, March 19 1864.

⁵The following address of the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S. shows how earnestly the problem of the Act had been discussed at the conference. 'O, how the blood tingled in my veins with pleasure when I saw the spirit and animation that prevailed in the Conference when this subject was discussing, and how eager one an all were to make the resolution as effective as possible!' If the same spirit only animated the half of the working men of England, this most infamous law would have long since been swept from the statute book of England. (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 206; Address of C.S. april 9 1864).

'to give all the aid they possibly can to the Trades' Council of Glasgow in their efforts to get the present existing law of contract between masters and men altered, and placed upon a just and equal footing, and that the Executive be empowered to control the same.'¹ Soon after, on March 25, it became possible for the first time 'to summon a really representative meeting of the Glasgow unions on the master and servant question.'² This meeting 'revolutionised the situation.'³

The Master and Workman's Act Reform Committee held weekly meetings and as a result attendance at the Council meetings continued to decline,⁴ but owing to the activities of the Committee the movement began to spread throughout the country. The Committee asked the London Trades Council to call a conference 'to give a national character to the movement.' This was held at the office of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Working Classes in London on May 30-June 2 1864.⁵ Campbell and Newton from the Glasgow Trades Council and S. Phillips from the United

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 145.

²Bee-Hive, March 26 1864.

³D. Simon, op.cit., p. 177.

⁴W.H. Fraser, Trades Councils in England and Scotland, 1858-1897, op.cit., p. 287.

⁵Report of Conference on the Law of Masters and Workmen under their Contract of Service, held in London on 30th, 31th May and 1st and 2nd June 1864, Glasgow, 1864.

The F.G.M.M. published the report in its entirety. (F.G.M.M., vol.V, pp. 212-22). Strachan's report at the conference is partly reproduced in G.D.H. Cole and A.W. Filson, British Working Class Movement: Select Documents, 1789-1875, 1951, p. 553.

Trades and Labourers of Northumberland and Durham represented the flint glass makers. Although the number of delegates was 21, they 'represented in the aggregate upwards of 200,000 members of trades' societies.'¹

Not only were the national leaders of trade unions assembled at the same time but also they resolved to influence the Government to amend the Master and Servant Act. On the final day of the conference a deputation consisting of MacDonald, Newton, Campbell, Williams, Odger, Connolly, Dunning and Strachan, met Cobbett in Westminster Hall and after that several members in the Tea Room of the House. The conference 'makes an epoch in Trade Union history,'² and it was 'the real beginning of the Trade Union Congress.'³

Owing to the instruction of the London Conference, at least 25 local committees for the campaign were established by the spring of 1865. The Select Committee was appointed in May 1865, with Cobbett as chairman, and thereafter examined 20 witnesses, nine supporting the viewpoint of the employers and eleven supporting that of the workmen. When the Select Committee was re-appointed in May 1866, Lord Elcho became its chairman. The energetic and subtle intervention of Lord Elcho

¹Bee-Hive, June 4 1864.

²S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 252. 'For the first time a national meeting of Trade Union delegates was spontaneously convened by a Trade Union organisation to discuss a purely workman's question, in the presence of working men alone.' (Ibid.)

³G.D.H. Cole and A.W. Filson, op.cit., p. 552.

persuaded the Glasgow Trades Council to confine their activities to interviews with friendly M.P.s and to abandon agitation out of doors.¹ In September 1866 the F.G.M.M. appealed again in the editorial pages for urgent amendment, indicating the increasing number of sufferers from the Act since the campaign had begun. The appeal ran:

'In fact, the state of the law is so unjust and oppressive in its operations that in 1862 there were in England and Wales alone 7637 cases of prosecution against workmen and apprentices; in 1863 there were 8504; and 1864 the enormous number of 10,256 persons brought before the Magistrates; about seven thousand of whom were sent to prison, sentenced to hard labour and, what was still worse, obliged to become the associates of felons.'²

The Society contributed £10 to the Master and Workman's Act Reform Committee by June 1867.³

In June 1867 the bill was before Parliament. Campbell welcomed it 'after considerable correspondence with Lord Elcho.'⁴ Campbell advised the delegates to the conference of the F.G.M.F.S. 'on returning home to send petitions in favour of the bill, if they had not done so already, so that this last link of the feudal chain may be snapped asunder.'⁵ When the amended bill was passed by the Commons, the F.G.M.M. wrote that: 'In fact, the bill when it becomes law, will place workmen on the same platform with their employers.'⁶ This view

¹D. Simon, op.cit., p. 186.

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 781.

³Ibid., p. 995.

⁴F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 995: Alexander Campbell's speech at the conference of the F.G.M.F.S. in June 1867.

⁵F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 995, and Glasgow Sentinel, June 15 1867.

⁶F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 1053.

was too optimistic. The amended Act of 1867 was certainly 'the first positive success of the Trade Unions in the legislative field.'¹ However, as G.D.H. Cole rightly pointed out, the Act still left the master and workman unequal parties, by retaining the criminal taint attached to breach of contract by a "servant".² In fact, after 1867 the number of prison sentences fell by two-thirds, but the total number of proceedings and convictions hardly declined at all - by little more than a tenth.³ The F.G.M.F.S. had lost interest in further agitation against the Act of 1867, in spite of the fact that some flint glass makers still suffered from it.⁴ Even when one of the most shocking cases, that of William Cutler took place in Sheffield and a Committee was formed consisting of delegates from the A.S.E., and a variety of other trades together with Hughes, Mundella, Beesly, F. Harrison, H. Crompton, Lloyd Jones and so on, the F.G.M.F.S. did not send a delegate.⁵ It was not until 1875 that the Employers and Workmen Act enabled workmen to be placed 'on the same platform as their employers.'

¹S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 253.

²G.D.H. Cole and A.W. Filson, op.cit., pp. 552-3.

³D. Simon, op.cit., p. 186.

⁴For instance, James Martin, an apprentice in the Teams Glass Works of Gateshead, was charged with absenting himself from his employment in 1875. The Gateshead magistrates claimed £2 8s. to be paid by instalments of 2s. 6d. per week to be kept off his wages'. (Gateshead Observer, October 2 1875).

⁵The Masters and Servant Act 1867. Important Appeal Case to the Trades Unions of the United Kingdom, 1873. (A leaflet) (Howell Collection.)

It is now clear that, apart from the fact that flint glass makers had suffered in general from the Master and Servant Act, two activists helped to connect the F.G.M.F.S. with the national movement against the law. Benjamin Smart of Glasgow served the C.S. of the Society between 1863 and 1866. Consequently the headquarters of the Society was placed in Glasgow, from where the movement against the law had sprang. Alexander Campbell, although an honorary member of the Society, participated in many relevant meetings as a representative from the Society. Chance played its part in the flint glass makers' involvement in the struggle against the Master and Servant Act and chance explains why that involvement was so short-lived. The law was most oppressive in Scotland and while the F.G.M.F.S. had its headquarters in Glasgow the Society threw its weight into the balance. When that circumstance changed, the concern diminished. Thus, in this matter of the law of master and servant one sees most clearly how the contingencies of the governing branch affected participation in national movements.

V. The Legal Crisis of Trade Unionism

1866-67 were critical years for the trade unions. The Sheffield outrages and the decision in the case of Hornby v. Close threatened their existence. When in October 1866 the house of a non-unionist in Sheffield was blown up by gunpower, the London Trades Council and the executive of the A.S.E. claimed that the 'outrages had no link with their union' and sent a joint deputation to Sheffield (and Nottingham) to investigate the case.¹ The Junta, the L.W.M.A. and the United Kingdom Alliance of Organized Trades were unanimous in condemning the outrages.² 'In the state of public irritation against Trade Unionism, which had been growing during the past few years of lock-outs and strikes, the news served to precipitate events.'³ The case of Hornby v. Close, in which the Bradford Branch of the Boilermakers' Society sued their treasurer for embezzlement of the sum of £24, was another element in the crisis. The Magistrates' judgement on January 16 1867 meant that trade unions were not able to claim legal protection for their accumulated funds and that the very existence

¹Robert Danter of the A.S.E. and George Odger of the London Trades Council were appointed as a deputation on October 20 1866. (London Trades' Council to the Trades Societies Generally, 1866, Howell Collection). For the Sheffield outrages, see Sidney Pollard, The Ethics of the Sheffield Outrages, in Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, vol. VII, 1957, pp. 118-39, and Introduction by Sidney Pollard, in The Sheffield Outrages, 1971.

²S. Pollard, The Ethics of the Sheffield Outrages, ibid., p. 118.

³S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 259.

of the trade unions as legal entities was denied.

In February 1867 a Royal Commission of Enquiry was established to investigate not only the outrages but also the whole of the workings of the trade union movement. The Commission had only two members favourable to trade unions - Frederic Harrison and Thomas Hughes - out of a total of eleven commissioners. The C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. remarked in March 1867 that the Commission 'are showing a strong bias against trades' unions' so that 'no good will result to trades unions from their report.'¹ Particularly, J.A. Roebuck, the most virulently anti-unionist on the Commission, was a target for trade union criticism. The F.G.M.M. called him 'the Sheffield Blade, whose questions display a feeling of bitter hostility to unions which is scarcely in keeping with the judicial position he occupies.'² The standpoint of the F.G.M.F.S. was clear; 'Whatever may be the finding of the Commission - we do not attach much importance to any conclusion it may come to - it is clear that combination will never be given up until it is replaced by cooperation.'³ The Queen's Bench decision in the Hornby v. Close case made the L.W.M.A. decide to hold a national trade union conference for March 5.⁴ The Government decision to appoint the Royal Commission

¹F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 979.

²Ibid., p. 973.

³Ibid.

⁴Bee-Hive, February 2 1867.

on Trade Unions only served to strengthen the need for such a national conference.

Despite the Junta's opposition, the conference held in St. Martin's Hall, in London on March 5-8 was successful and constituted 'a Parliament of Labour'.¹ 'Upwards of 160 delegates assembled, representing 11 general Trades Councils, and 107 Trade Societies, whose members numbered over 200,000 directly connected with them'.² The F.G.M.F.S. sent Joseph Leicester as a representative of the Society.³ He contended at the conference that 'several members of the commission had a foregone conclusion that trades' unions were an evil, having been inoculated with the fallacies of the Times'.⁴ When a committee was set up by the Conference to 'watch over the interests of the trades' unions during the sitting of the royal commission',⁵ Leicester was

¹Bee-Hive, March 9 1867.

²Report of the Trades Conference held at St. Martin's Hall, March 5, 6, 7, & 8, 1867, 1867 (Howell Collection). It is almost impossible to maintain with the Webbs that 'Many of their (the Junta's) provincial allies came up without any suspicion of the sectional character of the conference.' (S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 272.)

³F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 979. The C.C. of the F.G.M.F.S. 'are pleased to say that he (Leicester) complied with our request, and that he performed his duties to our entire satisfaction.' (F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 979)

⁴Reynolds's Newspaper, March 10 1867.

⁵Reynolds's Newspaper, March 17 1867.

appointed one of its nine members, the other major ones being George Potter, Alexander MacDonald (Miners' National Association), John Kans (Iron Workers), and W.H. Wood (Manchester and Salford Trades Council). The Junta had established the 'Conference of Amalgamated Trades' in January 1867. Thus two rival bodies came to being, - the St. Martin's Hall Conference Committee and the Conference of Amalgamated Trades. Each body was competing to represent the trade unions in relation to the Royal Commission.

On March 18 Applegarth gave evidence before the Royal Commission and on the following day Potter did likewise. Thomas Connolly was allowed to be present on behalf of the Conference Committee at the examination of witnesses.¹ But on June 26 Connolly criticised J.A. Roebuck at a public meeting called by the L.W.M.A. and soon after on a pretext he was expelled from further sittings of the Commission. The Committee seemed, at first sight, to be a very strong organisation.² But soon the difficulty of finding a suitable time when all the members could be in London together led to it fading out.³

On June 20 1867 it was eventually discovered that William Broadhead, a secretary of the Saw Grinders' Union and a treasurer of the United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades, was the ringleader of the Sheffield outrages.⁴ On June 26 the general council of the L.W.M.A. held a

¹Manchester Guardian, June 5 1868; Potter's statement at the first T.U.C.

²An Address - "To the Operative Class of the United Kingdom", issued by the Conference Committee was published in the F.G.M.M., vol.V, pp. 932-40.

³Only Potter, Connolly and Leicester on the Committee were London based representatives.

⁴Reynolds's Newspaper, June 23 1867.

special meeting to express an opinion on 'the late revolting disclosures.' The disclosure exposed the Alliance to great hostility from the press, employers, and 'even from the moderate unions.'¹ At this meeting Leicester noted the use to which anti-trade unionists were already putting the affair:

'Do we protest against a statement made in a leading article of the Times of Tuesday last, that the executive of the United Kingdom Alliance of Organized Trades, an association numbering 60,000 members, spread over the whole kingdom, were concerned in promoting these outrages;... this statement of the Times is a gross libel on a respectable body of workmen - a moral assassination of character little, if any, less infamous than the worst of the crimes committed by Broadhead, showing to what reckless and unscrupulous lengths the enemies of trades' unions are prepared to go to excite a prejudice against them in the public mind.'²

The Stourbridge District of the F.G.M.F.S. held a meeting on July 6 1867 and J. Smart, a president of the District, remarked that 'If he thought the principles of trade unions could not be maintained without resorting to such crimes as had recently been divulged, he would at once cease to be a member of one. (Cheers)'³ W.H. Packwood proposed:

'That this meeting consider it their duty, as trade unionists, to express their sincere regret and abhorrence at the cruel and revolting outrages perpetrated at Sheffield by such men as Broadhead and his pitiable

¹Ibid.

²Reynolds's Newspaper, June 30 1867.

³Brierley Hill Advertiser, July 13 1867.

accomplices in crime, and altogether ignore and denounce such conduct, or violence of any kind being used to defend the principles and objects of trade unions.' 1

The resolution in the Stourbridge District was echoed by the statement of the C.C. of the Society on July 20 1867.

'No language can be too strong in condemning their proceedings and any trade society that would even encourage or tolerate the mildest system of rattening which has been adopted by some of the Sheffield trades, deserves the severest condemnation of every right minded man.' 2

To maintain "respectability" for the trade unionists meant a condemnation of the Sheffield outrages.

Although Potter's contribution towards the founding of the T.U.C. should not be overestimated,³ it was wrong of the Webbs to dismiss Potter too contemptuously. Certainly he and his associates played an important role. The first Congress was convened by the L.W.M.A. and was held at the Mechanics' Institute, Manchester on June 2-6 1868.⁴ The 34 delegates present represented a constituency of 118,267 trade unionists. The London Trades Council and the big unions of the

¹Ibid.

²F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 1056.

³See B.C. Roberts's The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921, 1958, which was criticised by Stephen Coltham, George Potter, the Junta, and the Bee-Hive, op.cit., p. 391. See also, Royden Harrison, 'Practical, Capable Men', in New Reasoner, no. 6, 1958, pp. 105-19.

⁴For the process up to the holding the T.U.C., see A.E. Musson, The Congress of 1868, 1955, pp. 27-36.

Conference of Amalgamated Trades ignored the Congress as they regarded it as 'a rival to their own authority.' Naturally, the F.G.M.F.S. decided to send two representatives, 'Believing that the sending of a deputation would be beneficial to us as a body.'¹ So the F.G.M.F.S. was one of the more important trade unions at that first Congress.

So far as the Royal Commission was concerned, once the final task of drafting recommendations for the Government was taken up at the end of 1868, the struggle for the final report between the two parties among the Commissioners became sharper.² Harrison and Hughes, occasionally supported by Merivale, Elcho and Litchfield, were attempting to gain acceptance for the demands of the unions. In March 1869 the Report of the Commission was laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and the leading article of the F.G.M.M. in that month was still expressing entire dissatisfaction with the partiality of the Commission.

'Not much good of any kind must be expected from the Report itself; but should Parliament decide upon carrying out the recommendations of the majority of the Commissioners, a great amount of evil must inevitably follow.'³

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 397. The F.G.M.M. published discussions at the T.U.C. in detail, depending for its information on the articles in the Bee-Hive, although these were slightly modified. Two copies of the relevant issues of the Bee-Hive were sent to each District secretary of the F.G.M.F.S. (ibid.)

²For the struggle in the Royal Commission, see H.W. McCready, British Labour and the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, 1867-9, in University of Toronto Quarterly, vol. XXIV, 1955, pp. 390-409, particularly p. 401.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 505.

At this stage no trade unions thought that the Commission would publish a final report favourable to trade unions. The Minority Report was unexpected. ^{It} provided the principles upon which all future legislation would proceed, and along with other trade unions, the F.G.M.F.S. welcomed it.¹

The Second T.U.C. was held in Birmingham on August 23-28 1869. The Congress attracted more representatives than the first one in Manchester but it was still a provincial affair. The F.G.M.F.S. again sent two delegates to the Congress. There was a total of 47 delegates, representing 40 societies, including 36 trade unions and Trades Councils.² The F.G.M.F.S. was still one of the more important national unions, together with those of the Ironworkers, Miners, Stone-masons and Tailors. The most significant occurrence for the flint glass makers was the election as Congress President of T.J. Wilkinson.³

¹Ibid., p. 669.

The principles were, as Harrison himself remarked, 1) removing statutory restriction on combination 2) protecting union funds under the Friendly Societies Act 3) abolishing special offences in trade disputes. (see, H.W. McCready, op.cit., p. 404, and W.H. Fraser, Trade Unions and Society, 1974, p. 190).

²R.S. Kirk, The Second Annual Congress of Trade Unions, held on August 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28, 1869, Birmingham, 1869, MSS (Birmingham Reference Library) reported discussions of the second T.U.C. for the Birmingham Daily Post, August 25-28, 1869. The printed report of the above is preserved in the Howell Collection. A lengthy Report is also found in the Bee-Hive, August 28 1869. Seventy pages in the F.G.M.M. of September 1869 were taken up in reporting the proceedings with comments by the Society. (vol. VI, pp. 655-724).

³Birmingham Daily Post, August 24 1869.

The F.G.M.M. was proud to write: 'The highest honour the Congress could confer was accorded to our Society, by electing one of your representatives to perform the responsible duties of President.'¹ In his opening address Wilkinson denied the 'violent remedies' on both sides of employers and workers. According to R.S. Kirk, a special reporter for the Congress, 'In his (Wilkinson's) judgement, while harsh measures compelled men to resort to strikes, there were also circumstances in which employers were compelled to resort to lock-outs. (Hear, Hear)' Although himself a trades unionist of thirty years standing, and an enthusiast, he admitted that men committed errors and blunders as well as employers, and if the Congress could devise means by which the necessity of resorting to such violent remedies on either side might be obviated a grand gain would be effected.'²

The Congress approved of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission and called for the trade unions to support the National Education League³ and also for the reduction of hours of work to eight a day. The Congress also resolved to recommend that all unions should become members of the International. The F.G.M.M. wrote:

'The Congress just closed produced no "Broadhead" advocates, no preachers of revolutionary doctrine,

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 655.

²R.K. Kirk, op.cit.

³The National Education League was established on February 2 1869 and by September of that year it had 'already made such rapid progress that it consisted of 1400 members.' (Bee-Hive, September 18 1869). The League was made up of the intelligentsia, the Dissenters, large-scale employers in the industrial towns, the leaders of organised skilled workers and radical politicians. (See A.F. Taylor, Birmingham and the Movement for National

no enthusiasts in favour of reducing all to a common level. Each one was satisfied that "Order is heaven's first law; and this confessed, some are, and must be, greater than the rest." 1

The second T.U.C. was successful, but the Birmingham Trades Council, the organiser of the Congress, was left with a debt. 'It was not until September 1870 that the amount of rent (five pounds) of the Congress meeting room was paid.' 2 T.J. Wilkinson was given the highest honour' as Congress President, but the F.G.M.F.S. of Birmingham

Education 1867-77 - An Account of the Work and Influence of the National Education League, Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1960, p. 73). The F.G.M.F.S. were proud of being 'the first trade society who took active steps and joined the movement.' (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 827). The Birmingham District of the Society joined the League and contributed £5. (Ibid., p. 778). The Stourbridge District followed it. Indeed, the F.G.M.F.S. did not support the Manchester Education Union. The leading article of the F.G.M.M. stated in December 1869 that 'Two districts' plans are submitted - that of the Manchester Education Union, which simply proposes an extension of the present system; and that of the National Education League, whose object is to secure a full, unsectarian, and if necessary compulsory education in England and Wales.' (Ibid. p. 773). However, both the pretensions and the concern were much more evident in the agitation which led to the Education Act of 1870 than its aftermath.

¹ F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 723.

² A Historical Sketch of the Birmingham Trades Council, 1860-1926, Birmingham, 1927, pp. 7-8.

did not affiliate to the Trades Council until September 1870,¹
 The affiliation of the wealthy Society was welcomed; 'It is always
 darkest before the dawn and soon the dawn could be seen approaching.
 It was at this period that the Flint Glass Makers' Society became
 affiliated.'²

The main concern of trade unionists from 1869 onwards was to
 secure implementation of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission.
 After the withdrawal of a Bill drafted by Harrison himself in July
 1869,³ the trade unionists awaited the introduction of the Bill promised
 by the Government. But no Bill appeared in 1870. As a result, the
 next T.U.C. adjourned. For the same reason the general conference of

¹Birmingham Trades Council Minutes Book, vol. 1, 1869-73, September 2 1870. Seven glass makers were allowed to be representatives among thirty-four in the Trades Council, including T.J. Wilkinson, T.C. Barnes (later the commissioner of the Birmingham School Board) and A. Haddleton (secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council, from February 1885 to June 1895). Mainly because of their peculiar working hours, as we saw earlier in the case of the Glasgow Trades Council, the attendances of the glass makers' representatives were few. For instance, in 1871-72, out of 13 opportunities, Haddleton attended 12 times, but the other five glass makers did not attend at all. (The Sixth Annual Report of the Birmingham Trades Council for the year ending June 30 1872). It can be generalised that the affiliation of the F.G.M.F.S. to the local Trades Council was quite difficult unless honorary members of the Society like Campbell in Glasgow or semi-professional men like Haddleton were appointed.

²A Historical Sketch of the Birmingham Trades Council, 1860-1926, op.cit., p. 8.

³F.G.M.M., vol. VI, p. 651. Harrison's Bill is reprinted in the Bee-Hive, April 17 1869, and the F.G.M.M., vol. VI, pp.592-4.

the F.G.M.F.S. also adjourned.¹ In October 1870 the F.G.M.F.S. received a request from the London Committee of Arrangement for the third T.U.C. and began to make preparation to send two delegates to the Congress, which would take place 'in the early part of 1871',² but this was again postponed, 'until the First Monday after the Bill is before Parliament.'³ In February 1871 the Government Bill was at last introduced in the House of Commons. It would grant full legal recognition to trade unions and would secure protection for their funds by registration under the Friendly Societies Act. But the problem was the criminal clause.⁴ The trade union world was indignant. The Conference of Amalgamated Trades sprang to life again and convened

¹T.J. Wilkinson remarked in December 1869 that 'One of the principal reasons given by those who desire my re-election is that it would be unwise to hold a conference until after the Trade Union Bill is passed into Law.' (F.G.M.M., vol. VI, pp. 824-5).

²Ibid., p. 1002.

³The Congress of 1868, p. 46. Circular dated October 2 1870; quoted by A.E. Musson.

⁴The Webbs wrote of the criminal clause that 'Its comprehensive prohibition of violence, threats, intimidation, molestations, and obstruction did not more than sum up and codify the various judicial decisions of past years under which the Trade Unionists had suffered.' (S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 278.) For the 1871 legislation, see R.Y. Hedges and A. Winterbottom, The Legal History of Trade Unionism, 1930, pp. 65-112, and H.W. McCready, British Labour's Lobby 1867-75, in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. XXII, no. 2, May 1956, pp. 141-60.

a mass meeting of London trades on March 1 1871. To coincide with the second reading of the Bill, the third T.U.C. was held in London on March 6. This Congress was the first really national one, being attended by delegates from 49 societies, representing nearly 290,000 members. For the first time, the London Trades Council sent delegates.¹ The delegates spent most of their time in denouncing the criminal clauses. The "Parliamentary Committee" was set up to watch over the progress of the Bill and to secure the rejection of the criminal clause. Joseph Leicester was appointed a member of the five-man Committee, together with Alexander MacDonald, Lloyd Jones, George Potter and George Howell.² Pressure on the Government by the Committee persuaded Bruce, the Home Secretary, to separate the third clause from the rest.³ The separation into the "Trade Union Bill" and the "Criminal Law Amendment Bill" obviously enabled working people to show their enthusiasm for the former and their opposition to the latter. However,

¹See H.W. MacCready, British Labour's Lobby, op.cit., p. 146.

²A.W. Humphrey, A History of Labour Representation, op.cit., pp. 73-4, F.M. Leventhal, Respectable Radical, op.cit., p. 151.

³This act of the Committee 'gave dissatisfaction to some members of the Conference of Amalgamated Trades.' (W.J. Davis, The British Trades Union Congress - History and Recollections, 1910, p. 24). Then, George Howell, secretary of the Committee, arranged for a joint meeting to be held on March 17 and again on March 28 and an agreement to protest against the criminal clause was finally signed by Potter, Howell, William Allan and Applegarth. (ibid., pp. 20-1).

the latter was made worse in the House of Lords. Picketing which had been legalised by the act of 1859, was condemned along with "molestation" and "intimidation".¹ The trade union leaders were therefore very disappointed at the action of the Liberal Government, when the Lords' Amendment was carried in the House of Commons on June 19². Thus two Bills passed into Law.³ 'In the eyes of the Trade Unions this result amounted to a defeat and the conduct of the Government caused the bitterest resentment.'⁴ At the conference of the F.G.M.F.S. held shortly after the passing of the Law, it was agreed that:

'Respecting the Government Trades Union Bill, which is mainly an unjust law made to punish our class, and how can we expect otherwise when we recollect that the law was made by employers, and as such they were actuated by their feeling and from their own view of the question; and as workmen, looking at it from our own standpoint, we condemn it, which we had a right to do. We contend that laws should be for all alike and unexceptional. This conference is of opinion that the Trade Union Bill is of such a one-sided and unjust a character, that we cannot entertain it, and totally condemn it.' 5

¹Bruce stated of the Lords' amendment that 'any man standing by a factory door might be convicted by it.' (A.W. Humphrey, op.cit., p. 74)

²The Lords' amendment was carried by 147 as against 97. Of those who voted for it 101 were Liberals. (ibid.) Expected allies such as the Bass Brothers, Thomas Brassey, Joseph Cowen and George Dixon, were, as the "Parliamentary Committee" pointed out, 'conspicuous by their absence'. (W.H. Fraser, Trade Unions and Society, op.cit., p. 160)

³Both Acts are reprinted in G.D.H. Cole and A.W. Filson (ed.), British Working Class Movement: Select Documents, 1789-1875, op.cit., pp. 570-73.

⁴S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 282.

⁵F.G.M.M., vol. VI, pp. 1149-50. The conference of the F.G.M.F.S. was held from July 31 to August 5 1871.

The trade unions had moved ahead a few steps but the Criminal Law Amendment Act was far from realising the programme of reform set forth in the Minority Report. The decision of the conference was reported to the delegates of the fourth T.U.C. held in Nottingham in January 1872. W.H. Packwood in seconding the proposal against the Act,

'denounced the Act as being more worthy of the times of the dark ages, when men were held in vassalage, when it was considered a crime for the sons of labour to attempt to ameliorate their condition by their own unaided efforts.... At the National Flint Glass Makers' Trade Conference, held in Manchester 1871, the Bill was unanimously condemned, and (it was) decided to have nothing whatever to do with the bill until the criminal clauses were entirely abolished.' ¹

The Nottingham congress instructed the Parliamentary Committee to take all steps feasible for the repeal of the Act. It had the support of a substantial number of middle-class radicals both in and out of Parliament. A number of mass protest meetings were held, including those at Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham and Edinburgh. The protest reached its peak in June 1873 when a great demonstration of metropolitan and provincial unionists was held in Hyde Park. In 1875 the Act was finally abolished.

Some important national movements with which the F.G.M.F.S. had any connections have been examined mainly in terms of the conflict

¹F.G.M.M., vol. VII, p. 114-5.

between the Junta and Potter. In the eyes of the Webbs the fact that a "New Model" union supported not the Junta but Potter seems to have been an aberration. In the preceding chapters it was pointed out that, although the F.G.M.F.S. was a "New Model" Union in many important respects - organisationally, actuarially, and "spiritually" -, it differed from the Union of the engineers or carpenters in one respect - a relatively small membership. The Society was not an amalgamated union. An attempt to amalgamate with the glass cutters or glass bottle makers was made, but nothing came of it. The superiority of flint glass makers in skill, working conditions and wages, and in terms of organisation was absolutely clear, compared with other types of glass workers. This inhibited flint glass makers from establishing an amalgamated society. They could stand up to their employers sufficiently without the need of an amalgamated society by controlling the supply of labour. These factors also meant that a sharp break with "primitive democracy" was unnecessary. Flint Glass Makers in general disliked the power centralised in the hands of a few officers as in the A.S.E. or the A.S.C.J. This may explain how through such a bridge-building figure as Joseph Leicester they could help to reconcile the differences between the traditions of localism and the requirements of the new national unions which took the form of the Junta v. Potter struggle. The Junta's political activities tended to be rooted mainly in London and did not always reach the provincial areas. The West Midlands or Scotland was far from London. The Webbs themselves appear to have failed to recognise the extent to which the Flint Glass Makers constituted a disturbing hybrid so far as their typology was concerned: - 'the "New Model" with the bureaucracy left out!' It is of great significance to recognise that there existed a Union in the third quarter of the nineteenth century which could not be understood within the established framework of the Junta v. Potter model.

CHAPTER VIIConclusion

This final chapter attempts to relate the main findings of this thesis to the arguments about the Labour aristocracy and "New Model" unionism. On the one hand there are historians like Pelling, Musson and Allan who deny the reality or usefulness of one or both of these concepts. On the other hand, historians such as Hobsbawm, Harrison, Gray and Crossick have successively tried to enrich and elaborate them. To Hobsbawm we owe what might be termed an "economic anatomy" of Labour aristocracy; to Harrison a rehabilitation of the notion of the "New Model" and a complex account of the aristocracy's political behaviour which takes us away from the notion that it was always and everywhere a retarding force; to Gray and Crossick a fresh sense of its sociological dimension in which it is related not merely to the experience of particular trades but to particular communities.

The pioneering study was Eric Hobsbawm's 'The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-century Britain'. He established six criteria 1) the level and regularity of a worker's earnings 2) prospects of social security, 3) conditions of work, 4) relations with the social strata above and below, 5) general condition of living 6) prospects of future advance for themselves and their children. He regarded the first criterion as the most important. Immediately he turned his attention away from the definitional problem to the size of the Labour aristocracy, which could be measured by 1) wages rates and 2) membership of the trade unions. The result of his calculation from wage rates was: about 11% out of 7.8 million working-class men, women and children belonged to the Labour aristocracy in the 1860s.¹ Next, using the

¹Eric Hobsbawm, *The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-century Britain*, op.cit., p. 273, 279.

Webbs' Trade Union membership figures indicating that 20% of the working class was organised in trade unions in 1892 relying on 'more or less plausible guesses', Hobsbawm halved this to allow for organised non aristocratic elements and came to the conclusion that 10% of the working-class constituted the Labour aristocracy in its classic period, 1840-1890.¹

Royden Harrison developed Hobsbawm's argument by exploring political behaviour. But he began by paying attention to Karl Marx's Inaugural Address to the First International which remarked that "the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1808 to 1864" but 'a minority of the working classes got their real wages somewhat advanced.' Harrison accepted - indeed, insisted - that there was a social reality corresponding to the minority to which Marx referred. He agreed that it secured disproportionate benefit from the growth of wealth and income, but he questioned whether it could have secured exclusively for itself the whole of the one third increase in real wages which occurred in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He saw the Labour aristocracy securing the lion's share of the increase in the per capita consumption of coffee, tea, cocoa, beer, sugar and tobacco, but had the rest of the working class received nothing then labour aristocratic hegemony might have been more difficult to secure.

Whereas Hobsbawm concentrated his attention mainly upon the economic dimension, Harrison turned to complicated differences

¹Ibid., p. 279.

between its economic, social and political dimensions. What Harrison emphasised was the 'profound gulf between the "aristocracy" and the "plebeians", between the organised and the unorganised,' although this did not prevent 'the spokesmen of the former stratum from presuming to speak on behalf of all the working classes. Socially and industrially the labour aristocracy took care to separate itself from the vast labouring majority, but in politics it sometimes found it convenient to pose as the authentic spokesman of the working classes as a whole.'¹ In this context Harrison contended that the Labour aristocracy had its "golden age" in the third quarter of the nineteenth century rather than in the longer period identified by Hobsbawm. It is to be regreted that a debate which raises fundamental questions of historical methodology should not even have arrived at agreement concerning the elementary matter of chronology. However, such over-sights are always likely to occur once the ideological temperature rises and gauntlets are thrown down.

According to Pelling, the concept of the Labour aristocracy 'does more harm than good to historical truth.'² He contended that

¹Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, op.cit., p. 32.
My emphasis.

²Henry Pelling, the Concept of the Labour Aristocracy, in Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, 1968, p. 61.

'the term "Labour aristocracy" really derives its significance from its use by Marxist writers in their efforts to reconcile the observable phenomena of Victorian and Edwardian life with the Marxist theory of economic development.'¹ At the same time, however, he insisted that 'the Marxist historians have completely got the wrong end of the stick: Militancy was much more likely to be found among the better-off than among the poorer workers.'² Pelling's logic is perplexing. As Hobsbawm and Harrison pointed out,³ he insists that the concept of the Labour aristocracy is meaningless, and then adds that it was more radical than the rest of the working class! There is no cake and then he eats it! As Harrison pointed out, 'the concept of a Labour aristocracy is not an invention or discovery of Marx and Engels, but almost a commonplace of mid-Victorian socio-economic literature.'⁴ Any denial of the concept of a Labour aristocracy as a point of mid-Victorian social awareness must present an alternative picture,

¹Ibid., p. 37.

²Ibid., p. 61.

³See Hobsbawm's review of Pelling's Book, in Bulletin, of the Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 18, Spring, 1969, p. 52, and Harrison's review of Pelling's book, in Victorian Studies, vol. XIII, March 1970, p. 364.

⁴Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, op.cit., p. 5.

which accommodates the contemporary "commonplace" within a more adequate account of the working classes. Yet Pelling has not presented an alternative picture. The world of labour in the age of the Bee-Hive was very different from what it had been in the age of the Northern Star. This change must be explained. If it is not explained by the rise of the Labour aristocracy then an alternative hypothesis must be furnished.

However, a criticism of Pelling's argument must not be confined to pointing out the logical inconsistency in his essay, but must also respond to the points which he raised by presenting historical evidence. Valuable contributions to the debate have been made by R.Q. Gray, Geoffrey Crossick and - less centrally by Eric Hopkins and G. Stedman Jones.¹ All these researches were locally focused and consequently sharpened up the issues identified in the national surveys attempted by Hobsbawm and Harrison. Certainly Hobsbawm's six criteria might have been expanded into a multi-dimensional approach. Gray and Crossick have begun to explore different levels in the analysis of

¹Geoffrey Crossick, Social Structure and Working-Class Behaviour: Kentish London, 1840-1880, Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1976; R.Q. Gray, Class Structure and the Class Formation of Skilled Workers in Edinburgh, C.1850-C.1900, Ph.D. thesis op.cit.; Eric Hopkins, The Working Classes of Stourbridge and District, 1815-1914, Ph.D. thesis, op.cit.; G. Stedman Jones, Outcast of London, 1971.

the Labour aristocracy. Gray's work on the skilled workers of Edinburgh in the second half of the nineteenth century led him to formulate three distinct levels: 1) the structural differentiation within the working class, 2) the cultural differentiation 3) class institutions and patterns of collective action. According to Gray, on the first level it could be shown that 'variation in class situation - incomes, economic security, work situation - constituted a set of systematic, inter-related structured inequalities within the manual working class.' On the second level of analysis attention should be directed to 'style of life, patterns of social mixing and segregation within the urban community, and aspirations, in an attempt to show that the upper stratum projected a distinct and exclusive social identity.' On the third level, what requires examination and explanation is 'the articulation of organised class interest, and to establish to what extent it reflects patterns of structural and cultural differentiation.'¹ Gray's formulation was more sophisticated than that of Hobsbawm and laid stress on the life style of workers - socio-spatial segregation, marriage pattern, leisure activities and so on. On the other hand, Crossick, focusing on the history of workers in 'Kentish London' between 1840 and 1880, analysed the ideology and behaviour of working men. Examining Friendly Societies, co-operative and building societies, he made it clear that the ideology of the Labour aristocracy should

¹R. Q. Gray, op.cit., pp. 29-30.

not be identified with that of the middle classes.¹ Both Gray and Crossick recognised that the stratification among workers at the economic level afforded a necessary but not sufficient condition for the formation of Labour aristocracy. What they concentrated upon was their analysis of the social or cultural aspects in the context of the local community. 'The use of the term "aristocrats", they insist, implies a social and cultural demarcation.² Crossick wrote that 'it is only through such local studies that the meanings of particular working-class values can begin to be reinterpreted.'³

My research is not a local study but an occupational one in tone in which special attention has been paid to Stourbridge. Local studies and occupational studies are not mutually exclusive but complementary. Local studies clarify the relative position of groups of workers in a specified region. They need then to be compared with workers of the same occupation in other regions. My research paralleled Hopkins's analysis of the Stourbridge working class. He made it

¹See G. Crossick, op.cit., passim. See also G. Crossick, The Labour Aristocracy and its Values: a Study of Mid-Victorian Kentish London, in Victorian Studies, vol. XIX, no. 3, March 1976, pp. 301-28.

²R.Q. Gray, op.cit., p. 31.

³G. Crossick, The Labour Aristocracy and Its Values, op.cit., p. 303.

clear that in Stourbridge there were two different groups of working class people in terms of work situation (factory v. domestic workshop), wage levels, life style, and segregated residence, which were represented by glass makers and nailers. My research compared the glass makers in Stourbridge with those in other areas. The West Midland manufacturers, particularly the Stourbridge glass manufacturers, expanded by producing glass ware of high quality and consequently required highly skilled work men, but matters were very different in Newcastle, Manchester and some small towns in Yorkshire. The production of pressed glass in Newcastle threatened both flint glass makers and their manufacturers in the West Midlands. This research has shown that not only quantitative but qualitative concentration was most marked in Stourbridge. In many respects such as the degree of organisation, apprentice restriction and promotion control, the Stourbridge glass makers were the vanguard in the Society as a whole. Thus the character of the Stourbridge glass makers was more clearly understood. At the same time, it became clear that Hopkins overestimated the wages of glass makers in the course of demonstrating the contrast between glass makers and nailers. Hopkins' wage figures were those of the best paid glass maker among the Workmen; he had no material on the wages of Servitors, Footmakers or Takers-in. Thus, this thesis is a plea - however imperfect - for a new genre: for studies in which the character of a Labour aristocracy will be understood in relation to both the structure of the trade and the make up of a community. We must beware of easy assertions that "glass makers were labour aristocrats"

irrespective of their position in the process of production (Gaffer or Footmaker) or of where they lived (Stourbridge or Rotherham).

Perhaps one should cultivate analysis in terms of the rings of concentric circles: the work group, the factory, the industry, the local community, and class and society. In so far as the Labour aristocracy must be understood in relative terms, the people to whom a superior group of workers was related varied according to the different circles.

The reputed conservatism of labour aristocrats in relation to technical innovation and changes in the organisation of production certainly applied to the first concentric circle (the work group) of glass makers. They energetically opposed any proposed change in the traditional method of production. They opposed the introduction of mechanical innovations into the trade. They agitated against any change in the hours of work (six-hour shift) and method of payment (eleven moves plus extra). They thought that such changes might open the door to less skilled workers. For their Union leaders the limitation of working hours was 'not a trade union question at all.'

As Chapter II suggested, the skills required were clearly distinguished among the different groups in the chair and the power of the Workman was absolute in many respects. The stratification of flint glass makers in the chair was the first and vital process involved in the formation of a Labour aristocracy. Particularly important were wage differentials in the chairs. Hobsbawm's economic criteria was sufficiently ambiguous to allow Pelling to criticise.

Pelling remarked:

'It soon becomes evident that even with the help of the wage figures: it is by no means easy for Dr. Hobsbawm to distinguish the labour aristocrats, except by making a series of additional assumptions. Even for the "classical period" of 1840-90, he is able to operate only on the basis of "more or less plausible guesses"'.¹

On the other hand, Crossick contended that 'If the existence of a labour aristocracy has to be proved by a precise quantitative assessment, such as that demanded by Pelling, then the task is not possible.'²

Hobsbawm's quantitative ambiguity does not mean that the Labour aristocracy did not exist. However, Crossick's resolve to abandon its quantitative measurement is unacceptable. A weak point in his thesis seems to be the unsatisfactory analysis of economic aspects partly due to the lack of data on earnings in his area,³ and partly due to his heavy emphasis upon the social aspects of the Labour aristocracy. It is necessary to analyse wage figures in each trade in each region more precisely. Chapter III - I in this thesis was

¹H. Pelling, op.cit., p. 40.

²G. Crossick, Social Structure and the Working-Class Behaviour, op.cit., p. 219.

³Crossick himself recognised that 'in the absence of satisfactory earnings data and social surveys, it is impossible to indicate what proportion of workers in each trade formed part of this aristocracy of labour.' (Ibid., p. 205).

an attempt to do this. Indeed, Hobsbawm's suggestion that many skilled men in Glass received 40s. or above in the 1860s is, as he himself recognised, 'too crude a guide.'¹ Although Hobsbawm set up a model which showed a gulf between the Labour aristocracy and the "Pelbeians", Chapter II-I shows that such a sharp gulf did not exist in the flint glass trade; what really existed were numerous grades from Takers-in to Workmen. My wage data calls into question Pelling's contention that 'the working class became more homogeneous',² as the century went on due to the fact of technical change eroding the old crafts. In flint glass making, although there was a substantial rise of wages after around 1850, there was no sign of a narrowing of wage differentials, although, of course, neither was there any technical changes which undermined the craftsmen's position.

From the point of view of wage differentials changes in wages during a worker's life time were more important than differences between the four groups in the chair. The different wages which flint glass makers received from the beginning of work in the glass trade until retirement was also traced in Chapter III-I in the context of many other relevant factors such as family size, marital status, position of households and life expectancy. The changes of wages over time were closely connected with the chances of promotion from inferior

¹See E. Hobsbawm, *The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-century Britain* op.cit., p. 280, Table I, and Hobsbawm's Review of Pelling's book, op.cit., p. 52.

²H. Pelling, op.cit., p. 52. Pelling himself realised that some branches of the glass trade escaped from that general tendency. (ibid.)

to superior status in the chairs. As Chapter V-I showed, the Union's policy made the chance of promotion smaller and smaller the higher the status reached. Stourbridge as a district maintained the strictest promotion restrictions and this suggests that the workers there may have had a greater attachment to workplace differentials than in some other places. My finding that sons of glass makers received preferential treatment in promotion and that glass makers of higher status were mainly recruited from the families of glass makers is important in this respect. The Labour aristocracy was not simply the high wage earners although they were this, but there was a high degree of occupational continuity over generations. They were not simply skilled workers but an aristocracy of Labour who inherited their father's skill in a literal sense and could enjoy sharply rising wages in their life time. This made a contrast to the "plebeians" who not only in childhood and in early middle life when they had a family of dependent children, but in old age, did not experience a sharp rise of wages. My point is that it is in the life time experience, especially changes of wages, that distinguished the Labour aristocracy from the others. An examination of changes in wages both over time and during the life time together with other relevant factors clearly shows that most of the Workmen and Servitors belonged to the Labour aristocracy, but Footmakers and Takers-in did not.

The celebrated "superior" and often exploitative attitude of the labour aristocrat was also prevalent in this occupation. The despotic attitudes of glass makers of superior status towards Takers-in was described in Chapter II. The work of Takers-in was confined to

auxiliary tasks; 'Boys who are not apprentices, are strictly forbidden using Irons, or in any way meddling with the Metal in the Pots, and after this date, if found doing so, will be liable to a Fine or Dismissal.'¹ So far as boys' work was concerned, glass makers took up the same position as the manufacturers. The most notable example took place when the raising of the age limit to thirteen was attempted in 1875. Glass makers, along with manufacturers, strongly opposed it, because the proposed Bill would give 'a serious injury to the trade, as much as it creates very great inconvenience to the men.'² In this subject there were common interests between the glass makers and manufacturers. So the F.G.M.M. wrote of the evidence given by the manufacturers before the Factory and Workshops Acts Commission that 'our thanks are due to the Manufacturers, who so earnestly and consistently interested themselves in arresting a revolution of our trade, which if it had succeeded, would in our opinion, have proved most disastrous in its consequences.'³

¹ Notice to Boys (leaflet) issued by the Beatson and Clark Factory of Rotherham on June 8 1875 (Archive of the Beatson and Clark Factory, Rotherham).

² R.C. on Factory and Workshops Acts, 1876, vol. II, op.cit., p. 455, Q. 9201.

³ F.G.M.M., vol. VIII, pp. 33334. When it became clear in 1877 that the Factory and Workshops Bill prohibited the employment at night of young persons under fourteen years of age in glass-making, a joint deputation consisting of three each from the glass makers and manufacturers tried to persuade the Home Secretary to stop the Bill. (See Capital and Labour, vol. IX, no. 172, June 6 1877).

It was the first circle (the work group) of its Labour aristocratic presence that oppression and control by the superior group of the lower was most sharp and strong. It is not surprising that in this circle the superior group was conservative so far as the production process and mechanisation were concerned. In this circle they did not want any drastic change and consequently there was a strong continuity between the second and the third quarters of the nineteenth century.

The second concentric circle was life and work at the factory itself. In the factory flint glass makers distinguished themselves from other workers such as glass cutters, bottle makers, teasers, learmen, founders, moulders, smiths, stopperers, claymen, yardmen and warehouse men. And their awareness as Labour aristocrats was strengthened. Between 1867 and 1882 in the Beatson and Clark Factory of Rotherham, for example, Teasers and Learmen were paid approximately 14s. to 20s. but occasionally over 20s. Founders were paid between 16s. and 24s. Mouldmakers, Smiths, Stopperers and Claymen were paid between 14s. and 27s. Yardmen and warehousemen were paid almost always less than 20s.¹ We can also find in the Wages Book that there was

¹ Flint Glass Makers in Rotherham received 39s. 10d. in the 1860s and 37s. 10d. in the 1870s. For the details of the wages of other types of glass workers in Rotherham, see Appendix Table E:2.

little or no tendency for the wages of these workers to increase during the 1860s and 1870s. On the whole, flint glass makers in the chairs enjoyed markedly higher wages than these workers.

Their relations with glass cutters and bottle makers were particularly important in the circle of the factory. As Chapter III-II showed, industrially the production process of glass making and cutting were inter-related and both processes required high skill, although glass making required much more skill. But there were differences in the work cycle, hours of work, wages and working conditions. Both employers and workpeople thought that glass cutting was 'less healthy than the glass house work' and 'unfriendly feeling' prevailed between glass makers and cutters. In spite of working in the same factory in most cases, they did not have much contact with each other and it was relatively rare for a glass maker to be recruited from the families of glass cutters. Organisationally they had different Unions so that particularly in time of strikes animosity between them was sharpened, exacerbated by the closely related production processes. All these factors made it difficult to amalgamate the Unions, although amalgamation was proposed in the early 1870s.

An examination of the relations of flint bottle glass makers with ordinary bottle makers also shows a similar exclusiveness on the part of the flint glass makers and their Union. This exclusiveness was particularly underlined when the F.G.M.F.S. authorised its members to act as 'black-legs' during the Yorkshire Bottle Glass Society strike of 1877. In the second circle of the factory, the notion of superior glass makers as Labour aristocrats was strengthened by comparing themselves with less skilled workers in the factory. The Flint Glass

Makers' attitudes towards them were exclusive and apparently based on narrow self-interest.

The third concentric circle related to the industry. In the case of the flint glass makers the relations with other workers in the glass industry such as plate glass makers and sheet glass makers must be considered in this circle. Again, the flint glass makers clearly set themselves apart from other types of glass workers who were, in flint glass makers' words, 'all confined to one article each and all of them are the same thing over again, there is not variety'. The flint glass makers looked down upon these glass workers and felt that only they themselves had 'the honour of contributing daily to the luxuries of the tables of the nobility of the land, including Her Majesty the Queen'. It was only flint glass makers who 'labour at a beautiful art.' Such awareness led the flint glass makers to think of themselves as a monolithic group and tended to conceal the stratification between the groups in the chairs. That such stratification existed however is illustrated by the Children's Employment Commission of 1865, which vividly described the worst working conditions, ill-treatment and the lack of education among Takers-in in flint glass factories. But the Magazine tried to cover up its contents. Instead, it reported elaborately on the poor educational attainments of other types of glass workers. The C.C. of the Society remarked in 1865:

'Our attention has been directed to the report of the Commissioner on the employment of children connected with the glass trade. We are sorry the report does not go more fully into our own particular branch;

but from the published report of the bottle branch and sheet and crown branches deplorable as our condition as regards education, we have no hesitation in saying the boys at our trade would in general have shown a more respectable appearance than those examined in the above branches.' ¹

Thus, even their boys in the flint glass trade were described as a 'respectable' group distinguishable from those in other branches in the glass trade.

The fourth circle related to life in the local community. Here not only were differences between workers in the chairs obscured but those between glass makers, cutters and other types of glass workers were not fully but partly concealed, and all of them appeared as "glass workers". Since I did not set up a specific chapter on glass makers' activities in the local community, it is helpful to give some account of the marriage patterns, social activities and housing conditions of glass makers in Stourbridge, although I have no evidence relating to the activities of glass makers in Friendly Societies, churches, Building Societies or Leisure organisations which were elaborately examined by Gray and Crossick.

¹ F.G.M.M., vol. V, p. 591. The educational attainments of Takers-in in the flint glass trade were so low that J.B. Jefferys quoted a case of Joseph Hones, a Birmingham Taker-in aged 13 as an example of the lack of education of Mid-Victorian boys. The boy 'can read the letters of "Dublin" but cannot sound it. ... Cannot spell "sea" from sound. Wrote little letters on a slate. "9" is "3"; is "6"' (J.B. Jefferys (ed.) Labour's Formative Years 1849-1879, 1948, p. 157).

In an attempt to estimate social distance within the working class, marriage records have been used by several social historians. Foster used marriage certificates in Northampton, Oldham and Shields in 1846-56 and made it clear that the frequency of marriage between labourer and craft families was 70%-80% of the expected number of marriages between these groups in these three towns, although there were slight regional differences.¹ Crossick's analysis of marriage in Kentish London examined the occupational relations of the father of the groom and the father of the bride in the two periods 1851-53 and 1873-75, and established that skilled workers had little inter-marriage with the unskilled.² Whereas Foster's figures did not reveal a trend, Crossick examined changes in the period of the third quarter of the century and came to the conclusion that there was a decline in intermarriage but the decline was still on a limited scale. On the other hand, no drastic change took place in skilled workers inter-marriage, although some skilled showed signs of increased inter-marriage with the unskilled.³ Gray examined the occupational relations

¹ John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, pp. 126-27, and pp. 260-69.

² In the years 1851-53 shipbuilding workers, watermen and lightermen, engineering and metal crafts, and tailors had the least inter-marriage with the unskilled, all with well under 20% marrying into unskilled grades and these were followed by building crafts, small metal workers and shoemakers. G. Crossick, Social Structure and Working-Class Behaviour, op.cit., p. 206. On the other hand, over 60% of labourers married daughters of unskilled workers. (Ibid., p. 211).

³ Ibid., p. 206.

between the Groom and the father of the bride in Edinburgh in both 1865-69 and 1895-97. During 1865-69 'in all the skilled trades but one (the iron moulders) a third or more married the daughters of other skilled workers; similarly, the daughters of semi- and unskilled workers account for the largest single category of the brides of building labourers and carters.'¹

I attempted to discover the occupational relationship both between the groom and the father of the bride and between the father of the groom and the father of the bride. The data relating to glass makers and cutters in Stourbridge was obtained from the marriage certificates from 1850 to 1885. The results shown in Appendix F suggest that almost the same marriage pattern as that described by Gray and Crossick existed among glass makers and cutters in Stourbridge. Glass makers marrying into unskilled families formed only about 14%. On the other hand, 20.3% of glass makers married glass makers' daughters. If we include other skilled workers, then at least, 43% of glass makers married with daughters of the skilled. The same tendency can be also found in the occupational relations between fathers of the groom and

¹R.Q. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, 1976, p. 111. But he established that during the years 1895-97 many of the differences visible in the 1860s had diminished and 'a greater degree of social homogeneity appeared. (ibid., p. 118).

the bride. When the groom was a glass maker the father of the bride was more likely to also be a glass maker than when a glass maker's son married the daughter of a glass maker. But the difference was relatively small. It is important to understand that occupational relations in marriage were much looser than occupationally hereditary relations between fathers and sons. As Table 3:15 showed, 61.0% of glass makers in the marriage registers came from glass makers' families and 65.2% of glass makers' sons became glass makers. There was also a strong barrier in labour-force recruitment between glass makers and cutters. But so far as marital relations were concerned, the barrier seems to have been small: 6.5% of glass makers married daughters of glass cutters and 14.5% of glass cutters married daughters of glass makers. If we use social distance from labourers in marriage as a measure of the relative positions of glass makers and cutters in the local community, then we find that the glass makers and the cutters on a similar plane.

Similarly, there does not seem to have been any large differences in housing conditions between glass makers and cutters. Glass makers' houses in Stourbridge 'generally have a bit of garden attached to them, which can be made to produce a good share of vegetables that will materially assist in the sustenance of a family.¹ Certainly

¹F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p.28. A letter from a member of the Society.

they lived in better quality working-class houses in Amblecote in great numbers and did not live in the slum properties in the older parts of the town of Stourbridge or in the outlying townships of Lye and Wellescote, where the nail makers were concentrated. However, only a few glass makers had their own houses: in Amblecote out of 40 glass makers identified only 2 owned their own houses and out of 45 glass cutters only 3 did so.¹ Others rented houses.² The size of glass makers' houses can be compared with that of glass cutters' houses by combining use of the Rates Book with the Census Enumerators' Returns. About 55% of glass makers in Amblecote in 1861 lived in houses rated between £4 and £6. Any large differences in "rateable value" in the property rented between glass makers, cutters and all other inhabitants can not be found.³ An examination of the marriage pattern and housing conditions suggests that socially there was little or no difference between glass makers and cutters, although both of them were demarcated from the unskilled workers in the local community.

¹Rates Book of Amblecote in 1861. (Stafford County Record Office).

²The rents of working men's dwellings in Stourbridge were 4s. in 1877. (F.G.M.M., vol. IX, p. 28.)

³See Appendix G., Table G:1.

Both glass makers and glass cutters emerged as superior groups in the local community, and the difference between them at the point of production seemed to have vanished. This situation was well illustrated when public festivities were held in Stourbridge.

Festivities and public gatherings were activities which became frequent among trade Unionists after the mid-nineteenth century. They provided an opportunity to demonstrate the relative positions of workers in the local community. Processions of glass makers of course had taken place in earlier years. On September 12 1823, for example, the Newcastle glass makers from the six glass factories in that town, Gateshead and Sunderland marched in the town. The Newcastle Chronicle reported:

'The inhabitants of this town were gratified with a novel and interesting spectacle, in a procession through the principal streets, of the workman employed in several of the glass houses in this and neighbouring towns, each bearing in his hand a specimen of the art, remarkable either for its curious construction or its beauty and elegance.' ¹

The procession attracted many people from the vicinity. 'Numbers of persons were to be seen flocking into town from all directions, and the several steam vessels had very lucrative freights, being crowded with passengers from Shields and other places anxious to get a sight of the brilliant spectacle.'² It is important to understand that this procession took place when the Newcastle glass trade was enjoying

¹Newcastle Chronicle, September 20 1823.

²Tyne Mercury, September 16 1823.

its "golden age". Corresponding with the removal of the centre of glass making from Newcastle to Stourbridge, festivities of this sort also moved too. After 1860, annual gatherings were held under the auspices of the F.G.M.F.S. They normally attracted between 8,000 and 10,000 people and after 1865: 'During the day special trains ran from Wolverhampton and other stations and deposited their freights of passengers at Haley Station.'¹ By that time the pic-nic came to be fixed among the inhabitants in the area as a great event. The Brierley Hill Advertiser wrote that 'For some time past this pic-nic was looked forward to, as being the great pic-nic of the season. A Monday was chosen as usual'.² Schools had to be closed. At the Wordsley School on July 13 1863 'A very low attendance in consequence of a Pic-nic in Prestwood Park - Held by the Glass makers for the benefit of the funds of the Society. The boys had holidays in the afternoon.'³ On the same day St. Thomas Boys School in Stourbridge also 'gave the boys half a holiday in consequence of the glass makers'

¹Stourbridge Observer, August 5 1865 and advertisement for the Picnic appeared in Brierley Hill Advertiser, July 29 1865.

²Brierley Hill Advertiser, August 5 1865.

³Log Book of Wordsley School, vol. I, July 13 1863, MSS (Stafford County Record Office.)

Pic nic.¹ It is important to see that glass makers and cutters co-operated together during these celebrations. For instance, at the festival held in 1865 glass makers and cutters, numbering about 800, formed a procession, each carrying some specimen of the trade as usual. There were also a large number of flags and banners with the following mottos, - 'Prosperity to our employers, and success to the glass trade', "United we stand, divided we fall." "John Bright and free trade", "To the memory of Cobden, Gladstone and the franchise."² These mottos are useful illustrations of the glass makers' political standpoint - Liberalism - and their attitudes towards the employers - co-operation. In the park quoits, archery, cricket and dancing were popular entertainments and 'hundreds of specimens of the most artistic workmanship in glass' carried during the procession were exhibited there. Glass manufactures also exhibited products to demonstrate the high quality of their own factories. This festival helped conceal 'unfriendly feelings' between glass makers and cutters and even between glass makers and manufacturers. The common interest which all had in the prosperity of the glass industry was emphasised.

¹Log Book of St. Thomas Boys School, Stourbridge, vol. I, July 13 1863. MSS (Worcester County Record Office). On July 17 1863 it was recorded that 'The attendance has not been so good this week owing to the Glassmakers' Pic Nic on Monday.'

²Stourbridge Observer, August 5 1865, and Brierley Hill Advertiser, August 5 1865.

In the most extended circle - class and society - working men in a specific occupation were related to the "working class" as a whole through their organisations, notably the trade unions. In the mid-century the Labour aristocracy afforded a condition for the existence of the "New Model" unions.

Part two of the thesis is an attempt to show how the flint glass makers, through their institutions, linked up with the labour movement as a whole.

The Webbs characterised the British trade union movement in the third quarter of the nineteenth century as possessed by "the New Spirit and the New Model", under which 'Trade Unionism obtained a financial strength, a trained staff of salaried officers, and a permanence of membership hitherto unknown.'¹ They thought that this period clearly differed from the "Revolutionary Period" between 1829 and 1842. The A.S.E. organised in 1851 provided them with the leading example of the "New Model" union. They interpreted the conflicts between Potter and the Junta in the 1860s in terms of a struggle between the old and the new in trade unionism and thought the trade union movement revolved around the Junta in this decade. The Webbs' view that the years around mid-century saw a turning point in the structure and policies of trade unions strongly influenced later historians of

¹S. & B. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1920 edition, op.cit., p. 181.

opposite political persuasions like Rothstein and Perlman.¹

G.D.H. Cole was the first to revise the Webbs' view. He denied that 'the Amalgamated Societies can be regarded as representative of the entire Trade Union movement, or even most of it, during this period, and that even the Amalgamated Societies were nearly so "capitalist-minded" as historians of the Trade Union movement commonly suggest.'² They 'covered only a fraction of the total Trade Union membership', and 'the leadership of the "Junta", so far from being complete, was in fact challenged by a larger number of important Unions, and did not amount to an ascendancy at any rate until after 1871 - if even then.'³ Consequently, Cole reinstated Petter, the

¹Royden Harrison, op.cit., p. 6. Rothstein stereotyped the Webbs' view, and maintained that English Labour leaders such as Applegarth in the second half of the nineteenth century 'diverted the Labour movement from revolutionary to opportunist, from proletarian to middle class, from political to trade union lines.' (Th. Rothstein, From Chartism to Labourism, 1929, pp. 194-5). On the other hand, Selig Perlman wrote that the "Junta period", in which the labor leaders of Britain so inspired the public with confidence in the essential soundness and moderation of their movement, weathered all sorts of storms, and turned the very attacks by enemies into promising opportunities, (this) is perhaps the most notable chapter in world labor history.' (Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labour Movement, New York, 1928, p. 129).

²G.D.H. Cole, 'Some Notes on British Trade Unionism in the Third Quarter of the Nineteenth Century, in International Review of Social History, vol. II (1937), reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson (ed.) Essays in Economic History, vol. IV (1962), p. 202.

³Ibid., p. 203.

editor of the Bee-Hive which was 'the most important Labour and Trade Union journal of the day' and also gave him credit for his role in the origin of the T.U.C. Thus besides building, engineering and shipbuilding, there were other industries in which trade unions existed, including: mining, cotton and other textiles, printing and book-binding, cabinet making, coach-building, iron and steel manufacture, glass, and glass-bottle making, pottery, tailoring, and boot and shoe manufacture.¹ Cole showed that among these unions other than building, engineering and shipbuilding, little or no attempt was made to follow the "New Model". Even the builders were not conquered 'nearly so completely' as were the engineers. An examination of the mining, the iron and steel, and the textile trades lead him to the conclusion that 'in none of them did the "New Model" influence show itself of much account.'² Cole understood the difference between the "New Model" unions and the others in terms of the existence of 'a clear division among the workers themselves. In engineering, building and shipbuilding, the skilled craftsmen who finished apprenticeships were always trying to keep the division rigid as the only means of ensuring the maintenance of their higher standards.' Meanwhile, in mining,

¹Ibid., p. 205.

²Ibid.

metal manufacture, and the textile trades, 'no similar class cleavage generally exists, or has existed.'¹ In other words, Cole explained the preconditions for the existence of the "New Model" Unions in terms of the stratification between the workers in the industry concerned and saw the "New Model" unions as the skilled workers or upper order of workers' institution. However, Cole neglected many unions; unions in which skilled workers with apprenticeship controls were not influenced by the Junta.

Later labour historians like Allen, Musson and Clegg 'seized on Cole's arguments and pushed them further than he was prepared to do' in the early 1960s.² Cole's argument that 'The novelty of the "New Model" of 1850, as Mr. and Mrs. Webb have pointed out, was not really a novelty at all.' was fully developed by later historians as a denial of the Webbs' methodology. Cole remarked that stability in membership, highly centralised finance, and central control of policy, were continuous from the Journeymen Steam Engine Makers to the A.S.E. Allen denounced the 'great distortion by the Webbs, "The New Spirit and the New Model", which ranked, for him, as 'a piece of historical fiction'.³ He denied the significance of the formation of the A.S.E. in 1851 and instead emphasised the holding of the Great Exhibition 'which epitomised the cult of progress in Victorian England". He also stated that 'the constitutions of unions, the A.S.E. included,

¹Ibid., p. 206.

²Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, op.cit., p. 12.

³V.L. Allen, Valuations and Historical Interpretation, in British Journal of Sociology, vol. 14, 1963, p. 54.

were shaped by economic and social forces.'¹ Musson shared this view, contending that 'the booms and slumps of the trade cycle had much more effect on trade-union development in the nineteenth century than the ideological fluctuations propounded by the Webbs.'² According to him, 'what occurred then in the 'fifties and 'sixties was not the creation of a "New Model", but a strengthening of the old model'. Clegg wrote together with his co-authors A. Fox and A.E. Thompson that:

'During the third quarter of the century many local or regional societies were amalgamated into "new model unions" aiming at national coverage; but the novelty of this achievement can be exaggerated. Even before the foundation in 1851 of the original "new model", the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, its main constituent, the Journeymen Steam Engine and Machine Makers' Friendly Society, had achieved more than local organisation. So had the Iron founders and the Boilermakers.'³

Thus a critique of the Webbs' methodology became fashionable, although it was only repeating the essence of Brentano's article in 1870, which had elaborately described the continuity between the A.S.E. and its preceding organisations.⁴

¹Ibid.

²A.E. Musson, The Webbs and their phasing of trade-union development between the 1830s and the 1860s, in Bulletin, the Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 4, Spring 1962, p. 7.

³H. Clegg and others, A History of British Trade Unions since 1889, 1964, p. 7.

⁴L.J. Brentano, The Growth of a Trades-Union, in North British Review, no. 53, October 1870, pp. 59-114.

Harrison attempted to reinstate the Webbs' interpretation, although, in part, he accepted the criticisms of historians like Allen, Musson and Clegg.¹ He agreed that the Webbs 'paid too little attention to Trade Unionism at the level of local workshop practices.' and 'devoted too much attention to collective bargaining and too little to the "unilateral imposition" of craft rules.'² But he still stressed the significance of the formation of the A.S.E. which was 'deliberately copied, not only by English carpenters and bricklayers, but by German and American Unionists.'³

An attempt at a structural understanding of the conflicts between the Junta and Potter was also abandoned by Clements and others. The conflict came to be described as merely a question of 'clashing personal ambitions', especially between Potter and Applegarth!⁴

Harrison criticised Clements's view, once again replacing it by a return to the Webbs, who:

'treated Potter as the spokesman of the old-fashioned trade club; of the mindless militancy of the pot-house. An examination of the rules and regulations of Potter's Progressive Society of Carpenters and Joiners

¹Musson remarked in 1972 that Harrison's view was one of 'the great labour legends that will long be kept alive.' 'Harrison admits the force of all this historical evidence and reinterpretation, but he is nevertheless determined to maintain the Webbs' myth of the great mid-century discontinuity, centred on the "labour aristocracy" and the New Model'. (A.E. Musson, British Trade Unions, 1800-1875, 1972, p. 55).

²Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, op.cit., p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 14.

⁴R.V. Clements, British Trade Unions and Popular Political Economy 1850-1875, op.cit., p. 99.

brings fresh support to the Webbs' conclusions. The subscription was only 4d. a week and there was no thought of expanding beyond London. The constitution enshrined the principles of primitive democracy.' ¹

I cannot accept Clement's view that the conflicts between the Junta and Potter ought to be ascribed to personalities, because though personal factors were important, to abandon the pursuit of structural interpretation can not help to clarify the nature of the conflicts and, more generally, the aims of the trade unionists. On the other hand, Harrison's structural method and his reinstatement of the Webbs are not entirely satisfactory for the study of the F.G.M.F.S., because although the subscription of the Society was as high as 1s. it did not support the Junta, but Potter! Not only in terms of its subscription rate but in many other important respects the F.G.M.F.S. was a "New Model" union. As already noted in Part two, it resembled the A.S.E. or the A.S.C.J. organisationally in that it was a national union with a Central Committee and Central Secretary; actuarially in that it stood for high contributions and high benefits - unemployment allowance, superannuated allowance, sick benefits, and death funds, all of which were secured by the mighty accumulated funds of the Society. In the 1860s these funds per capita in the Society occasionally became twice that of the A.S.E. It was this firmly established benefits

¹ Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists, op.cit., pp. 10-11. See also, W.H. Warburton, The History of Trade Union Organisation in the North Staffordshire Potteries, 1931, p. 171.

system which completed the transformation from old trampsociety to "New Model" union. Strategically, the Society insisted upon "Defence not Defiance" and stressed their policies respecting the restriction of apprenticeship; of promotion control; regulation of labour; mobility between areas of slack and full employment; the limitation of production; the encouragement of emigration, - all of which aimed to create a permanent scarcity of skilled labour in order to secure a rise in wages. This was a decisive transition "from custom to calculation". Therefore, the Webbs used the F.G.M.F.S. as an example of the "New Spirit and New Model". But the way in which the Webbs dealt with the F.G.M.F.S. was a bit unscrupulous, because, as I pointed out earlier, - when they came to deal with the Junta versus Potter struggle, they pushed the F.G.M.F.S. out of sight. From the Webbs' point of view, the F.G.M.F.S. ought to have supported the Junta. Chapter VI showed how deeply the F.G.M.F.S. was connected with Potter's group. If Clements's understanding is accepted, this riddle should be solved in terms of a study of the personal relations between Potter and Joseph Leicester. The important role of Leicester's activities in linking the F.G.M.F.S. with the national movement has been described, but his activities must not be overestimated. It is important to try to explain, in terms of the nature and structure of the F.G.M.F.S. itself, why Joseph Leicester was able to be so effective in support of Potter. The F.G.M.F.S. had relatively few members compared with the engineers or the carpenters. Glass makers could persuade themselves that they had no need of full-time officials like Allan or Applegarth. Its constitution 'enshrined the principles of "primitive democracy".

In this sense it was a disturbing hybrid placed between the traditions of localism and the requirements of the new national unions. The Webbs themselves appear to have failed to recognise this hybrid so far as their typology was concerned. Nor could historians who denied the emergence of the "New Model" unions, have understood the complicated character of the F.G.M.F.S., but would have regarded it as a mystery - probably of negligible importance. Thus it is clear that although politically the flint glass makers play progressive roles in the 1860s as expressed in the movement against the Master and Servant Act, the Reform movement and their activity during the legal crisis of trade unionism, the way in which they were linked with the national movement was basically regulated by the structure of the F.G.M.F.S. The fact that the F.G.M.F.S. supported not the Junta but Potter prevented the glass makers from having any contacts with the First International.

The question whether the Labour aristocracy was "progressive" or "conservative" and whether there was a continuity in the world of labour between the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century cannot be solved by concentration on one group of workers. Probably which side of the medal appeared much stronger depended on complex factors such as the trade situation, regional variety, the period and the subject with which they were involved. My contention is that as the concentric circle was expanding from the work group to the factory, to the industry, to the local community, and then to class and society, the Labour aristocracy tended to move from "conservative" to "progressive". At the point of production, more precisely, in the work group, they were the most conservative towards any change of the

existing custom and production process. They were the most discriminatory towards other less skilled workers in the workplace, because this was the economic basis on which the Labour aristocracy could stand. Gradually, but not uninterruptedly, as the circle was being expanded their attitudes began to change and at the widest circle - class and society - in certain circumstances they might play a progressive role. In other words, the process of expanding circles suggests that the essentially conservative nature of the Labour aristocracy could express itself as a progressive force. Naturally, the small space the circle encompassed, the less discontinuity could be found between the second and the third quarters of the century. The wider space the circle encompassed, discontinuity appeared more sharply. Basing themselves on continuity at circles 1 and 2 some historians like Musson criticised other historians who were really looking at circles 3, 4 or 5. When starting an argument about the problem of the Labour aristocracy and the "New Model" unionism, one should identify which circle is being considered. Not all but some differences may dissolve once different points of reference have been identified.

APPENDICES

- A. Unemployment Statistics
- B. Membership of the F.G.M.F.S., 1852-1881.
- C. Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, Stourbridge.
- D. Wages Book of Stevens and Williams, Stourbridge.
- E. Wages Book of Beatson and Clark, Rotherham.
- F. Marriage Registers in Stourbridge, 1850-1885.
- G. Rate Book in Amblecote, 1861.
- H. Donations for the Great Strike and Lock-out of the Flint Glass Makers in 1858-59.
- I. Glossary.

[Appendix A]

Unemployment Statistics

Unemployment statistics are calculated from a list of the receivers of unemployment allowance, in the third Quarterly Report (June-August) of the F.G.M.F.S. each year; in F.G.M.M., vol. I-XI.

1) A glass maker who received unemployment allowance from the Society at any time during these three months between June and August is counted as unemployed in the year, irrespective of the duration of his receipt of the allowance.

2) The rate of unemployment in the year (%) is given as: (no. of unemployed in the Society (or the District)) ÷ no. of members in the Society (or the District) x 100.

The result thus obtained is shown in Table A:1.

These figures shown in Table A:1 might be objected to because if, for instance, some members took a week's holiday between June and August, this could inflate the figures enormously. Therefore, it is important to compare the rate of unemployment in each month in order to arrive at a more accurate estimate.

Table A:2 shows the monthly rate of unemployment in Stourbridge and Newcastle between 1872 and 1880. The source is the same Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S. A glass maker who received unemployment allowance from the Society for more than one week is regarded here as unemployed in the month. The rate of unemployment is calculated from the number of unemployed divided by the number of members at the particular point in time in each District.

The Table shows that there were no large seasonal fluctuations of unemployment in the flint glass industry in Stourbridge and Newcastle. There is no reason to believe that outside these two regions seasonal fluctuations of unemployment was marked. The Table also suggests when and how depression hit the trade in each District.

Another objection might be that Table A:1 measures the number unemployed, but neglects the duration of unemployment. It is almost impossible to use the unemployment allowance material for that purpose, because the rate of the allowance differed according to the groups in the chairs and there is no continuous reports which show the number of the allowance receivers according to each group.

Table A:3 shows the expenditure for the unemployed. The expenditure from 1852 to 1874 is calculated from the reports of each District in the third quarter of each year (June-August). After 1875 the Quarterly Abstract of Income and Expenditure of the Society as a whole gives the figures. The proportion of unemployment allowance out of the total expenditure of the Society varied from time to time, $\frac{A}{B}$ in Table A:3 and the years with high percentages correspond to those with a high rate of unemployment (the years 1852, 1855-58, 1861-62, 1867-70, 1877-81).

TABLE A:1 The Rate of Unemployment in the Five Districts, 1853-1881

The F.G.M.F.S.				Stourbridge		
Year	Member- ship	No. of unemployed	Rate of unemploy- ment (%)	Member ship	No. of unemployed	Rate of unemployed (%)
1853	939	54	5.8	133	7	5.3
1854	1020	68	6.7	200	17	8.5
1855	912	191	20.9	153	21	13.7
1856	1057	152	14.4	221	15	6.8
1857	1174	71	6.0	259	4	1.5
1858	1270	161	12.7	273	12	4.4
1859	1318	123	9.3	286	10	3.5
1860	1300	84	6.5	287	12	4.2
1861	1369	193	14.1	276	-	-
1862	1364	187	13.7	175	29	10.5
1863	1452	120	8.3	281	11	3.9
1864	1545	114	7.3	284	39	13.7
1865	1612	115	7.1	279	13	4.7
1866	1640	90	5.5	280	6	2.1
1867	1719	164	9.5	288	14	4.9
1868	1668	174	10.4	286	15	5.2
1869	1721	204	11.9	295	13	4.4
1870	1762	183	10.4	298	17	5.7
1871	1799	147	8.2	323	14	4.3
1872	1840	118	6.4	325	7	2.2
1873	1875	139	7.4	329	7	2.1
1874	1933	192	9.9	332	3	0.9
1875	1994	126	6.3	353	6	1.7
1876	2030	124	6.1	371	9	2.4
1877	2088	255	12.2	380	41	10.8
1878	2043	491	24.0	388	55	14.2
1879	2026	534	26.4	403	70	17.4
1880	1977	450	22.8	399	54	13.5
1881	1937	258	13.3	389	31	8.0

TABLE A:1

Year	Birmingham			Newcastle			Manchester		
	Member-ship	No.of unem- ployed	Rate of unempl- oyed(%)	Member-ship	No.of unem- ployed	Rate of unempl- oyed(%)	Member-ship	No.of unem- ployed	Rate of unempl- oyed(%)
1853	194	7	3.6	85	12	14.1	71	6	8.5
1854	193	14	7.3	72	3	4.2	87	4	4.6
1855	181	43	23.8	62	17	27.4	76	13	17.1
1856	210	38	18.1	81	15	18.5	70	7	10.0
1857	259	19	7.3	84	13	15.5	102	6	5.9
1858	274	23	8.4	93	38	40.9	120	18	15.0
1859	256	24	9.4	100	10	10.0	157	26	16.6
1860	256	15	5.9	108	10	9.3	147	10	6.8
1861	261	—	—	102	—	—	163	—	—
1862	265	53	20.0	113	31	27.4	171	19	11.1
1863	279	21	7.5	103	19	18.4	202	15	7.4
1864	291	11	3.7	83	11	13.3	251	14	5.6
1865	297	17	5.7	70	10	14.3	268	25	9.3
1866	293	27	9.2	80	8	10.0	276	13	4.7
1867	299	—	—	85	4	4.9	310	—	—
1868	304	21	6.9	82	20	24.4	308	31	10.1
1869	318	40	12.6	68	24	35.3	312	29	9.3
1870	334	30	9.0	82	15	18.3	320	40	12.5
1871	340	40	11.8	76	13	17.1	325	31	9.5
1872	321	29	9.0	74	11	14.9	333	27	8.1
1873	340	13	3.8	100	11	11.0	317	42	13.2
1874	354	33	9.3	113	28	24.8	315	73	23.2
1875	362	19	5.2	100	17	17.0	341	38	11.1
1876	346	20	5.8	97	24	24.7	360	28	7.8
1877	343	34	9.9	105	25	23.8	379	66	17.4
1878	351	29	8.3	104	34	32.7	355	125	35.2
1879	346	44	12.7	104	34	32.7	350	124	35.4
1880	345	47	13.6	99	39	39.4	344	92	26.7
1881	351	25	7.1	98	28	28.6	305	45	14.8

TABLE A:1

Rotherham			
Year	Member- ship	No. of unemployed	Rate of unemployed (%)
1853	23	0	0.0
1854	29	0	0.0
1855	33	0	0.0
1856	47	0	0.0
1857	38	0	0.0
1858	50	3	6.0
1859	50	1	2.0
1860	50	4	8.0
1861	77	8	10.4
1862	58	9	15.5
1863	71	1	1.4
1864	69	5	7.2
1865	56	2	3.6
1866	62	1	1.6
1867	66	2	3.0
1868	62	4	6.5
1869	67	0	0.0
1870	68	11	1.5
1871	70	0	0.0
1872	60	0	0.0
1873	63	1	1.6
1874	65	1	1.5
1875	58	0	0.0
1876	54	0	0.0
1877	54	0	0.0
1878	55	21	38.2
1879	48	8	16.7
1880	46	16	34.8
1881	44	11	25.0

TABLE A:2 The Rate of Unemployment in Stourbridge and Newcastle, 1872-80.

	Year	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
<u>Stourbridge</u>										
January		0.3	1.2	1.8	1.4	1.3	7.1	8.8	14.4	14.3
February		0.6	1.8	1.5	1.4	2.2	10.0	8.5	15.6	13.0
March		0.6	2.4	1.2	1.7	2.4	8.7	7.2	15.6	13.3
April		0.9	2.1	1.5	1.1	2.4	9.2	7.4	16.1	14.0
May		1.2	2.1	1.5	1.7	2.4	8.9	10.3	16.6	12.8
June		0.9	1.8	0.9	0.8	2.2	10.0	11.9	17.9	10.3
July		1.2	1.8	0.3	0.8	2.2	8.2	11.9	16.1	10.3
August		2.2	1.5	0.3	1.4	2.2	8.2	12.6	16.1	11.0
September		1.2	0.9	0.3	1.1	5.1	9.7	12.4	14.4	10.5
October		0.9	0.9	0.6	1.1	3.8	9.5	14.7	13.6	9.7
November		1.2	0.9	0.3	1.1	5.9	9.2	15.2	13.6	9.5
December		1.2	1.8	1.2	1.1	7.2	8.9	14.4	13.6	8.3

TABLE A:2 The Rate of Unemployment in Stourbridge and Newcastle, 1872-80.

	Year	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
<u>Newcastle</u>										
	January	2.7	2.0	18.6	3.0	7.2	4.8	23.1	27.9	35.3
	February	10.8	2.0	5.3	10.0	8.2	4.8	24.0	37.5	38.4
	March	17.6	5.0	4.4	18.0	12.3	6.7	23.1	34.6	35.4
	April	10.8	3.0	3.5	8.0	5.2	10.5	24.0	32.7	36.4
	May	13.5	6.0	3.5	8.0	5.2	12.4	25.0	33.7	35.4
	June	10.8	4.0	8.8	7.0	6.2	21.0	30.8	29.8	40.4
	July	9.5	6.0	11.5	16.0	19.6	18.1	29.8	27.9	40.4
	August	5.4	7.0	19.5	12.0	19.6	15.2	28.9	28.8	39.4
	September	5.4	9.0	13.3	5.0	16.5	15.2	29.8	30.8	24.2
	October	4.1	3.0	9.7	7.0	11.3	17.1	26.0	33.7	22.2
	November	22.7	3.0	15.9	7.0	9.3	18.1	25.0	31.7	13.1
	December	2.7	3.0	8.0	7.0	5.2	21.9	23.1	34.9	10.1

TABLE A:3 Expenditure for Unemployed of the F.G.M.F.S., 1852-1881

Year	Expenditure for the unemployed (A)			Expenditure (B)			(A)/(B) x 100	Average Payment per unemployed person in each year		
	£	s	d	£	s	d		£	s	d
1852	432	9	1	438	9	6	98.6	2	8	10
1853	88	3	3	141	5	3	62.4	1	12	8
1854	122	17	0	175	10	9	69.7	1	16	1
1855	688	11	8	749	15	11	91.8	3	12	1
1856	369	1	2	450	7	4	81.9	2	8	6
1857	147	17	8	208	7	6	71.0	2	1	8
1858	435	2	11	628	7	5	69.2	2	14	0
1859	352	16	10	1185	18	11	29.7	2	17	4
1860	200	8	8	1349	14	7	14.8	2	7	8
1861	788	13	6	1024	10	2	77.0	2	1	9
1862	653	16	0	764	8	2	85.5	3	9	11
1863	361	9	7	506	18	6	71.3	3	0	3
1864	209	13	10	411	11	2	50.9	1	16	8
1865	315	9	0	534	8	8	59.0	2	14	10
1866	265	17	0	662	1	11	40.2	2	19	1
1867	591	3	9	1474	16	11	40.1	3	12	1
1868	664	5	2	1051	9	4	63.2	3	16	5
1869	740	4	0	1212	11	10	70.4	3	12	7
1870	639	13	8	1120	10	10	57.1	3	9	11
1871	459	2	8	1172	8	10	39.2	3	2	6
1872	315	1	10	1005	14	6	31.3	2	13	5
1873	396	0	4	1087	9	4	27.2	2	17	0
1874	616	2	10	1739	11	6	35.4	3	4	2
1875	395	17	3	1077	8	6	36.7	3	2	10
1876	399	7	3	1203	19	4	33.2	3	4	5
1877	1087	1	8	1751	18	4	62.0	4	5	3
1878	2565	15	8	3267	6	0	78.5	5	4	6
1879	1992	12	0	2702	8	6	73.7	3	14	7
1880	1265	14	4	1890	5	10	67.0	2	16	3
1881	625	9	4	1090	9	8	57.4	2	8	6

[Appendix B]**Membership of the F.G.M.F.S. (1852-1881)**

The following Table is compiled from the Quarterly Report of the F.G.M.F.S. in F.G.M.M. vol. I-XI. Members are those of the third quarter (June-August) in every year.

TABLE B:1 Membership of the F.G.M.F.S., 1852-1881

Year	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864
District													
Barnsley	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Bathgate	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Belfast	19	21	21	18	14	12	9	8	4	4	5	2	1
Birmingham	186	193	193	181	210	259	274	256	256	261	265	279	291
Bolton	--	--	--	8	12	9	12	14	14	16	18	22	25
Bristol	6	6	6	6	11	11	12	8	7	7	9	9	8
Castleford	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Catcliff	12	18	17	11	12	12	14	14	12	--	--	--	--
Dublin	21	21	11	15	13	18	16	18	17	16	15	21	24
Dudley	32	35	42	36	38	43	49	36	29	27	29	24	24
Edinburgh	25	17	19	26	25	40	40	40	49	72	59	64	70
Glasgow	48	58	54	53	60	59	67	53	55	53	53	56	62
Haverton Hill	8	11	10	11	5	2	3	1	--	--	--	--	--
Hunslet	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	28	31	26	48
Kilnhurst	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	8	8	7
Knottingley	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Leith Walk	12	13	14	13	13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
London	73	45	27	28	32	31	40	41	33	35	32	41	43
Longport	--	6	7	7	9	10	10	9	11	20	19	19	20
Manchester	79	71	87	76	70	102	120	157	147	163	171	202	251
Newcastle	76	85	72	62	81	84	93	100	108	102	113	103	83
Newton	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Rotherham	22	23	29	33	47	38	50	50	50	77	58	71	69
Shelton	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	22	27	26	26	31	28
South Shields	--	--	32	36	19	16	12	11	--	--	--	--	--
St. Helens	53	73	52	22	45	41	35	34	22	45	41	53	46
Stourbridge	137	133	200	153	221	259	273	286	287	276	275	281	284
Swinton	--	--	--	--	--	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tutbury	24	24	24	23	24	24	23	23	22	21	24	24	24
Warrington	31	37	50	43	45	34	53	56	58	56	49	61	74
Wordsbrodale	12	11	10	11	10	10	12	19	20	14	13	12	12
York	61	36	43	40	41	48	53	62	39	42	51	43	51
Totals	937	939	1020	912	1057	1174	1270	1318	1300	1369	1364	1452	1545

TABLE B:1

Year	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877
Barnsley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	29	35
Bathgate	—	17	21	—	—	—	21	22	23	23	23	23	24
Belfast	5	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Birmingham	297	293	299	304	318	334	340	321	340	354	362	346	343
Bolton	28	31	8	9	11	8	12	13	19	26	27	27	26
Bristol	13	9	8	10	—	3	4	4	2	3	3	5	5
Castleford	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	22	18	33
Catcliffe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	10	9	10	10	10
Dublin	25	24	26	25	23	23	19	19	16	16	16	16	14
Dudley	26	27	28	30	26	22	26	30	23	26	25	23	24
Edinburgh	71	54	70	82	88	67	72	67	63	61	60	65	81
Glasgow	70	68	85	79	87	86	76	82	72	80	76	68	90
Haverton Hill	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hunslet	41	50	58	46	50	51	48	53	64	53	74	78	65
Kilnhurst	21	23	22	19	20	18	19	20	16	15	13	15	14
Knottingley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	10	9	11	12
Leith Walk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
London	50	49	52	52	55	54	52	52	49	50	72	81	89
Longport	23	23	24	20	20	20	21	22	21	20	20	21	20
Manchester	268	276	310	308	312	320	325	333	317	315	341	360	379
Newcastle	70	80	85	82	68	82	76	74	100	113	100	97	105
Newton	—	—	—	—	6	17	—	19	21	20	—	—	—
Rotherham	56	62	66	62	67	68	70	60	63	65	58	54	54
Shelton	27	24	25	27	27	22	24	30	32	31	29	27	29
South Shields	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Helens	54	37	48	56	56	58	51	59	64	54	53	51	35
Stourbridge	279	280	288	286	295	298	323	325	329	332	353	371	330
Swinton	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tutbury	36	52	55	31	45	26	43	53	47	54	59	53	56
Warrington	87	92	71	58	60	92	102	96	100	109	95	89	81
Wordsbrodale	11	11	11	11	12	12	14	14	15	15	—	—	—
York	54	56	57	53	59	59	61	62	60	64	77	92	84
Totals	1612	1640	1719	1667	1721	1762	1799	1840	1875	1933	1994	2030	2088

TABLE B:1

Year	1878	1879	1880	1881
Barnsley	36	36	38	42
Bathgate	19	18	19	21
Belfast	—	—	—	—
Birmingham	351	346	345	351
Bolton	25	15	11	23
Bristol	5	5	6	4
Castleford	36	25	23	25
Catcliff	10	9	9	8
Dublin	17	18	10	22
Dudley	24	26	29	25
Edinburgh	71	54	74	77
Glasgow	83	82	80	80
Haverton Hill	—	—	—	—
Hunslet	54	61	52	44
Kilnhurst	12	14	15	15
Knottingley	14	14	15	15
Leith Walk	—	—	—	—
London	82	79	66	61
Longport	21	21	20	19
Manchester	355	350	344	305
Newcastle	104	104	99	98
Newton	15	15	17	24
Rotherham	55	48	46	44
Shelton	21	27	4	2
South Shields	—	—	—	—
St. Helens	33	31	41	39
Stourbridge	388	403	399	389
Swinton	—	—	—	—
Tutbury	52	54	50	45
Warrington	80	85	81	81
Wordsbrodale	—	—	—	—
York	80	86	84	78
Totals	2043	2026	1977	1937

[Appendix C] Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, Stourbridge

"Stourbridge" is encompassed by three different areas. Stourbridge as 'District or Union' (no. 383 in the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, R.G. 9) contained three Sub-districts: 1) Halesowen, 2) Stourbridge and 3) Kingswinford. Stourbridge as Sub-district has six Parishes or Townships: 1) Stourbridge Town, 2) Lye, 3) Wollaston, 4) Wollescote, 5) Upper Swinford and 6) Amblecote. The data which was shown in the text as obtained from the "Census Enumerators' Books of 1861, Stourbridge" includes Stourbridge Town, Wollaston, Upper Swinford, Amblecote (no.383: - 2065, 2066, 2068), Wordsley and Brierley Hill (no. 383: 2069-2074). From Stourbridge (Sub-district) I omitted Wollescote and Lye, where almost no glass workers can be found. Instead, I included Wordsley and Brierley Hill from Kingswinford, because these two areas had a large number of glass workers. The number of glass workers thus obtained is shown in Table C:1. ('Glass blower' in the Enumerators' Books is here included under the heading of glass maker). Out of 1032 people in the glass trade, 366 lived in Wordsley (35.5%) and 271 in Amblecote (26.3%). Both adjoining areas constituted 61.8% of the total number. Stourbridge Town and Upper Swinford had only 11.7% and 4.9% respectively, probably because most of the glass factories were located outside the town.

It can be assumed that my six-area investigation covers almost all glass workers engaged in the so-called Stourbridge glass industry. Eric Hopkins's data, showing that there were 409 glass workers in Stourbridge in 1851, does not include those in Wordsley and Brierley Hill, but is confined to the sub-district of Stourbridge. (Eric Hopkins, Working

TABLE C:1 The Number of Glass Workers and Manufacturers in Stourbridge in 1861.

	Stour- bridge town	Wollaston	Upper Swinford	Amble- cote	Wordsley	Brierley Hill	Totals
Glass maker	47	31	23	107 (58) (98)*	135	46	389
Glass cutter	54	74	12	98 (58) (90)*	166	28	432
Glass engraver	4	1	0	6 (6) (16)*	12	4	27
Other workers in the glass trade	9	11	9	55 (53) (34)*	47	33	164
Glass manufacturer	1	0	7	5 (5) (9)*	6	1	20
Totals	115	117	51	271 (180)(247)*	366	112	1032
Houses	1800	418	570	531 (402)(568)*			
Population	8783	2041	2749	2613 (2053)(2771)*			
No. of glass workers & mfct'rs per 100 of the population	1.31	5.73	1.86	10.37 (8.78)(8.91)*			

1) The number in brackets is that in 1851 in Amblecote and the number in brackets with * is that in 1871 in the area.

Conditions in Victorian Stourbridge, in International Review of Social History vol. XIX, 1974, p. 403). Hence his figures are comparable with those in Stourbridge Town, Wollaston, Upper Swinford and Amblecote in my figures, totalling 541 glass workers in 1861. We can therefore assume that the number of glass workers in Stourbridge (Sub-district) increased from 409 in 1851 to 541 in 1861.

The results obtained from the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 in Stourbridge are set up in the following Tables, on which my analysis in the text is based.

Although the Census Enumerators' Books distinguish "glass makers" from other glass workers, they do not indicate the glass makers' position in the chairs. The membership list of the Stourbridge District of the F.G.M.F.S. for 1857 (in F.G.M.M. vol. IV, pp. 238-43) is here used to identify their position on the assumption that promotions which took place between 1859 and 1861 were negligible. By tracing each name in the list of 249 members in the F.G.M.F.S. in the area, 169 glass makers (77 Workmen, 62 Servitors and 30 Footmakers) can be identified and linked up with those in the Enumerators' Books, which list 297 glass makers over the age of 20. The position of non-Society glass makers cannot be identified, but those who are not identified are not necessarily the non-Society men. The results obtained in this way are shown in the following Tables.

TABLE C:2 Age Distribution of Glass Makers and Glass Cutters in Stourbridge in 1861.

Age	Glass Maker			Glass Cutter		
	(N)	%	Accumulated %	(N)	%	Accumulated %
10-14	47	12.1	12.1	29	6.7	6.7
15-19	45	11.6	23.7	60	13.9	20.6
20-24	57	14.7	38.4	64	14.8	35.4
25-29	57	14.7	53.1	79	18.3	53.7
30-34	53	13.6	66.7	47	10.9	64.6
35-39	44	11.3	78.0	46	10.6	75.2
40-44	25	6.4	84.4	35	8.1	83.3
45-49	24	6.2	90.6	28	6.5	89.8
50-54	18	4.6	95.2	22	5.1	94.9
55-59	8	2.0	97.2	9	2.1	97.0
60-64	4	1.0	98.2	10	2.3	99.3
65-69	2	0.5	98.7	1	0.2	99.5
70-74	5	1.3	100.0	2	0.5	100.0
Totals	389	100.0		432	100.0	
Average age		30.23			30.99	

TABLE C:3 Household Position of Glass Makers and Glass Cutters in 1861.

Position	Glass Maker		Glass Cutter	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
Head	217	55.8	259	60.0
Son	125	32.1	128	29.6
Lodger	44	11.3	40	9.3
Others	3	0.8	5	1.2
Totals	389	100.0	432	100.0

TABLE C:4 Marital Status of Glass Makers and Glass Cutters in 1861

Marital Status	Glass Maker		Glass Cutter	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
Single	165	42.4	177	41.0
Married	224	57.6	255	59.0
Totals	389	100.0	432	100.0

TABLE C:5 Numbers of Children in the Families of Glass Makers and Glass Cutters in 1861.

No. of children	Glass Maker			Glass Cutter		
	No. of families	%	Accumulated %	No. of families	%	Accumulated %
0	43	19.2	19.2	47	18.4	18.4
1	48	21.4	40.6	35	13.7	32.1
2	41	18.3	58.9	48	18.8	50.9
3	28	12.5	71.4	52	20.4	71.3
4	30	13.4	84.8	27	10.6	81.9
5	15	6.7	91.5	25	9.8	91.7
6	12	5.4	96.9	9	3.5	95.2
7	4	1.8	98.7	8	3.2	98.4
8	2	0.9	99.6	2	0.8	99.2
9	1	0.4	100.0	2	0.8	100.0
Total No. of families		224		255		
Total no. of children		534		644		
Average no. of children per family		2.38		2.60		

TABLE C:6 Numbers of Children Working in the Families of Glass Makers and Glass Cutters in 1861.

No. of children	Glass Maker			Glass Cutter		
	No. of families	%	Accumulated %	No. of families	%	Accumulated %
0	171	76.3	76.3	198	77.6	77.6
1	31	13.8	90.1	36	14.1	91.7
2	14	6.3	96.4	12	4.7	96.4
3	6	2.7	99.1	4	1.6	98.0
4	2	0.9	100.0	4	1.6	99.6
5	0	0.0	100.0	1	0.4	100.0
Total no. of families	224			255		
Total no. of children working	85			93		
Average no. of children working per family	0.38			0.36		

C:7 Household Position of Glass Makers in 1861

Position	All Glass Makers		Workman		Servitor		Footmaker	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Head	217	55.8	76	98.7	52	83.8	22	73.4
Son	125	32.1	0	0.0	5	8.1	4	13.3
Lodger	44	11.3	1	1.3	5	8.1	4	13.3
Others	3	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Totals	389	100.0	77	100.0	62	100.0	30	100.0

C:8 Marital Status of Glass Makers in 1861

Marital status	All Glass Makers		Workman		Servitor		Footmaker	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Married	224	57.6	77	100.0	55	88.7	22	73.3
Single	165	42.4	0	0.0	7	11.3	8	26.7
Totals	389	100.0	77	100.0	62	100.0	30	100.0

C:9 Numbers of Children in the Families of Glass Makers in 1861.

No. of children	All Glass Makers		Workmen		Servitor		Footmaker	
	No. of families	%	No. of families	%	No. of families	%	No. of families	%
0	43	19.2	14	18.2	11	20.4	8	36.4
1	48	21.4	10	13.0	11	20.4	5	22.7
2	41	18.3	13	16.9	13	24.1	6	27.3
3	28	12.5	12	15.6	9	16.7	1	4.5
4	30	13.4	11	14.3	5	9.3	0	0.0
5	15	6.7	7	9.1	1	1.9	1	4.5
6	12	5.4	5	6.5	3	5.6	1	4.5
7	4	1.8	3	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
8	2	0.9	1	1.3	1	1.9	0	0.0
9	1	0.4	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total no. of families	224	100.0	77	100.0	54	100.0	22	100.0
Total no. of children	534		219		115		31	
Average no. of children per family		2.38		2.84		2.13		1.41

C:10 Numbers of Children Working in the Families of Glass Makers in 1861.

		All Glass Makers		Workman		Servitor		Footmaker	
No. of Children	No. of families	%	No. of families	%	No. of families	%	No. of families	%	
0	171	76.3	53	66.2	44	81.5	20	90.9	
1	31	13.8	11	14.3	7	13.0	2	9.1	
2	14	6.3	7	9.1	3	5.5	0	0.0	
3	6	2.7	4	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	
4	2	0.9	2	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	
Total no. of families		224	77		54		22		
Total no. of children working		85	45 } 30 sons (25*) } 15 daughters		13 } 12 sons (9*) } 1 daughter		2 } 2 sons (1*) } 0 daughters		
Average no. of children working per family		0.38	0.58		0.24		0.09		

* is the number who worked in the glass industry.

[Appendix D]

Wages Book of Stevens and Williams, Stourbridge.

Stevens and Williams is the only Stourbridge firm for which any Wages Book of the mid-nineteenth century have survived. The Wages Book of Stuart and Son of Stourbridge relates to the years after 1885. The Book of Stevens and Williams covers the period from November 1838 to April 1862. In the Book each group of four workers making up a chair is separately described, so that, although the status in the chair is not shown, it can be discovered easily. In my calculation, the wages in the first week of January and July each year are chosen, but when one (or both sets) is estimated to have been obtained by working less than 11 moves a week, then these figures are excluded in the average calculation. These are not nominal wages (11 moves) but weekly wages actually paid. The result is shown in Table D:1.

"The wages of Workman" in the Table means the average wages of Workmen in all chairs in that year. The wages of Servitors, Footmakers and Takers-in are obtained in the same way. "The wages of the Workman in the best paid chair" are calculated from annual wages, given by Eric Hopkins. (Eric Hopkins, *Small Town Aristocrats*, op.cit., p. 242, Appendix II,). The number of chairs are those in the first week of January each year. (* shows that in the first week of 1859 three chairs were working, because of the strike and lock-out. But in July 1859 9 chairs were working. The wages in 1859 are those for July of that year.)

TABLE D:1 Wages of Flint Glass Makers in the Stevens and Williams
Factory, Stourbridge 1838-1862.

(weekly wages)

Year	No. of chairs	Workman		Servitor		Footmaker		Taker-in		Workman in the best paid chair	
		s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1838	8	33	2	24	2	12	5	4	10	32	10
1839	8	29	7	21	6	11	5	4	7	27	1
1840	8	25	8	18	9	9	10	3	9	28	2
1841	9	29	1	19	11	10	0	3	10	39	6
1842	9	25	5	18	2	9	10	3	4	35	8
1843	10	21	10	16	3	9	0	3	4	32	3
1844	7	23	6	17	3	6	11	2	5	32	2
1845	8	25	5	16	1	9	7	3	2	19	9
1846	8	26	8	18	6	11	3	3	4	35	7
1847	8	34	8	19	6	9	6	3	6	23	8
1848	8	26	4	18	10	9	6	3	5	22	11
1849	7	31	10	20	8	11	0	3	11	31	7
1850	8	32	2	21	2	10	9	4	1	41	5
1851	7	37	10	14	5	11	11	4	5	45	10
1852	8	35	5	24	2	9	0	4	4	46	10
1853	9	31	8	20	10	8	1	3	10	51	11
1854	8	38	10	23	9	8	11	4	7	50	9
1855	10	30	10	20	6	8	2	3	3	39	8
1856	10	32	10	21	9	8	5	3	3	42	6
1857	8	46	9	29	6	14	5	4	10	50	6
1858	9	42	6	27	5	12	6	4	3	49	6
1859	3*(9)	46	10	31	2	13	1	4	10	69	8
1860	9	45	1	29	11	14	10	4	7	58	8
1861	10	37	7	25	6	12	12	4	1	50	3
1862	10	42	9	30	10	14	1	4	4	57	4

[Appendix E]

Wages Book of Beatson and Clark, Rotherham.

This Wages Book covers a longer period than that of Stevens and Williams. It begins with the year 1840. I concentrate on the period from 1856 to 1882, although the books for the years 1875-78 are missing. Before 1856 the wages of each group of workers in the chair are not identifiable.

Moreover, this source describes not only the wages of flint glass makers but those of flint bottle makers (after 1863). A major disadvantage of the Book for comparative purposes however, is that, although the chair in flint glass making consists of four workers, there were no Footmakers in the factory. A chair consisted of a Workman, two Servitors (both of them are Journeymen or one is a Journeyman and the other is an Apprentice) and a Taker-in. Another disadvantage of the Book is that the wages of the Takers-in are included in the Workman's wages and not separately listed.

The method of calculation is the same as was used for the Wages Book of Stevens and Williams. However after 1862 the wages of Workmen and Journeymen Servitors tended to be standardised. So that of the wages after 1862, *those are weekly standard wages which were received by a majority of the rank. The number of the rank is shown in column (a) in the Table and the number of workers who received "standard wages" is shown in column (b).

TABLE E:1 Wages of Flint Glass Makers in the Beatson and Clark Factory, Rotherham 1856-1882.

Year	No. of chairs	Workman		Journeyman		Apprentice		Workman						
		(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)					
		s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.					
1856	12	49	2	12	29	4	23	17	4*	3	58	1		
1857	11	53	6	11	28	1	17	15	2	5	51	4		
1858	13	45	3	13	30	3	20	14	1	6	55	6		
1859	13	52	1	13	34	1	22	14	10	4	61	10		
1860	15	36	7	15	23	9	26	13	4	7	44	0		
1861	15	34	5	15	20	6	24	9	5	6	44	4		
1862	15	42	8*	15	9	28	10*	24	14	12	5	6	50	2
1863	15	42	8*	15	10	28	10*	24	17	12	8	6	50	2
1864	18	42	8*	18	10	28	10*	27	16	12	9	9	50	2
1865	18	43	2*	18	14	31	10*	26	20	13	9	10	54	5
1866	18	43	2*	18	9	31	10*	27	14	16	6	9	14	5
1867	18	52	0*	18	14	39	0*	29	23	17	1	7	61	6
1868	18	52	0*	18	11	39	0*	27	20	17	5	9	61	6
1869	20	46	2*	20	12	34	0*	30	20	14	4	10	54	5
1870	20	40	4*	20	13	30	8*	29	19	12	0	11	47	4
1871	21	46	2*	21	19	34	10*	32	29	12	10	10	54	5
1872	22	52	0*	22	16	39	0*	33	27	15	5	11	61	6
1873	22	56	3*	22	19	43	3*	33	29	16	2	11	66	6
1874	21	50	9*	21	17	38	5*	31	27	14	9	11	59	7
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1879	15	59	6*	15	10	45	6*	20	11	16	5	10	69	9
1880	16	48	10*	16	11	16	6*	23	15	14	8	9	51	4
1881	13	35	1*	13	11	26	1*	19	14	10	4	7	51	4
1882	14	40	8*	14	12	30	0*	19	15	12	7	9	51	4

Table E:2 shows the average wages of Flint glass makers and other workers. Those in brackets are the highest wages. "Flint glass maker" includes Workman and Servitor but does not include Taker-in. "Bottlemaker" includes all those from 1st class to 5th class. This kind of data is obtainable only after 1867.

TABLE E:2 Wages of Glass Workers in the Beatson and Clark Factory, Rotherham 1867-1882

Year	Flint Glass Maker(chair)	Teaser (chair)	Learman	Founder	Mouldmaker & Smith	Stopperer	Yardman	Warehouseman
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1867	40 1 (61 6)	25 6 (40 0)	25 6 (30 0)	23 6 (29 0)	24 8 (31 0)	24 8 (43 5)	12 11 (28 4)	11 5 (22 0)
1868	46 5 (61 6)	17 0 (40 0)	19 5 (30 0)	16 7 (29 0)	22 4 (30 0)	22 4 (38 9)	15 0 (37 8)	15 5 (22 0)
1869	33 1 (54 5)	15 11 (40 0)	24 0 (30 0)	21 6 (33 6)	18 0 (31 0)	18 0 (47 9)	12 1 (20 0)	12 2 (24 0)
1870	29 3 (47 4)	19 0 (40 0)	24 1 (30 0)	21 6 (33 0)	14 9 (31 0)	14 9 (25 0)	12 1 (25 2)	10 7 (19 6)
1871	29 4 (54 5)	18 9 (40 0)	21 7 (30 0)	18 11 (33 6)	19 2 (31 0)	19 2 (29 11)	14 9 (20 0)	17 9 (23 0)
1872	40 1 (61 6)	18 3 (40 0)	24 5 (30 0)	18 0 (33 6)	23 9 (31 0)	23 9 (29 11)	13 11 (20 0)	14 3 (23 0)
1873	43 4 (66 6)	14 3 (44 0)	30 7 (33 0)	21 0 (38 0)	25 6 (32 6)	25 6 (29 11)	17 0 (20 0)	17 2 (23 0)
1874	37 10 (59 7)	14 2 (44 0)	33 7 (36 0)	19 0 (42 3)	26 6 (40 0)	26 6 (49 0)	20 9 (56 3)	17 3 (23 0)
1879	47 3 (69 9)	24 9 (44 0)	27 2 (30 0)	18 4	18 4	19 2	19 2	21 9
1880	33 4 (51 4)	15 6 (30 0)	22 3 (27 0)	22 5	22 5	16 4	16 4	17 4
1881	24 4 (51 4)	16 3 (30 0)	25 3 (27 0)	8 0	8 0	16 0	16 0	11 0
1882	28 1 (51 4)	15 2 (30 0)	27 3 (27 3)	12 0	12 0	11 2	11 2	18 0

[Appendix F]

Marriage Registers in Stourbridge, 1850-85.

Marriage Registers used are as follows:

- 1) Old Swinford, Stourbridge, 1850-75.
- 2) St. Mary's Church, Kingswinford, 1851-85.
- 3) St. James' Church, Wollaston, 1860-85.
- 4) Trinity Church, Amblecote, 1850-85.

In the calculation of the average age at marriage of glass makers (Table F:1), remarriages of widowers were excluded. (The figures in brackets refer to the number of these remarriages). 'Glass blowers' are included but glass cutters and other glass workers are excluded. The number of marriages in each Register relating to glass makers is respectively 57, 29, 11 and 12. In the calculation of the marriage age of children of glass makers (Table F:2), the same procedure is used. The number of marriages in each Register is: in case of son 54, 27, 10 and 11 respectively and in case of daughter 65, 30, 16 and 23.

In the calculation of occupational relations in marriage (Table F:3, F:4 and F:5) I consulted Ph. D. theses of R.Q.Gray and G.Crossick, and John Foster, op. cit., Appendix 2. For the classification of occupations into the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled I consulted Dudley Baxter The National Income, 1868, Appendix IV, E.A.Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth-century Society, 1972, chapter 6 and G. Stedman Jones, op. cit., Appendix I.

Beside the major occupations shown in Table F:3, F:4, and F:5 the skilled workers include Bookbinder, Builder, Boilermaker, Cabinet-maker, Compositor, Sawyer, Slater, Printer, Watchmaker, Wheelwright and so on. The less-skilled workers include Button maker, Crate maker, Currier, Gas stoker, Pattern maker, Miller, Waterman and so on. The unskilled workers include Gamekeeper, Gardener, Stone Cutter, Lockkeeper, Waggoner, Tile cutter, Packer and so on.

TABLE F:1 Marriage Age of Glass Makers in Stourbridge, 1850-1885.

Age	No. of marriages	%	accumulated %
18	1	1.0	1.0
19	3	2.9	3.9
20	9	8.8	12.7
21	15	14.7	27.4
22	17	16.7	44.1
23	8	7.8	51.9
24	11	10.8	62.7
25	16	15.7	78.4
26	5	4.9	83.3
27	3	2.9	86.2
28	8	7.9	95.0
29	1 (+ 1)	1.0	96.0
30-39	5 (+ 2)	4.9	100.0
40-49	0 (+ 3)	0.0	100.0
50-59	0 (+ 1)	0.0	100.0
Totals	102 (+ 7)	100.0	100.0

The average of marriage age is 23.78.

TABLE F:2 Marriage Age of Children of Glass Makers in Stourbridge,
1850-85.

Age	Son of Glass Maker			Daughter of Glass Maker		
	No. of Marriages	%	Accumulated %	No. of Marriages	%	Accumulated %
18	0	0.0	0.0	5	4.0	4.0
19	5	5.3	5.3	18	14.5	18.5
20	8	8.5	13.8	17	13.7	32.2
21	16	17.0	30.8	20	16.2	48.4
22	13	13.8	44.6	12	9.7	58.1
23	10	10.6	55.2	14	11.3	69.4
24	6	6.4	61.6	10	8.1	77.5
25	18	19.2	80.8	4	3.2	80.7
26	4	4.3	85.1	5	4.0	84.7
27	2	2.1	87.2	1	0.8	85.5
28	7	7.4	94.6	5	4.0	89.5
29	1 (+ 1)	1.1	95.7	4	3.2	92.7
30-39	4 (+ 4)	4.3	100.0	9 (+ 6)	7.3	100.0
40-	0 (+ 3)	0.0	100.0	0 (+ 4)	0.0	100.0
Totals	94 (+ 8)			124 (+ 10)		

The average of marriage age: son 23.64 daughter 22.77

TABLE F:3 Occupational Relations in Marriages in Stourbridge,
1850-1885 (A)

(percentages)

Father of Bride	<u>Groom</u>	
	Glass Maker	Glass Cutter
Glass Worker	20.3	23.0
Glass maker	12.2	14.5
Glass cutter	6.5	8.5
Other glass worker	1.6	0.0
Skilled worker	24.4	27.0
	6.5 (Iron worker)	5.9 (Iron worker)
	3.3 (Shoemaker)	3.3 (Carpenter & Joiner)
	3.3 (Chandler)	2.6 (Bricklayer)
	3.3 (Engineer)	2.0 (Engineer)
	1.6 (Bricklayer)	2.0 (Shoemaker)
Semi-skilled worker	30.1	23.0
	6.5 (Miner)	5.3 (Miner)
	4.1 (Boatman)	2.6 (Nailer)
	3.3 (Nailer)	1.3 (Chainmaker)
	3.3 (Blacksmith)	1.3 (Boatman)
	1.6 (Potter)	1.3 (Furnace man)
Unskilled worker	13.8	13.2
	10.6 (Labourer)	7.9 (Labourer)
Retailer	2.4	6.5
Non-manual worker	0.8	2.0
Manufacturer	1.6	1.3
Farmer	4.1	3.3
No occupation	0.8	0.0
Unknown	1.7	0.7
Total cases (N)	123	152

TABLE F:4 Occupational Relations in Marriage in Stourbridge 1850-1885 (B)
(percentages)

<u>Father of Bride</u>	<u>Father of Groom</u>	
	Glass maker	Glass cutter
Glass worker 13.9		18.9
Glass maker	8.7	8.9
Glass cutter	1.7	10.0
Other glass worker	3.5	0.0
Skilled worker 28.7		25.6
	12.2 (Iron worker)	7.8 (Iron worker)
	3.5 (Plasterer)	4.4 (Carpenter & Joiner)
	3.5 (Engineer)	2.2 (Shoemaker)
	3.5 (Shoemaker)	1.1 (Brick layer)
Semi-skilled worker 16.0		27.7
	7.8 (Miner)	5.6 (Nailer)
	3.5 (Blacksmith)	4.4 (Miner)
	2.6 (Boatmaker)	2.2 (Chainmaker)
	2.6 (Iron worker semi-skilled)	2.2 (Furnaceman)
	2.6 (Nailer)	2.2 (Blacksmith)
Unskilled worker 20.9		13.3
	7.0 (Labourer)	8.9 (Labourer)
Retailer 5.2		6.7
Non-manual worker 0.9		0.0
Manufacturer 1.8		1.1
Farmer 2.6		5.6
No occupation 0.0		0.0
Unknown 0.0		1.1
Total cases (N) 115		90

TABLE F:5 Occupational Relations in Marriage in Stourbridge
1850-1885 (C)

(percentages)

<u>Father of Groom</u>	<u>Father of Bride</u>	
	Glass maker	Glass cutter
Glass worker	11.9	12.5
Glass maker	6.6	2.3
Glass cutter	4.6	8.0
Other glass worker	0.7	2.3
Skilled worker	31.1	26.1
	5.3 (Shoemaker)	5.7 (Builder)
	4.6 (Carpenter & Joiner)	3.4 (Shoemaker)
	4.6 (Iron worker)	2.3 (Carpenter & Joiner)
	2.6 (Engineer)	2.3 (Engineer)
Semi-skilled worker	31.1	31.8
	9.9 (Miner)	9.1 (Blacksmith)
	4.0 (Nailer)	8.0 (Miner)
	4.0 (Boatman)	3.4 (Tailor)
	2.6 (Furnaceman)	2.3 (Boatman)
Unskilled worker	14.6	17.0
	9.3 (Labourer)	9.1 (Labourer)
Retailer	4.0	6.8
Non-manual worker	4.0	0.0
Manufacturer	0.7	1.3
Farmer	1.3	4.5
No occupation	0.0	0.0
Unknown	1.3	0.0
Total cases (N)	151	88

Appendix G Rate Book in Amblecote, 1861.

The following Table is obtained from the Rate Book of 1861, Amblecote in Stourbridge. Since the Rate Book does not indicate occupations, the Census Enumerators' Books of 1861 in the area were used to identify glass makers and cutters in the Rate Book. For Workmen a membership list of the F.G.M.F.S. is also used in identification.

TABLE G:1 Housing of glass workers in Amblecote, Stourbridge in 1861
(percentages)

Rateable value	Glass maker	(Workman)	Glass cutter	All households
£2-	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
£3-	7.5	0.0	4.4	9.7
£4-	27.5	13.4	20.0	24.6
£5-	27.5	50.0	28.9	24.4
£6-	17.5	21.4	15.6	13.9
£7-	15.0	7.1	4.4	4.8
£8-	2.5	0.0	8.9	5.2
£9-	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.8
£10-	2.5	7.1	15.6	13.6
Totals identified (N)	40	14	45	505

Factories and other estates except dwellings are excluded from the above Table.

APPENDIX H

Donations for the Great Strike and Lock-out of the Flint Glass Makers
in 1858-59.

Total Income from All Sources

Received by the C.S.	£427 12 10
Received by Districts	£575 4 5
<hr/>	
Total collected by Glass Makers	£1002 17 3
Total collected by Glass Cutters	£ 848 13 1½
<hr/>	
Grand Total	£1851 10 4½

Received by the C.S. of the F.G.M.F.S.

Glass makers, America	£75	14	0	
Amalgamated Engineers, London	30	0	0	Bottle Makers' Society, Bristol
Bottle Makers' Society St. Helens	25	6	0	5 4 6
Compositors' Society, London	25	0	0	Proceeds of concert
Block Coopers, London	25	0	0	5 3 0
Trades' Committee of Newcastle	20	0	0	Cork Cutters' Society York
Lace Makers' Society, Nottingham	16	5	0	5 0 0
Iron Moulders Society, London	15	0	0	Hatters' Society, London
Mr. W. Burns, Bell Inn Committee	15	0	0	5 0 0
Mr. Thomas Fugh, Dublin	11	19	2	Tin Plate Workers, "Black Jack", London
Mr. W. Cormack, Rotherham	11	19	10	5 0 0
Coopers' Society, Bristol	10	5	0	Carpenters' and Joiners Society, Bristol.
Mr. R. Heron, Glasgow	10	0	4	5 0 0
Mr. W. Graham, Worsbrodale	10	0	0	Coopers Society, Burton
Block Coopers, London (Loan)	10	0	0	5 0 0
Sheet Glass Makers, Westbromwich	8	0	0	Bottle makers' Society Brierley Hill
				4 4 0
				Cotton Spinners, Bolton
				4 0 0
				Mr. W. Graham, Dublin
				3 0 0
				Tin Plate Workers, Bristol
				3 0 0
				Mr. Muirhead, Liverpool
				2 15 0
				Cork Cutters' Society, York (subscriptions)
				2 11 0
				Friends, Saltney
				2 8 0
				Carpenters' Society, Liverpool
				2 2 6
				Mr. G. Miller, South Shields
				2 0 0
				Others under £2
				<hr/>
				Totals
				£427 12 10
				<hr/>

(2)

Received by Districts of the F.G.M.F.S.

Manchester	£286	2	4½
Stourbridge	81	12	5
Warrington	50	12	7½
Birmingham	35	5	3½
London (crib men)	27	19	3
St. Helens	27	0	0
Edinburgh	24	12	9
Bolton	19	4	11½
Dudley	16	14	9
<hr/>			
Totals	£575	4	5
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Stourbridge District for glass makers and cutters.

Tin Plate Workers' Society	£30	0	0
Neighbouring Works	42	11	9½
Various Subscriptions	16	4	2½
The Stourbridge Shopkeepers	10	19	8
Horse Nail Makers' Society	10	0	0
Messrs. Foster's Iron Works	10	0	0
Society Men at Messrs. Keep and Watkin	7	2	6
London (by Mr. Kelly)	6	0	0
Society Men at Wollaston Spade Mill	5	10	10
Mr. John Higgs, Alma Inn, Brierley Hill	5	2	9
Mrs. Pardoe, Donation, Audnam	4	0	6
Messrs. Shut End, Iron Works	2	13	6
Others under £2			
<hr/>			
Totals	£161	2	10
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(paid to the F.G.M.F.S. (£81 12 5)

Source: Compiled from F.G.M.M., vol. III, pp. 542-5.

1) Only donations and loans over £2 are shown in the Table.

[Appendix I] Glossary

Anneal,	To prevent or remove objectionable stresses in glass by controlled heating at and cooling from a suitable temperature.
Batch,	A mixture of raw materials ready for melting.
Battledore, or Palette,	An implement used for shaping the foot of a wine glass.
Blowing iron, or Blowpipe,	The iron pipe used by a glass maker for gathering and blowing by mouth.
Casher-box,	A small triangular iron trough, lined with wood, to hold a finished glass, before its removal to the leer.
Caveman,	A general labourer, usually working under a glass furnace.
Chair,	1) A special long-armed chair in which the craftsman sits when shaping glass. 2) A team or gang of workers.
Closed pot,	A pot made with a roof to protect the contents from flames and combustion gases in the furnace and with a mouth for charging raw materials and gathering molten glass. In flint glass making this type of pot was used.
Cullet,	Broken glass which may be added to the batch for remelting.
Cutting,	Producing glass decorated by branding figures or patterns on its surface over an abrasive wheel, followed by polishing.
Decorating,	Applying designs to formed glass ware by means of etching, cutting, engraving or similar methods.
Diamond-point etching,	Design scratched by hand on the surface of a glass with the point of a diamond.
Engraving,	Design cut on the surface of a finished glass by pressing it against the edge of a very small, revolving copper wheel.

Eye,	Hottest part of furnace.
Fill,	A charge of batch to a pot or furnace.
Fire finished,	Glass which has been surface polished by heating, for example in a flame. In pressed flint glass making this method was used.
Footmaker,	Second assistant, who, in a wine-glass shop, prepares the feet.
The found,	Time during which the furnace is driven to its greatest heat in order to melt the glass.
Gadget, or Spring punty,	A spring-clip, attached to a punty, to hold foot of wine glass whilst the bowl is being finished, in order to prevent puntee-mark.
Gatherer,	A worker who collects molten glass on the end of a blowing iron or punty preparatory to blowing, pressing or drawing.
Glass blower,	1) A worker who blows glass by blowing iron. 2) Sometimes means a glass maker in general to distinguish him from a glass cutter.
Glory hole,	An opening exposing the hot interior of a furnace.
Intaglio,	A form of decoration in which the depth of cutting is intermediate between deep cutting and engraving.
Lehr, (Leer, Lier, Lear)	An oven, usually long and tunnel-shaped, for annealing glass, preferably by continuous passage through the oven.
Marver,	A slab or iron on which the molten glass is rolled after being gathered.
Metal,	Molten glass.
Mixer,	A worker who weighs and mixes both materials in a mechanical mixer or by hand.
Moulder,	A worker who reheats and mounds rough lumps of optical glass into slabs.
Move,	A piecework term; an agreed number of glasses to be made for an agreed price by a chair.
Open pot,	A pot open so that the glass is exposed to direct heating and chemical influences of the flame.

Pot arch,	A furnace for heating pots before they are placed in a pot furnace.
Pot-setting,	The removal of an old or faulty pot from the furnace and the setting in of a new one.
Presser,	A worker who shapes glass by pressing in a mould by hand or by machine.
Punty, or Pontil,	Iron rod used to hold a glass, by means of a glass seal, while it is being worked.
Putty,	Dry powder used in polishing in cutting process. It is made of oxide of lead (three quarters) and tin (one quarter).
Servitor,	Chief assistant.
Siege,	Bed of furnace on which the pots rest.
Sitter-up,	Second teaser, or a Teaser's mate.
Taker-in,	Boy who carries finished glass from gaffer to leer or annealing kiln.
Teaser, (Teazer) or Founder,	An operator who maintains the correct furnace temperature for feeding the batch into the furnace or pot.
The tool,	A tool, resembling shears, for shaping the blown glass.
Turn,	The period, usually six hours, during which a chair works; there are two turns for each chair in twenty-four hours.
Workman, or Gaffer, or Finisher, or Chairman,	Master glass maker or the head of chair.

This glossary has been compiled from 1) Glossary of Terms used in the Glass Industry, (British Standard 3447), 1962, 2) H.J. Powell, Glass-Making in England, Cambridge 1923, op.cit., pp. 41-46, and 3) F.G.M.M., passim.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY**A. PRIMARY SOURCES**

- I. Flint Glass Makers' Magazine, and Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S.
- II. Manuscript Sources.
- III. Official Reports.
- IV. Newspapers and Periodicals.
- V. Other Sources.

B. SECONDARY WORKS

- I. Books and Pamphlets.
- II. Articles.
- III. Theses.

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

I. The Flint Glass Makers' Magazine and Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M.F.S.1. Magazine

A complete set of the Magazine from 1851 to 1897, bound in 21 volumes, is held by Mr. J.R. Price, 4 Prospect Hill, Stourbridge, Worcestershire. This set was micro-filmed and is in the possession of the Library of the University of Warwick. The volumes which are concerned with my research are as follows:

Volume	Years	
vol. I,	1851-53	
vol. II,	1853-57	
vol. III,	1857-60	
vol. IV,	1860-63	
vol. V,	1863-67	
vol. VI,	1867-71	
vol. VII,	1871-74	(new series, vol. 1)
vol. VIII,	1874-77	(new series, vol. 2)
vol. IX,	1877-79	(new series, vol. 3)
vol. X,	1879-80	(new series, vol. 4)
vol. XI,	1880-81	(new series, vol. 5)

The Stourbridge Reference Library possesses vol. I and vol. II (1851-57), vol. VIII (November 1876 only) and vol. IX (May 1877 only.)

The Howell Collection in the Bishopsgate Institute, London, holds vol. VI (September 1869 - Special issue for the second T.U.C. - only) and vol. VII (August and October 1874 only). The Webb Trade Union Collection at the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics, London, holds vol. IX (August 1879 only), six issues between August 1887 and February 1893, and continuous ten issues from January 1895 to April 1897. The Archive of the Beatson

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b. Glass Blowers		257-260.
c. Glass Bottle Makers		261-332.
d. Plate Glass Bevellers		333-350.
e. Flint Glass Cutters		351-397.
f. Widow Glass Workers: Pressed		398-408.
Glass Makers: Glass Founders:		
Glass Painters, etc.		

2. Wages Books (See Appendix D and E)

- a. Stevens and Williams of Stourbridge in the Archive of the Brierley Hill Crystal Company, Brierley Hill.
- b. Beatson and Clark of Rotherham, in the Archive of Beatson, Clark and Company Ltd., Rotherham.
- c. Wood Bros. of Barnsley, in Sheffield Central Library.

3. Census Records at the Public Record Office (see Appendix C)

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